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## STELE OF A WARRIOR

### I

LAST year, Dr. Diepolder, in the *Munchner Jahrbuch*,<sup>1</sup> drew attention to a relief published by Stackelberg in 1836.<sup>2</sup> Stackelberg states that it was found near Megara and was bought by a Dr. MacMichael and sent to England. Nothing has been heard of it since. Stackelberg took the relief to be Hadrianic: Diepolder showed that it was an Attic tombstone from the later part of the fifth century, standing particularly close to the fine monument, recently discovered in Salamis and now in the museum at Piraeus, of the two young soldiers Chairedemos and Lykeas.<sup>3</sup> Diepolder dates both reliefs in the twenties of the century, partly by comparison with the dated relief at Eleusis.<sup>4</sup> Not long after the appearance of Diepolder's article I received a letter from Professor Harrower enclosing a photograph of a marble which he had admired in Cairness House, Aberdeenshire. This proves to be the missing Stackelberg relief. The owner, Colonel C. T. Gordon, kindly gave permission for the photograph to be reproduced in the *Journal*, and added to his kindness by answering several queries of mine, and by consenting to write a brief account of his grandfather, General Thomas Gordon, who brought the relief to this country, and who played an interesting and important part in the history of modern Greece.

I have little to add to Diepolder's excellent study of the Cairness relief. Colonel Gordon gives me the measurements: 6 feet 1 inch high, 3 feet wide, the figure 5 feet 6 inches high. The photograph shows that the face is more battered than would appear from Stackelberg's plate, and there are several other inaccuracies in the drawing, especially in the hair, which is given too long; in the legs, too thick; in the folds of the cloak at the shoulder; in the forms of sword-hilt and spear-butt. And the whole figure looks more massive, more Parthenonian, in the drawing than in the photograph.

Diepolder speaks of the warrior as 'not wearing the corslet, but only the chlamys.' He does not mention the chiton—no doubt because he is only concerned with the contrast between chlamys and corslet. Whether the second garment, not worn but carried loosely over the left shoulder, is a chlamys out of use I am not certain. It may be, but it may also be one of those simple wraps which were often worn by warriors either over the corslet, or over the chiton, or alone.<sup>5</sup> Of the headgear held in the warrior's hand Diepolder writes: 'Stackelberg's drawing gives the impression that the sculptor thinks of the pilos as of soft material, such as felt. But since in other monuments the pilos is

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<sup>1</sup> 5 (1928), pp. 15-19, *Eine Kriegerstele aus Megara*. p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Gräber der Hellenen*, Pl. 3, 2, and p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, 19, Pl. 7: phot. Alinari 24797.

<sup>5</sup> See Schroder in *Jahrbuch*, 29, pp. 166-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1916, p. 141 = Diepolder, J.H.S.—VOL. XLIX.

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always of iron. the drawing is probably inexact.<sup>6</sup> The photograph, however, confirms the drawing: the hand sinks into the hat and presses it out of shape. I got Colonel Gordon to examine the original, and he writes that 'the appearance is distinctly that of some *soft* material, such as leather—not metal.' I have no doubt that the material is felt, and that felt piloi were used in war as in



FIG. 1.—STACKELBERG'S PLATE 3, NO. 2.

peace. The hat of Odysseus on the Dolon vase in London certainly seems to be soft.<sup>7</sup>

The spear, like Chairedemos's, was evidently continued in paint: the baldric is in relief. Chairedemos's was painted. Stackelberg was right, as Colonel Gordon tells me, in showing the chiton open down the thigh.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> F 157: Furtwangler and Reichhold,

Pl. 110, 4, whence Pfuhl, *Malerei*, fig. 800: phot. Mansell 3261.

## II

The life of General Gordon in the *Dictionary of National Biography* was compiled by G[ordon] G[oodwin] with the help of materials supplied by Colonel Gordon. The following account supplements that life in several respects.



FIG. 2.—RELIEF IN CAIRNESS HOUSE.

“The stele formed part of a collection of antiquities formed by Thomas Gordon (1788–1841), of Buthlaw and Cairness, Major-General in the Greek service. How he became possessed of it is not definitely known. He has been

supposed to have acquired it during his residence in Greece, where, in the year 1829, while serving in the Greek Army, he built himself a house at Argos and bought land close to the town. General Gordon, described by George Finlay as 'the earliest Philhellene,'<sup>8</sup> lost both parents in boyhood. He was educated at Eton, the University of Aberdeen, and B.N.C., Oxford, and joined the British Army (Royal Scots Greys and 43rd Regiment) for a short period. After that he spent several years in foreign travel, mainly in Eastern Europe and Asia Minor. In 1813 he was serving as a captain on the Staff of the Russian Army, and, after unsuccessfully applying to go on service with Wellington's Army before the battle of Waterloo, he again travelled extensively in the East during the next six or seven years. In 1821 began his active participation in the Greek War of Independence, and although he returned to Scotland soon after the siege and capture of Tripolitza, in which he was serving with the Greeks, and remained at home for several years, he renewed his efforts to assist them in their contest in 1826, both by serving with their forces in the field and by contributing substantially to their war chest from his private fortune, until its successful termination. His services in the Army were retained when Greece became a kingdom in 1832, and he held various military commands until his retirement from the Greek Army in 1839. He died at Cairness in 1841. In 1832 he published his *History of the Greek Revolution*, which ranks highly as an accurate description of the events with which it deals.

While living at Argos General Gordon was fortunate in discovering, after repeated unsuccessful efforts, the Heraeum of Argeia. It is stated in Murray's *Handbook to Greece*,<sup>9</sup> on the authority of William Mure, that General Gordon possessed fragments of brazen plates from the Treasury of Atreus in his collection at Cairness. These have unfortunately disappeared, and it is not known into whose hands they may have passed. The same remark applies to 'part of a marble peacock, part of a large antefix of terra-cotta, painted like the tail of a peacock, a lion of bronze about six inches long, well preserved, some other bronzes much corroded, and some terra-cottas very rude,' which, on the authority of Finlay,<sup>10</sup> he discovered while carrying out a small excavation at the ruins of the Heraeum in the spring of 1836. Besides the stele here depicted, almost the only specimens of his collection now at Cairness are two rectangular inscribed stone slabs, almost identical in size. One of these, bearing a clean and legible inscription in Greek, is known to archaeologists, although its identity at Cairness has only been ascertained within the last few months. It is No. 3197 in the Greek Corpus of Inscriptions, from Orchomenus in Boeotia, and is there noted as 'periisse videtur.' The Greek inscription on the other stone is in much smaller and closer lettering, and is in many parts illegible, or nearly so.

<sup>8</sup> *History of Greece*, new ed., ii, p. 158.

<sup>9</sup> See below, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> In Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 261. Compare Mure, *Journal of a Tour in Greece*, i. p. 178: 'The General, who at the period of the discovery had already been for some time in command of the

district, assured me, that the various excursions he had made for the express purpose of exploring its remains had been equally unsuccessful, and that at last he had only stumbled upon them by accident while on a shooting party and no way occupied with archaeological research.'

It is now being deciphered by Mr. M. N. Tod. Included in his collection at Cairness was a cabinet of ancient coins, a portion of which, together with some other antiquities from the collection, is now in the British Museum.

C. T. G."

### III

Dr. G. F. Hill informs me that General Gordon's collection of coins was sold by Sotheby on the 22nd and 23rd of March, 1850, at the same time as the F. R. P. Boocke collection. There is a copy of the sale catalogue in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. The General's other antiquities were sold, also by Sotheby, on the 21st of June in the same year, and Mr. F. N. Pryce has kindly sent me extracts from the copy of the catalogue preserved in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. The Museum purchased lot 66, an archaic bronze, not in Walters' catalogue, perhaps an incense-burner; lot 85, an enamelled Christ; lot 87, a Chinese statue of Kwan; lot 111, a black-figured oinochoe with a siren on it (B 510); and five lots of Egyptian objects. Lot 60 was 'bronze fragments from the Temple of Juno at Argos'; lot 63, 'antique figures of a boar and bull from Eleusis and Tiger from Mycenae'; but there is no mention of bronze plates or any other objects from the Treasury of Atreus.

That the walls of the Treasury of Atreus were lined with bronze plaques was conjectured by Leake from the bronze nails which remain or remained in the wall.<sup>11</sup> The author of Murray's *Handbook to Greece*, after quoting Leake's conjecture, adds: <sup>12</sup>—'No doubt whatever is now entertained of the correctness of this view. Indeed Gordon informed Mure (author of a *History of Greek Literature*) that he possessed fragments of brazen plates from the Treasury of Atreus in his collection at Cairness.' Then, in a note, 'See article by Col. Mure in the *Rheinisches Museum* (1839, vol. vi. p. 210). We have endeavoured, but vainly, to trace what became of Mr. Gordon's collection after his death. No other specimen of the brazen plates is known.'

Let us see what Mure says: <sup>13</sup>—'In the meantime I have been informed by General Gordon, a distinguished Scottish Philhellene and sound archaeologist, who is at present in command in the Peloponnese, and who recently discovered the site of the Heraeum which has been so long sought for, and partly excavated it, that among other remarkable and interesting things by this opportunity brought to light and now deposited in his own collection in Scotland were fragments of nails and metal plates, which to all appearance were designed for the same kind of lining as according to his conviction had formed the inner covering of the pseudo-treasury.'

What General Gordon, therefore, told Colonel Mure was not that he possessed fragments of metal plates from the Treasury of Atreus, but that he possessed fragments of metal plates from the Heraeum of Argos—no doubt lot 60 in the sale catalogue.

<sup>11</sup> *Morea*, p. 382.

<sup>12</sup> *Handbook to Greece* (1884), ii. pp. 475-6, on the Treasury of Atreus.

<sup>13</sup> *Rheinisches Museum*, vi. (1839), p. 272: the article translated into German by L. Hayman.

## IV

The portrait of General Gordon here reproduced is from a lithograph by Hanfstaengl after Krazeisen.<sup>14</sup> From the uniform it would appear to have been executed before the close of the Revolutionary war, or at any rate before the



FIG. 3.—GENERAL THOMAS GORDON.

existence of the Royal Greek Army. My thanks are due to the Hon. Andrew Shirley for guiding me to the copy of the lithograph in the British Museum, and to Mr. F. N. Pryce for having it photographed.

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<sup>14</sup> Karl Krazeisen, 1794–1878, infantry general and amateur draughtsman. Hanfstaengl did a series after his drawings, 'Bildnisse ausgezeichneter Griechen und

Philhellenen,' Munich, 1828. The name is misspelt Klaxcisen in the British Museum *Catalogue of Engraved Portraits*: I owe the identification to Mr. A. M. Hind.

## THE CENTRAL PART OF THE EASTERN FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON

AMONGST the drawings in the Elgin Collection at the British Museum are many from the sculptures of the Parthenon made by William Pars in 1765-6. Two of the drawings representing the long middle slab of the Eastern Frieze, and the slab next to it on the left, are exceptional in not being merely pencil drawings; these are tinted with the brush in sepia and are highly finished and wonderfully delicate. They are not signed, but it may be safely assumed that they are by Pars. Pars was sent out with the Chandler expedition, organised by the Society of Dilettanti in 1764, partly for the purpose of completing the work of Stuart and Revett in Athens from 1751 to 1753. Pars was engaged for several months in drawing the sculptures of the Parthenon. This work, according to Chandler, he executed 'with diligence, fidelity and courage.' Courage was needed, for he drew the frieze of the cella from the stone beam of the peristyle. He recorded all of it that was then on the building, together with some slabs which had been removed from their places. At a meeting of the Society of Dilettanti on December 2, 1766, 'A great variety of Views and Drawings of Basso relievos of the Temple of Minerva at Athens, and others, were produced by Mr. Pars, which appear'd to the Committee to be done with Taste and Accurateness.' The original tinted view of the east front of the Temple now hanging in the Elgin Gallery shows his powers of observation and minute record. In this view the metopes have their subjects really drawn in little spaces not much more than a quarter of an inch square. No one alive can draw like this now, for minute accuracy has been relegated to the camera. Pars is one of the heroes of Parthenon research. Many of his drawings were destroyed by fire at a country mansion, as told by Mr. Arthur Smith in the *J.H.S.* some years ago.

Several of Pars' drawings were engraved for Vols. II and III of Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, and beneath the two with which I am concerned are now written in pencil references to plates given by Stuart which represent the same sculptures at about the same scale, but in a very different manner. The drawings of the frieze engraved for the first part of Stuart's account of the Parthenon were, I suppose, made by himself in 1751-3; there is no reference to Pars on the plates, as there is on engravings in the later part of Stuart's work (Vol. III). This, however, is not decisive, as Pars' view of the east front mentioned above seems to have been used by Stuart in the first part without any acknowledgment on the engraving.

The references noted on Pars' two drawings of the slabs from the eastern frieze seem to imply that they were the sources for Stuart's engravings of these same slabs, but the engravings are so different from the drawings that it cannot have been so, and it seems that these important records have never been

published. Stuart's plates of this part of the frieze have all the heads of the figures 'restored,' and one grotesque result of this is that the body of Demeter has been provided with a male head. It may be in consequence of a supposition that the drawings are represented in the plates of Stuart, and that these plates are obviously restored and not to be depended on, that the drawings have not been appreciated as the valuable records which they are in fact.

Besides the restoration of the heads and the 'dryness' of Stuarts' engravings of the figures, a few specific mistakes in them may be mentioned, as showing that they could not have been taken from Pars' drawings. Stuart turns Demeter's torch into a swelling thing like a giantie crayon-holder; Athena's snakes are omitted and drapery takes their place; there are no leaves in Hera's hair such as Pars renders so minutely. It is possible that through the restorations indications might be found on Stuart's plates, by careful comparison, of details which have otherwise disappeared.

In Pars' drawings most of the heads are shown as being very nearly in the condition they are in at present, many parts are represented as lost, and there is no sign of intentional restoration. Of course every careful draughtsman interprets to some degree what is before him. Pars would have drawn all that he thought he could make out, and doubtless there are some mis-readings of slight traces; his purpose, however, was to be scrupulously accurate. Corbould's wonderful later drawings done in the Museum followed the same principle, and there are several points in which these go further in interpretation than did Pars. The face of Zeus is an example. Corbould, as will be shown, misinterpreted the action of the right hand of Athena, while Pars appears to have wrongly taken a mark on the head of the boy with the peplos as a trace of his left eye. It may not be doubted that the effort of Pars was to be exact in recording what the sculptures were like without additions of his own. These slabs must have suffered in the period between 1765 and the time after 1800 when Lord Elgin removed them, and there is every likelihood that they suffered in a special way. It is recorded that in 1785 the central slab was lying on the ground. It bears evidence of having been long subject to petty injuries, indeed it looks as if it had been walked over.

My purpose here is not only to praise the two beautiful drawings, but to invite attention to some details represented on them which no longer exist. The most important of these details are the heads of Athena and Hephaestos, which are drawn as nearly complete. The face of Athena is given as perfect; the details of her hair were worn away, but, as may be seen from the slab itself at present, it was gathered from the back close around the head. The face was bright and girlish, as may indeed be understood from the existing traces of the profile on the slab and Corbould's interpretation of them. The head was very like that of the figure which most foreign students of Greek Sculpture, following Furtwängler, accept as that of the Lemnian Athena. And this resemblance is further evidence that the identification is right.

The head of Hephaestos has been much more injured than that of Athena since the drawing was made, when it seems to have been nearly perfect. It was broad and Zeus-like, with powerful nose and mouth and full beard and

moustache (Fig. 1). Both these important figures were little injured and their hands and feet are fully made out on the drawing. Under the left hand of Athena was a brood of small wriggling serpents one of which crossed her wrist and reached up her fore-arm, while another issued from under her fingers.

In a little study of the figure printed in 1908 I made out that this had been the meaning of the sculptor (rather than to represent her aegis or a bracelet, as had been suggested)—‘serpents play about her hand.’ I also drew the right hand as having the palm upwards and the fore-finger extended, and this also is what Pars shows. Corbould, however, and others have read the traces in another way, but when once the slight indications have been observed there can be no doubt of the fact, as I have verified by re-examination. Athena on the ‘Theseum’ frieze has her hand in a similar position.

The other figures as they appear in these drawings were more nearly in their present condition. The head of Demeter is not represented, and it must have



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

been as completely lost as it now is, for from the slab itself it appears that it had been broken off, not worn away like most of the others. The drapery on the shoulders and the raised right hand are carefully drawn. This drapery seems to have been interpreted as parts of a mantle brought over the shoulders as in the costume of several of the maidens in the procession. It was rather, I think, a veil falling from the head, as the indications on the slab are sufficient to suggest if not to prove (Fig. 2). It is evident from the outline of the back of the head that there was drapery here. The turn of the folds on the left shoulder suggest falling from above rather than being brought over from the back. Again, there is a tiny part of the right shoulder with a fold that seems to fall rather than to lie on it. These indications, together with the right hand raised fingering the drapery in a manner often repeated, seem conclusive and induced me to sketch a restoration of this head published in some notes in 1927 (*‘Parthenon Studies,’ The Builder, September 16*). The head thus restored would have been very like that of a statue of Demeter, of which copies exist at Cherchel and Berlin, which Schrader and Kekulé would identify as from an original by Pheidias; it has a veil over the head, leaving the front hair exposed and falling



on the shoulders. I should point out that Corbould interpreted the drapery on the shoulders as brought forward from the back and not falling from the head. A further point, however, in favour of its having been a veil is that the part falling from the right shoulder is much longer than that from the left, and too long, I should say, for drapery brought over from the back.

It might be felt that a veil as indicated would be too much at the back of the head to remain in place, but this is characteristic of several other examples : compare Aphrodite in the right-hand group of the gods on the same frieze, also the Hegeso grave-relief and the head of Eurydice on the famous Orpheus relief, the original of which, according to Furtwängler, was 'a lost Attic relief, the work of a master of the Pheidian school in the last decades of the fifth century.' In any case the pensive hand-play with the drapery is characteristic, and the figure on the frieze is good evidence that the statue type was Pheidian. Several of the famous grave slabs at Athens must have been almost copied from the mourning figure of the frieze. Demeter on the frieze may thus be fully understood and represented in a restored drawing (Fig. 2). The head and hand as I



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

have restored them closely resemble those of one of the mourners of the Sidon Sarcophagus.

Pars shows the raised left hand of Dionysos as more complete than it now is (Fig. 3). It had the action of holding a staff, and is very similar to a detail of the famous panel found at Eleusis. This is one of many correspondences between that panel and the frieze, some of which may be mentioned : the priestess of the frieze is very like the right-hand figure of the panel, and the boys in both are also alike : even the puckered selvedge of draperies which is so characteristic of the Parthenon sculptures appears on the Eleusis panel : the torches in both reliefs are practically identical. The Eleusis panel is very definitely of Pheidian style.

On Pars' drawing of the frieze the lower end of the spear of Ares is represented. In the drawings the draperies of the figures appear richer, with more delicate folds than on the central slab at present, and we may easily understand that there would be some loss during the thirty-five years that it remained specially exposed after being drawn by Pars.

Another engraved representation of the central slab of the Eastern frieze is given in the *Museum Worsleyanum*, 1794. This differs in details from both Stuart and Pars, and must be from a third drawing which was doubtless obtained in Athens in 1785. The slab is described in the work just named as 'now lying on the ground before the east front of the temple.' The figures of

Zeus, Hera and Athena were here rightly identified for the first time. The head of Hephaestos had then been much injured, but was still in a better condition than it now is. The head of Zeus is nowhere better rendered than by Corbould, indeed its character can still be understood from the marble and at a little distance the features seem almost plain. It was of a somewhat archaic type with a rather pointed beard. A head at Copenhagen thought to be an echo of the Zeus of Olympia is similar in character; the Boston head is of a later type.

Another restoration which I believe has not yet been made is sufficiently indicated by the traces of the right foot of the first serving-maiden, who carries a seat. It was raised resting on the toes in a similar frontal position to that of the 'priest' near by (Fig. 4). The recognition of this allows the central group to be fully restored. The German scholar who pointed out that this same figure carried a footstool in her hands was certainly correct (Fig. 5).

The central group is divided off from the rest of the frieze right and left by intervals of space down through which, on either hand, a slightly scored line may be traced. It is probable, I think, that these lines defined a difference of colour in the background which showed that the central action was on a different plane from the rest, that is, in the interior of the Temple. I have suggested this in Fig. 5, and I think it cannot be doubted that this separation adds greatly to the clearness of the whole composition.

Nearly twenty years ago I made some suggestions regarding the beautiful figure of Aphrodite, in the right-hand group of gods, based on its general resemblance to the great reclining figure on the east pediment. A restoration of the relief was drawn at my suggestion by Mr. Platt, and a small photograph of the result is now placed under the original. More recently I have thought that the raised left hand of her companion is to be explained as a gesture denoting close attention—tension. Some of the riders on the frieze lift a hand in a similar way. Photographs of the head of Apollo from the original marble show that a bronze wreath was attached to it. This would have been gilt, and we may confidently infer from this that the wreath of Hera on the other side of the centre, although in such a position that it had to be carved rather than attached, was also gilt. In another place I have pointed out the importance in the composition of the long inclined lines on either side of spears and other attributes (Fig. 5).

If all the observations that have been made on these central slabs of the frieze were brought together, a practically certain drawn restoration of the whole might be made, and a photograph of it put under the original would be very helpful.

Some little terra-cotta plaques which seem to have been made from casts obtained by Choiseul Gouffier about 1787 have the slight value of being independent restorations, and agreement among these is something gained.

I should like to suggest that as a beginning to further study of the frieze, a large clear photographic enlargement of the Athena-Hephaestos part be made, and that a complete restoration of the two figures be drawn on it embodying evidence from the drawings of Pars and all other sources. This might be the first of several specimen parts of the immortal frieze to be so represented. The

Zeus-Hera section might follow (Fig. 5). Such restorations would make good school pictures; young people do not understand broken things.



FIG. 5.—ZEUS AND HERA WITH PART OF CENTRAL GROUP: RESTORED FROM THE ORIGINAL.



FIG. 6.—ATHENA AND HEPHAESTOS, FROM THE DRAWING BY PARS (ELGIN PORTFOLIO, IV, 2).

In the notes on the Parthenon before mentioned I have ventured to discuss the meaning of these central slabs of the frieze, and now by way of footnote I should like to touch on two of the points. The drawing of Pars brings out very

clearly the pads on the heads of the maidens who carry seats on their heads. This special provision and the method of carrying the seats show that the maidens have come a long way—with the procession in fact. The seats were doubtless for the assembling gods, in the portico as I think. If the stool-bearers have come with the procession, the peplos has also been brought in the same way at the same time, and the suggestion that what is represented is the old peplos being removed may disappear. Aphrodite, on the right of the group of gods, is obviously a close echo of the reclining goddess of the eastern pediment, even to her crossed feet and drapery slipping from her shoulder, as I have before pointed out. Her companion, on whom she leans, is again so like in both cases that the same personage must be intended, or there was an artistic fault and lack of invention. The pair *must* be the same in the pediment and on the frieze; the best identification under this condition is that these figures—as some foreign students now take for granted—are Aphrodite and Dione. Artemis thus vanishes from the frieze.

The *Museum Worsleyanum* contains several plates of horsemen on other parts of the frieze, from drawings of Pars etched by himself, these, therefore, are also first-hand records. In two or three cases the pupils of the horses' eyes are represented, and this must be a record of painting. In 1913 I noticed traces of a painted eye on No. 131 of the frieze, and more recently I have found slight indications on the horses 56 and 66 of the frieze. A photograph from the original marble of the head of Apollo also seems to show traces of painted eyes.

W. R. LETHABY.

## THE SO-CALLED 'TRADE-LEAGUES' IN EARLY GREEK HISTORY AND THE LELANTINE WAR

MUCH has been written, in recent books and articles on early Greek history, of the so-called 'trade-leagues,' whose existence is thought to be implied by the statements of ancient writers about the feuds and alliances of the Greek cities before the Persian Wars. This conception is stimulating and in part sound, but over-simplified and 'diagrammatic'; it is very easy, where the evidence is so incomplete, to make too much of such information as we have. The 'trade-leagues' did exist, but they must have been extremely loose-knit. Evidence of formal organisation such as we should naturally associate with the word 'league' is wholly lacking. Miletus, Chios, Eretria and their allies—Samos, Chalcis, Corinth and *their* allies—form, each group, an *entente cordiale* rather than an alliance properly so called: and certain states, notably Naxos and Paros, seem to transfer their allegiance from one side to the other as circumstances dictate.

The object of this paper <sup>1</sup> is to collect, if possible, all the existing evidence on the subject; and the writer would add, in parenthesis, that he would be glad to receive references to any relevant passages that he may have omitted. The Greek maritime states in the seventh century appear to fall into three groups rather than into two; and even these loose alliances show no great permanency. No one with the spectacle of modern Europe before his eyes would, after all, expect any alliance—especially a 'trade-league'—to survive the particular set of circumstances that gave it birth.

Such as they were, however, these 'leagues' did exist, and the wars of the Greek maritime states in the seventh century do seem to be connected *in every case*, directly or indirectly with the rivalries of Chalcis and Eretria, Samos and Miletus; though whether any Greek writer would have extended the term 'Lelantine War' to—for example—the Chian, Lesbian and Megarian destruction of Parian outposts in the 'North-east Passage' to the Black Sea—must remain at any rate open to doubt.

### 1. *The Samians and their Allies*

A convenient point of departure in dealing with our large and amorphous mass of facts is supplied by Herodotus' <sup>2</sup> and Thucydides' <sup>3</sup> brief allusions to

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used in the references:

Ar. = Aristotle.

Ath. = Athenaeus.

C. A. H. = *Cambridge Ancient History*.

D. S. = Diodorus Siculus.

F. H. G. = *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*.

H. = Herodotus.

Hesiod, W. D. = *Works and Days*.

N. D. = Nicolaus of Damascus.

Paus. = Pausanias.

Plut., M. = Plutarch, *Moralia*.

S. B. = Stephanus of Byzantium.

Sc. = Seymnus of Chios.

Σ. = Scholiast.

Str. = Strabo.

The. = Thucydides.

<sup>2</sup> v. 99.

<sup>3</sup> i. 15.

the Lelantine War—that war 'in which, more than in any other early conflict among the Greeks, other Hellenic states took sides.' This remark of Thucydides is, it may be noted, one of the pieces of evidence on the 'trade-leagues' which have been used for a good deal more than they are worth. He makes it only in qualifying his statement in the previous sentence, in which, in accordance with his usual tendency to belittle the achievements of sixth- and seventh-century Greece, *ad maiorem Atheniensium gloriam*, he tells us that those early Hellenes rarely sent military expeditions far afield or formed pan-Hellenic political associations, and that most of their wars were merely between next-door neighbours.

However, Herodotus gives us the names of the leading states on each side in this greatest of early Greek wars; Samos and Chalcis against Miletus and Eretria. Aristotle<sup>4</sup> further tells us that Thessalians, and Chalcidians from the colonies in Thrace, helped Chalcis to victory.

*This is all the evidence that we have* as to the participants in the Lelantine War. Thucydides' statement makes it virtually certain that there were others, but further evidence there is none. Corinth and Erythrae may have aided Samos and Chalcis; Chios, Megara, Aegina, the Eretrian party. On the other hand, they may not. With conjecture and probability it will be time enough to deal when considering the war in greater detail hereafter.

Further evidence for Samian foreign relations in the seventh century or earlier is as follows. The Samians were on good terms with the Corinthians<sup>5</sup> (one of whose ship-builders apparently designed the first triremes—those new Phoenician<sup>6</sup> 'Dreadnoughts' of the ancient world—which the Samian state possessed) and with the Spartans, whom they helped against the Messenians<sup>7</sup>; also with Cyrene, which settlement a Samian sea-captain was believed to have saved at a critical moment,<sup>8</sup> and with her metropolis of Thera<sup>8</sup>; while Erythrae certainly had cause to share Samian prejudices against Miletus.<sup>9</sup>

Of Chalcis we are told only that she colonised jointly with Naxians<sup>10</sup> at the Sicilian Naxos, and jointly with the Aeolic<sup>11</sup> Cyne at Cumae<sup>12</sup> in Italy, while certain Messenians,<sup>13</sup> of the pro-Spartan party, exiled at the beginning

<sup>4</sup> Muller, *F.H.G.* ii.; Frag. 107, in Plutarch, *Moralia*, p. 760.

<sup>5</sup> The. i. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Str.* i. xvi. 75.

<sup>7</sup> H. iii. 47.

<sup>8</sup> H. iv. 152.

<sup>9</sup> H. i. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Steph. Byz. *s.v.* χαλκίς, quoting Hellanicus.

<sup>11</sup> The view, popularised apparently by Holm (l. p. 298), that the Italian was named after the Euboic Cyne, and not, as both Strabo and Scymnus assert, after the much more important Aeolic city, is a good example of the unjustifiable rejection of evidence on purely a priori grounds in favour of so-called "probabilities." The insignificant Euboic village, hardly mentioned in history, has nothing to be said for

it except that it is nearer Chalcis; as though the width of the Aegean were likely to impede the diplomatic connexions of the founders of Cumae. The great Aeolic Cyne, on the other hand, was certainly colonising elsewhere at a very early date (see Arrian, *Anab. Alex.* i. 26), and, being in alliance with the Midas dynasty of Phrygia (Pollux, ix. 83; Herakleides, Frag. 11, Κυμαίων πολιτεία), is very likely to have been the 'port of Phrygia' in those western ventures that are attested by the stories that 'Midas Phryx' (Hyginus, 274; Cassiodorus, *Var.* iii. 51), or 'Midaeritus'—a Cymaeon named after his city's ally?—'first imported lead from the Tin Island' (Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 56, § 19 7: cf. Cary in *J. H. S.* xlv).

<sup>12</sup> Str. v. 243, Scymnus, ll. 238–9.

<sup>13</sup> Str. vi. 258, quoting Ant. Mus.

of the Spartan conquest-war by their desperate countrymen because they favoured peace by negotiation, were present at the Chalcidian colony of Rhegium. There are also stories of Eretrian<sup>14</sup> participation at Cumae and at the still earlier settlement on the neighbouring 'Monkey Island'<sup>15</sup> where the colonists had their first temporary home. Lastly, the pirates' nest of Zancle,<sup>16</sup> across the Narrows from Rhegium received its 'official' foundation from Chalcis jointly with the Cumaeans and Naxian colonists; while the tradition that the Sicilian Arethusa was named after the Euboean<sup>17</sup>—not the Peloponnesian—fountain of that name, suggests that Chalcidians or Eretrians or both anticipated the Corinthian occupation of Syracuse.

This whole western movement is traditionally dated well before the end of the eighth century, though certain archaeological evidence perhaps shows that the Sicilian colonies at least were founded later.<sup>22</sup> Certainly it is earlier than the close of the Hesiodic canon; the poet has heard—from his friends in Euboea<sup>23</sup> and his father's home in Aeolic Cyme?<sup>24</sup>—a good deal about the geography of the west; he has heard of the 'Great Cape' Pelôros, of the Sicilian straits, of the 'Quail Island' of Ortygia, even of the far Ligurians<sup>25</sup> and he speaks of 'Wild-Man and Latinos,' children of Odysseus and Circe, who 'reigned over all the famed Tyrrhenians, very far off, in the midst of the holy isles.'<sup>26</sup>

The double mention of Eretria shows that the two great Euboean ports were still, as they had long remained, friendly to one another.<sup>27</sup> Their enmity only began later, when sites for colonisation were filling up and, there being little more left to win, the division of land and markets already held became the burning question. But it must be noted that *joint colonisation, unless we have details of the circumstances, is not necessarily evidence of friendly relations between the colonising cities.* One or other party of colonists may be exiles from their native state, like the Messenians at Rhegium above-mentioned; or a place said to have been colonised by two cities may have been forcibly captured by one from the other. Unless details are given, therefore, we must look for other evidence before deciding whether such double (or triple) colonisation was or was not the result of friendly relations between the mother-cities.

In the case under discussion, friendly co-operation between Chalcis and Eretria is rendered probable by the fact that both cities also colonised together in the Thraceward region afterwards called Chalcidice. The survival of the Eretrian colony<sup>28</sup> of Mende in the middle of a predominantly Chalcidian region makes it probable that hostility did not develop until the colony was too firmly rooted to be easily destroyed; and the absence of any traditional foundation date either for Mende or for Torone and the other Chalcidian<sup>29</sup> cities suggests that they too are very old.

Colonies of Samos, earlier than the refugee-settlements of the Persian War

<sup>14</sup> Dion. Hal. vii. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Str. v. 247.

<sup>16</sup> The. vi. 4; Str. vi. 268; Sc. I. 286.

<sup>17</sup> See Myres in C. A. H. iii. p. 681.

<sup>22</sup> Hall, *Ancient History*, p. 534.

<sup>23</sup> *Works and Days*, l. 649.

<sup>24</sup> *ib.* l. 634.

<sup>25</sup> D. S. iv. 85; Str. i. 23, vii. 300.

<sup>26</sup> *Theogony*, ll. 1013-15.

<sup>27</sup> Str. x. 448.

<sup>28</sup> The. iv. 123.

<sup>29</sup> Str. vii. 330.

period, are not numerous; we hear only of Amorgos<sup>30</sup> in the South Aegean, Celenderis<sup>31</sup> and Nagidus<sup>31</sup> on the Pamphylian coast—the same coast on which Aeolic Cyme had planted, at the pirates' nest of Side, 'the earliest of all Greek colonies in a foreign land'<sup>32</sup>—and the curious inland settlement of a party of Samians 'all of the tribe Aeschrione,' in their Isle of the Blest, an oasis seven days' journey west of Egypt on the way to the sacred place of Zeus-Ammon<sup>33</sup>. They had come thither presumably through the friendly port of Cyrene. Of the Samian occupation of Perinthos<sup>34</sup> in the Propontis, at the very end of the seventh century,<sup>35</sup> we shall have more to say hereafter.

Two other important states which probably came within the range of Samian political combinations towards the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century are Phocaea and Athens. Of Athens<sup>36</sup> we know that she had common interests with Samos in the north-east<sup>37</sup> round about 600 B.C., and common enemies in Aegina<sup>38</sup> and Megara.<sup>39</sup> On Phocaea there is little evidence; but at the time of her colonisation of Marseilles she evidently was free of the Straits of Rhegium-Zancle, while (much later) we find her regarded with jealousy by the merchants of Chios, the ally of Miletus.<sup>40</sup> However, since this jealousy was not so strong as to make business relations impossible it must not be pressed too hard. Phocaea like Athens evidently developed late; her rise coincides in point of time with the decay of the early power of the neighbouring Cyme, in the latter half of the seventh century. (This is why Phocaea's greatest colonies had perforce to be far afield; all nearer sites were occupied.) The fact seems to be that she usually, though not quite always, succeeded in steering clear of political complications.

For the sake of completeness we may add that Troezen and Hermione, in the late sixth century, are found befriending the Samian nobles—i.e. members of what had till lately been the government of Samos—exiled by Polycrates.<sup>43</sup> Fear of Argos was probably the guiding principle of foreign policy in these two little towns of the Argolic Akte; consequently they are allies of Sparta and of Sparta's friends. Further, that Paros and Erythrae were joint founders of Parium on the Hellespont<sup>44</sup>—Paros receiving the honour of naming the colony, while Erythrae<sup>45</sup> was the official mother-city<sup>46</sup>; that Paros, in addition to her

<sup>30</sup> Sudas, s.v. Simonides.

<sup>31</sup> Mela, i. 13.

<sup>32</sup> Arrian, *Anab. Alex.* i. 26; Scylax, 101.

<sup>33</sup> H. iii. 26.

<sup>34</sup> Plut. *Greek Questions*, lvii.

<sup>35</sup> Syncellus, p. 360.

<sup>36</sup> The view that Athens was friendly to Miletus-Eretria (See, e.g., Hall, *Ancient History*, p. 531), seems to be based solely on their co-operation in the Ioman revolt (H. v. 98–101). This is outweighed by the evidence cited above: the alliance of the year 498 was unstable and short-lived (cf. small size and early recall of the Athenian fleet). It was merely the result of Miletus' sudden volte-face, from alliance with Persia to the patriotic party, which had brought her into line even with Samos:—though the hollow-

ness of that reconciliation was shown at Lade.

<sup>37</sup> H. v. 95; Str. xiii. 599–600; cf. Plut. *loc. cit.* above.

<sup>38</sup> H. v. 83; cf. iii. 59.

<sup>39</sup> Plut. *Solon.* 8, 9; cf. *loc. cit.* above; H. i. 59.

<sup>40</sup> H. i. 165.

<sup>43</sup> H. iii. 59.

<sup>44</sup> Str. xiii. 588.

<sup>45</sup> Paus. ix. 27, 1.

<sup>46</sup> The Milesian element at Parium, mentioned by Strabo (*loc. cit.*), may be presumed (without further evidence, however) to be the result of Milesian seizure of an unfriendly port on the way to her Pontic possessions.

For this division of the honours between



great success at Thasos<sup>47</sup> and her posts, hard-won from the Edonian native,<sup>48</sup> on the mainland opposite, had a factory (as had Colophon<sup>49</sup>) in the Sithonian peninsula, the central 'prong' of Chalcidice, at Galepsus<sup>50</sup>; and that a joint expedition from Chalcis and Andros was responsible for the foundation of Sane<sup>51</sup> and Acanthus.<sup>52</sup> Andros had other settlements of her own also at Argilus<sup>53</sup> and Stageira.<sup>54</sup> Plutarch's notice about Acanthus is of particular interest because he tells us that a dispute which arose as to priority of occupation of this place (it was already in existence as a native village) was referred to the arbitration of Samos, Paros, and Erythrae. Chalcis, Samos, Erythrae, Andros, Paros.—we could hardly have better evidence of close diplomatic relations between these five cities. This affair is dated by the chronologists to the middle years of the seventh century.

The decision of the Board of Arbitration, which awarded the disputed territory to Andros by a majority vote, was, it may be noted, the immediate cause of a diplomatic rupture between the successful litigant and Paros, whose delegation had formed the minority; but in view of the fact that the two islands made their main colonising efforts in adjacent regions, one may reasonably hazard the guess that imperial ambitions not unconnected with the Thracian gold-mines had something to do with the split. The form of 'reprisal' adopted by the Andrians was to refuse henceforth to recognise as valid any marriages between an Andrian and a Parian citizen—a detail whose chief interest for us lies in the fact implied, that hitherto the two states had granted each other's citizens reciprocal rights in so important a matter.

This, with the uncertain addition of the few cities that claimed to be colonies of Sparta—Taras,<sup>58</sup> Melos,<sup>59</sup> Lyctus<sup>60</sup> in western Crete, and, as we have noticed, Thera<sup>61</sup>—completes the catalogue of the Allies of Samos and Chalcis in the seventh century.<sup>62</sup> We have, then, in the years following the rupture with Eretria, the following list:

In Asia, *Samos* and *Erythrae*, with *Cyme*, whose greatest days had been in the previous century, and *Phocaea*, whose greatest age was yet to come: with their colonies, *Side*, *Nagidus* and *Celenderis*, in the Levant, and various settlements in the north-east, with whose stormy history we shall presently have to deal somewhat more fully.

two colonising states compare Cumae in Italy, where Chalcis is the official metropolis while Cyme gives the name (Strabo, *l.c.*); Naxos in Sicily (always officially styled Chalcidian); and Lindioi (S. B., *l.c.*), commonly called Gela, where the name is given by the Rhodian Lindians among the colonists, while Thucydides' mention of noticeably 'Dorian' customs suggests that the Cretan colonists (The. vi. 4), were the official founders.

<sup>47</sup> Archilochus, *ap.* Str. viii. 370; Plut. *Evile* (*Mor.* p. 604); Aristophanes, *Peace* 1298, and *Σ ad loc.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ib.*; cf. H. vii. 108.

<sup>49</sup> The. v. 2 (MSS. reading).

<sup>50</sup> The. v. 6.

<sup>51</sup> The. iv. 107; D. S. xii. 68.

<sup>52</sup> Plut. *Greek Questions*, xxx.

<sup>53</sup> The. iv. 103.

<sup>54</sup> *Ib.* 88.

<sup>58</sup> Str. vi. 271.

<sup>59</sup> The. v. 84.

<sup>60</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 1272 A.

<sup>61</sup> H. iv. 147.

<sup>62</sup> The Parian colony at the Illyrian Paros—better known by the name which occurs on its coins, Pharos—is a fourth-century foundation (D. S. xv. 13); like the Syracusan Ancon, Ancona, in the same region (Str. v. 241).

Of the Islands, *Paros*, *Andros*, *Melos* and *Thera*, with *Amorgos* and (perhaps) *Naxos*; in Euboea, *Chalcis*; and on the north-Aegean coast more than a score of Parian, Andrian and Chalcidic colonies, some of them, like *Thasos*,<sup>63</sup> of great importance. In Crete, *Lyctus*.

In Greece proper, the all-important *Corinth*, whose coins—the famous πῶλοι of Pollux (ix. 6. 76) with their Pegasus type—occur in Sicily, Italy, and throughout north-western Greece, with great frequency, from the earliest age of coinage onwards, and were imitated as regards their standard, or even used as coiners' blanks by the Greeks of Italy. (See Head, *Historia Nummorum*, pp. 334-5.) Secondly, the strong non-maritime states of *Thessaly* and *Sparta* (who carries with her certain small states of anti-Argive sympathies, e.g. *Hermione* and *Troezen*), and at the end of the century the rising power of *Athens*.

In Africa, *Cyrene* with her daughter-cities—an important *pied-à-terre* for Samians and Phocaeans westward bound, during the seventy years when the Isthmus route was closed by the Cypselid tyrants of Corinth, with their pro-Milesian tendencies.

Further west, *Corcyra*, for a short time; *Taras*, and in the sixth century probably *Siris*<sup>66</sup> and *Locri*<sup>66</sup>; *Rhegium*, *Zancle*, *Syracuse*, and the rest of *Chalcis'* *Sicilian colonies*; still further afield *Cumae* and its daughter-settlements, and, as the terminus of the long westward voyage, *Massalia* (founded at the very end of the century<sup>67</sup>) and the other *Phocaeen factories in Liguria and Spain*.

Useful confirmatory evidence is supplied by archaeology; the Laconian (ex-'Cyrenaic') type of pottery, which is not found, like some of the other early 'makes,' almost ubiquitously throughout the Greek world, is distributed along exactly the routes commanded by the Samian 'combine.'<sup>68</sup> Outside its twin places of manufacture, in Laconia and round Cyrene, this pottery has been found in the greatest plenty, in the west, at Taras and Massalia; in the east, at Samos, at Naucratis—with which both Samos and Phocaea were trading in the sixth century<sup>69</sup>—and at Sardes. To this last centre it had probably penetrated via Phocaea,<sup>70</sup> of all the 'great powers' of the Aegean the best situated for trade with the Upper Hermus valley through Smyrna. Chalcidian and Corinthian colonies, on the contrary, naturally prefer their own wares.

## 2. The Foreign Policy of Naxos and Paros

It is commonly alleged<sup>71</sup> that Paros was a member of the Milesian group of states; and in the later sixth century no doubt this was so—Herodotus' famous story<sup>72</sup> of the 'Parian arbitration' in Milesian civil broils makes it clear. In the seventh century, on the contrary, Plutarch's explicit and circumstantial

<sup>63</sup> For Erythraean interest in this region, cf. the fact that Thasos struck coins on a standard found at Erythrae but not in the mother-city of Paros.

<sup>66</sup> Justin, xx. 2.

<sup>67</sup> Timaeus (*ap. Sc. ll.* 209-14).

<sup>68</sup> See P. N. Ure in *C. A. H.*, iv. p. 112.

<sup>69</sup> H. ii. 178.

<sup>70</sup> For Phocaea as the port of Sardes cf. H. i. 152; Sappho, fr. 99 (Dichl), cf. 98; and for the particularly close connexion between Samian art and that of Cyrene, Myres, *C. A. H.* iii. p. 668.

<sup>71</sup> E.g., by Hall, *Ancient History*, p. 535.

<sup>72</sup> v. 28.

story, cited above, is equally decisive the other way, and is corroborated by the fact that Miletus and her allies made what looks very like a concerted attempt to destroy Parian colonies in the north-east Aegean and the Propontis <sup>73</sup>—a fact which a writer adopting the Milesian theory cannot but find puzzling. <sup>74</sup> It is, however, true that Paros had diplomatic dealings of some sort with Miletus (not necessarily a proof of friendship!) in the lifetime of Archilochus, <sup>75</sup> and that Naxos, then as always the bitter foe of Paros, <sup>76</sup> had been colonising in Sicily along with Chalcis at a still earlier date. If it were not for Plutarch's story, these two facts would be presumptive evidence for friendly relations between Paros and the Milesian group; as things stand, it seems better to suppose that the Sicilian Naxians had their origin in a dissident minority, out of sympathy with the bulk of their countrymen, like the Messenians at Rhegium. Alternatively, it may be that the foreign policy of both islands was thoroughly tortuous (as it certainly was between 550 and 479 B.C.), and that, while they made no attempt to conceal their enmity towards one another, in other respects they adopted an equivocal attitude between the two powerful 'trade-leagues.' So, in the later period, both states vacillated between the Persian and the patriotic party. We find friendship between the Parian and the Milesian 'bourgeois' governments <sup>76</sup>; friendship between Naxian oligarchs and a Milesian pro-Persian tyrant <sup>77</sup>; then, since the Naxian democracy, largely, no doubt, through fear of a restored oligarchy, adopts a 'patriotic' attitude, <sup>78</sup> Paros goes over to the party of the Medes and the tyrants, and sides with Persia in 490–489; sending a trireme to Marathon <sup>79</sup> and holding out against the Athenian counter-offensive. <sup>80</sup> In 480 both states were undecided. At Naxos, though the island had never yet, so far as is known, sworn allegiance to the King, the government decided to help Persia <sup>81</sup>—they could hardly do otherwise while Persia's Levantine fleets were in the Aegean; but Democritus, the admiral of the squadron fitted out, and evidently a strong Nationalist, succeeded in carrying his command with him over to the Greek side, in time to fight at Salamis. <sup>82</sup> The Parians meanwhile made an unsuccessful attempt to sit on the fence, sending their squadron as far as Cythnus, where it delayed, waiting on events. <sup>83</sup> The result was that, after Salamis, Themistocles, in the course of his counter-offensive among the Islands, descended upon them in overwhelming force and levied a heavy war-contribution. <sup>84</sup> Democritus and his Naxians, who had highly distinguished themselves in the battle, <sup>85</sup> were no doubt the first to draw attention to the contemptible duplicity of which their neighbours had been guilty.

The fact is that, lying as they do in the very centre of the Aegean, at an intersection of trade-routes, and liable as they were to be made a port of call by passing war-fleets from any quarter, the islanders had every reason for not pursuing too aggressive a foreign policy, but remaining on good terms with as

<sup>73</sup> See below, p. 37.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. (*e.g.*) *C.A.H.* iii. 655.

<sup>75</sup> *I. G.* xii. v. 445, quoting Archilochus.

<sup>76</sup> *H.* v. 28.

<sup>77</sup> *Ib.* 30.

<sup>78</sup> *Ib.* 32–4: vi. 96.

<sup>79</sup> *H.* vi. 133–6.

<sup>80</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>81</sup> *H.* viii. 46.

<sup>82</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>83</sup> *H.* viii. 67.

<sup>84</sup> *Ib.* 112.

<sup>85</sup> Simonides fr. 65 (Diehl).

many people as possible; always excepting the rival island. If feeling between the two states remained what it was in the time of Archilochus, they no doubt cared little on which side they fought if a decision became necessary, but preferred that they should not be on the same side.<sup>86</sup>

### 3. *The Milesians and their Allies*

As allies of Miletus in early days we have evidence for Eretria,<sup>88</sup> whom she supported in the Lelantine War, and Chios,<sup>89</sup> whom (at some date before the accession of Alyattes, king of Lydia) she helped against Erythrae. In the sixth century at least we are told that she had exceptionally close business relations with Sybaris,<sup>90</sup> but this Milesian interest in the west is hardly likely to have grown up before the days of the Corinthian tyranny, when Miletus enjoyed the friendship of the lords of the Isthmus.<sup>91</sup> It may, it is true, date from the days when Eretria still had western interests: but according to the traditional dating Eretria lost her western posts almost before Sybaris was colonised.

Chios, however, is Miletus' firmest ally—aiding her when attacked by Alyattes,<sup>92</sup> fighting her battle against Parian intrusions too far east in Thrace,<sup>93</sup> submitting tamely to Persia with her<sup>94</sup>—betraying Pactyas, the Lydian patriot,<sup>95</sup> and churlishly refusing to help the Phocaeans 'die-hards':<sup>96</sup> while fifty years later none made greater efforts than Chios of the states that revolted under Miletus' leadership. On the black day of Lade their allied fleets went down together,<sup>97</sup> expiating their earlier lack of spirit by an heroic sacrifice, offered too late.

Among other Greek maritime states, Milesian hatred of Samos was shared by Aegina<sup>98</sup> and Megara,<sup>99</sup> while Mytilene, like Megara, resisted the incipient expansion of Athens<sup>100</sup> about the end of the seventh century, and later (in the Persian period) unsuccessfully assisted Miletus against Polycrates.<sup>101</sup> It was essential for Miletus with her enormous Black Sea trade and colonial interests to be on good terms with the holders of Byzantium and Chalcedon as well as with the leading state of Lesbos and suzerain<sup>102</sup> of the Tröad. Accordingly, we find Miletus and Megara dividing, without any friction so far as we know, the

<sup>86</sup> An obscure passage of Plutarch (*Brave Deeds of Women*, 17 (= *M.* p. 254) quoting Aristotle (*Frag.* 168 B, Muller)) must here be noticed, which, since we do not know to what period it refers, cannot be fitted into the text: it speaks of a war between Miletus, supported by Erythrae (!) and 'the other Ionians,' and Naxos, which broke out owing to a Naxian's having eloped with a Milesian's wife, and ended on the Naxians' terms. Probably it should be referred to the late sixth century, the period of Naxian sea-power and of Milesian friendship with Paros. Little, however, can be made of a story so 'romantic' in character.

<sup>88</sup> *H.* v. 99.

<sup>89</sup> *H.* i. 18.

<sup>90</sup> *H.* vi. 21.

<sup>91</sup> *H.* i. 20, iii. 48, v. 92.

<sup>92</sup> *H.* i. 18.

<sup>93</sup> Philochorus fr. 128, citing Archilochus.

<sup>94</sup> *H.* i. 141; cf. 169.

<sup>95</sup> *Ib.* 160.

<sup>96</sup> *Ib.* 165.

<sup>97</sup> *H.* vi. 7-20.

<sup>98</sup> *H.* iii. 59.

<sup>99</sup> *Plut. Greek Questions*, lvii.

<sup>100</sup> *H.* v. 95.

<sup>101</sup> *H.* iii. 45.

<sup>102</sup> *Str.* xiii. 599.

vast resources of the Pontus, and at times reinforcing one another's colonies, as at Cyzicus<sup>103</sup> and Callatis,<sup>104</sup> and even, if we may believe a late historian, at Heraclea and Byzantium.<sup>104</sup> Mytilene too, in addition to the numerous cities which she claimed as her colonies in the Hellespont region, had one post at Hermônassa<sup>105</sup> in the Kuban country in the heart of this Milesio-Megarian preserve.

Similarly favoured was Teos (fugitives from which colonised Phanagoria)<sup>106</sup> at the time of the first coming of the Persians—but archaeology shows that there was a city there as early as the seventh century.<sup>107</sup> Scymnus (*loc. cit.*) says that there were Teians also at Hermônassa, and Elaeus, near Cape Helles, was probably Teian too.<sup>108</sup> Lastly, Miletus and Clazomenae are mentioned as joint founders of Cardia,<sup>109</sup> near the Bulair isthmus; there were Clazomenian settlements on the sea of Azoff<sup>110</sup>; and pottery decorated in the same style as the Clazomenian coffins is so common on some Pontic sites as to have led Professor Rostovtzeff to speak<sup>111</sup> confidently of 'seventh-century Clazomenian' colonists.

Among the land-powers of Greece proper, Megara was friendly to the great power, Argos<sup>112</sup>—neighbour and enemy of Megara's neighbour and enemy, Corinth<sup>112</sup>—and to the still less nautically-minded Boeotians, in company with some of whom she planted her extremely successful colony of Heraclea on the Bithynian coast, in the sixth century.<sup>113</sup> Argos also figures at a later period as an ally of Aegina against Corinth and Athens<sup>114</sup> as well as, in innumerable contests, the deadly foe of Sparta and upholder of Messenian, Arcadian and Pisatan power against her<sup>115</sup>; and we find Boeotia also, hard pressed by Athens, appealing to Aegina for help.<sup>116</sup> But these states, though of first-rate importance on land, can perhaps hardly be ranked as allies of Miletus for our present purpose.<sup>117</sup>

Last but by no means least comes the central fact of Milesian history; the city's exceptionally favourable relations with the great civilised powers of the non-Hellenic world—with Egypt from the time of the earliest Saïte Pharaohs<sup>119</sup>; with Lydia at least from the time of Alyattes<sup>120</sup> and—between wars—even from that of Gyges<sup>121</sup>; and in the sixth century with Etruria via Sybaris.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Str. xiii. 589; cf. Eusebius, ad ann. xvi. 3.

675.

<sup>104</sup> Velleius, ii. 15; cf. Sc. II. 761-4.

<sup>105</sup> Eustathius, ad Dionys-Perieget. 549, quoting Arrian.

<sup>106</sup> Arrian, *ib.*; cf. Sc. II. 886-7.

<sup>107</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 65.

<sup>108</sup> Sc. I. 707 (reading τηκεν).

<sup>109</sup> Sc. II. 699-701.

<sup>110</sup> Str. xi. 494; cf. Ure, in *C. A. H.* iv. p. 97.

<sup>111</sup> *loc. cit.*; but cf. Ure, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>112</sup> Paus. vi. 19. 9.—and perhaps also H. vi. 19 and 77 (the episode of the 'double oracle' to the Argives and Milesians).

<sup>113</sup> Sc. II. 972-5; Paus. v. 26. 6; Justin,

<sup>114</sup> H. vi. 89.

<sup>115</sup> Str. viii. 362.

<sup>116</sup> H. v. 80; cf. *sqq.*

<sup>117</sup> See, however, Bury, *Gk. Hist.*, p. 131, for Eretrian contact (friendly or hostile?) with Boeotia in the seventh century (and Wilamowitz, in *Hermes*, xx. 91-115, on the Boeoto-Eretrian dialect of Oropus). Is the Thessalian invasion of Boeotia, which met with disaster at Ceressus (Paus. ix. 13. 1), an event of the Lelantine War?

<sup>119</sup> H. ii. 152; cf. Str. xvii. 801.

<sup>120</sup> H. i. 23.

<sup>121</sup> See Str. xiii. 590.

<sup>122</sup> Timaeus, frag. 60, *ap. Ath.* xii. p. 519.

The literary evidence thus suggests a group originally comprising, in Ionia, *Miletus*, *Chios*, *Teos*, *Clazomenae*; further north, *Mytilene* with those (apparently fairly numerous) *Lesbian and other Aeolic cities* which followed her lead<sup>123</sup>; and the extremely important *Pontic and Propontic colonies* of Miletus and her allies. In the south Aegean, *Leros*<sup>124</sup> and *Icaria*<sup>124</sup> are Milesian outposts, while *Astypalaea* is friendly—a Megarian colony.<sup>125</sup>

To these we must add, in Greece proper, the two great enemies of Samos—*Megara* and *Aegina* with their two powerful non-maritime allies, *Argos* and, at least from the sixth century, the *Boeotian League*—the great rivals, on the mainland, of Sparta and the Thessalians respectively; and last but not least, *Eretria*.

It is noteworthy that of the seven maritime cities named (if we except Eretria, which seems to lose all importance for nearly two centuries following the Lelantine War)—*Miletus*, *Chios*, *Teos*, *Clazomenae*, *Mytilene*, *Megara*, *Aegina*—all except *Aegina*, never a colonising city, had settlements on or near the Black Sea and its approaches: while even *Aegina* at least had important Pontic trade-connexions.<sup>126</sup> South-eastward too, in the sixth century, every city of the seven except *Megara*, which had now fallen on evil days, is found trading through *Naucratis* with *Egypt*—*Mytilene* at least as early as 600 B.C.<sup>127</sup>

#### 4. *The Rapprochement between Miletus and Corinth under the Tyrants*

Round about the end of the seventh century comes a great change in Milesian foreign relations; a change brought about by the action of two strong despots—*Thrasybulus* of Miletus and *Periander* of Corinth—who, seeing the great benefits certain to accrue to both cities by the cessation of the very foolish and unnecessary enmity between them, became close allies. Such a volte-face in foreign policy frequently followed the establishment of a tyrant in a Greek state, and not unnaturally; for whereas the old aristocratic republic had been liable to be swayed by sentimental considerations—old guest-friendships with the nobles of other states, and the curious and widespread human feeling that national honour demands the vigorous prosecution of ancestral border-feuds—the tyrant cared for none of these things. As the champion of the submerged nine-tenths against the wealthy and exclusive Oligoi, his bias was, other things being equal, in favour of a reversal of policy; as an able soldier (which he had need to be) he was an opportunist; and as a successful man in an increasingly commercial age he was concerned, not with national honour, but with national prosperity as a means to his own personal ends. In the first half of the seventh century, the Milesian republic had allowed its enmity with Samos to draw it into alliance with Eretria, Aegina, and Megara and so into hostility with the all-important Corinth; thereby closing against itself the route to the markets of Italy, Sicily and the newly discovered farther west.

<sup>123</sup> Cf., e.g., Aelian, *V. H.* vii. 15; Str. xiii. p. 599; Sc. 709–10.

<sup>124</sup> Str. xiv. 635.

<sup>125</sup> Sc. i. 551.

<sup>126</sup> H. vii. 147; cf. also Hill, *Historic Greek Coins*, p. 7 (distribution of Aeginetan

coins), and Ure, in *C. A. H.* iv. 105 ('Proto-Corinthian' pottery in the Black Sea—brought thither via Megara or Aegina?).

<sup>127</sup> Sappho, *ap.* H. ii. 135 and Ath. xiii. 596.

The Bacchiads of Corinth had, by the reverse process, closed against themselves the north-east passage of the Hellespont, and rendered the south-eastern routes to the Levant unsafe. Under the influence of the astute Thrasybulus and his pupil in statecraft,<sup>128</sup> Periander, all changes as if by magic—especially when, by Periander's mediation, a stop had been put to the long waste of the Milesian-Lyidian war,<sup>129</sup> and Corcyra had been brought to heel by the Corinthian.<sup>130</sup> The shipping of both cities was now free of a route extending from Egypt—Periander's nephew and successor was named Psammetichus,<sup>131</sup> no doubt after the Saïte Psamatik—via Miletus to the Isthmus, and on, by the Corinthian possessions<sup>132</sup> on the Acarnanian coast, to Corcyra and Italy, where the merchants of Sybaris brought for exchange the goods of Etruria,<sup>133</sup> and Carthage herself imported Corinthian jars<sup>134</sup> full of oil or wine. Periander had a post at Potidaea too, tapping the wealth of Thrace: while via Miletus and the now friendly Sardes the immemorially old land route, lengthwise through Asia Minor to Carchemish and the Euphrates and the half-fabulous Babylon, might be attained.

It is to this time, probably, that we should attribute the hoards of archaic coins found in Egypt, at Sakha, Myt Rahineh, and an unspecified site in the Delta (Gardner, *History of Ancient Coinage*, pp. 60–1), in which, in addition to coins of the usual eastward trading towns of Greece, there occur those of Corinth and of several colonies, such as the mining settlement of Lete, on the coast of Thrace.

A protest must be registered against the view not infrequently expressed or implied that Corinth under Periander 'joined the Milesian League.' It seems rather to be true to say that both our two despots abandoned their cities' old allies, preferring the friendship of the barbarian princes and of one another; it is at least the somewhat astonishing fact that we hear of not the slightest attempt made by Thrasybulus to check the Athenian and Samian threat to the Hellespont which developed in his reign.<sup>135</sup> He left his city's erstwhile allies of Lesbos and Megara to fight and lose unaided, so far as we know, by a movement of his finger; while we have definite evidence that his friend Periander observed, throughout, an attitude of such exemplary neutrality that Athens and Lesbos could call him in to arbitrate between them.<sup>136</sup>

It looks very much as though Thrasybulus cared less for the Pontic trade than might have been expected, since he so lightly allowed the trade-ring of Milesians and their allies to be broken; and after all it is not likely that the colonies—most of them, at least, presumably still republican and conservative—viewed with favour his revolution in the mother-city. To conciliate the relatives, in the Pontus, of the nobles whom he was persecuting at Miletus, would have taxed even his powers of diplomacy; and the cities were too distant

<sup>128</sup> H. v. 92.

<sup>129</sup> H. i. 23.

<sup>130</sup> N. D. frag. 58; cf. H. iii. 48, 52, 53.

<sup>131</sup> Ar. *Politics*, 1315 B.

<sup>132</sup> Str. vii. 325, x. 452; Sc. II. 453–5.

<sup>133</sup> Ath. xii. 519 = Timaios fr. 60.

<sup>134</sup> See Note 8 in Carpenter, *Greeks in Spain* (p. 142).

<sup>135</sup> See Burn in *J. H. S.* xlvii. pp. 165 ff.

<sup>136</sup> Ar. *Rhetoric*, I. 15; Diogenes Laertius, i. 94 (*Life of Periander*). Cf. Str. xiii. 600.

and too powerful to be coerced as Periander coerced Coreyra.<sup>137</sup> With the Lydian and Egyptian markets open to her, Miletus was independent of Pontic corn; nor was there any other product of the north-lands which could not be provided by the east, west or south. The planting of new Milesian colonies in the Black Sea continues, it is true, clean through the period of the tyranny; but it was probably largely managed by the existing foundations—nor were emigrants from Miletus itself likely to be drawn from among those best satisfied with the tyrants' home government.

On the fall of the tyranny (as at Corinth) some time in the early sixth century, Miletus appears to have picked up her old connexions once again, as we see at sixth-century Naucratis; but at the same time we have no evidence that she renewed old enmities; a cynic might suggest that the two parties, the Ploutis and Cheiromacha (Capital and Labour?), which now divided the state, were too busy fighting one another to have time for outside interests.<sup>138</sup> Be that as it may, Miletus seems to have made a virtue of necessity and divided the Pontic and the Egyptian trade amicably, since divide it she must, with Samos<sup>139</sup> and Phocaea.<sup>140</sup> In compensation she herself continued to share, via Sybaris, in that Western market from which the hostility of the allies of Samos must in earlier times have excluded her. Corinthian pottery now finds its way in some quantity to Egypt<sup>141</sup> and the Black Sea ports<sup>142</sup> in addition to the old Ionian varieties; relations with Paros<sup>143</sup> are close and friendly, though Naxos<sup>143</sup> now (as a result) appears to become hostile; even Erythrae,<sup>143</sup> of old Miletus' bitter foe, is now like Paros an ally; and (Samos also being in an internally disturbed condition<sup>144</sup>) we hear of no more Samian wars until the rise of Polycrates.<sup>145</sup> In a sentence, the old trade-leagues of the seventh century have almost entirely ceased to exist.

By way of archaeological commentary on all this, one may cite the distribution of the 'Clazomenian' type of pottery—which is the more instructive because, like 'Cyrenaic' and unlike Corinthian and the later Attic, it does not occur ubiquitously. This ware occurs<sup>146</sup> in *Ionía* and along all the three trade-routes commanded by the Milesian 'combine'—in *Aeolis and the Pontus*; in *Rhodes and Egypt*; and in *Attica and Italy*. Its occurrence in Athens need not surprise us; before the time of Solon, Athens had not yet become a danger to her eastward-trading neighbours and their allies; while under Peisistratus, once Lesbos had given up the attempt to keep Athenians out of the Propontis, Athens enjoyed profound peace on all sides, being even simultaneously friendly with Argos<sup>149</sup> and Sparta,<sup>150</sup> and with the Thessalians<sup>150</sup> and Eretria.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Most of the tyrants were too prudent and too insecure at home to embark on any evenly-matched war: even Periander, a great soldier when necessary (Ar. *Politics*, 1315 B.), preferred peace. Hence the essentially military writer Thucydides complains (i. 16), that they "did nothing noteworthy."

<sup>138</sup> H. v. 28-29; cf. Ath. xii. 524, quoting Heracleides, and Plut. *Greek Questions*, xxxii.

<sup>139</sup> Plut. *op. cit.* lvii.

<sup>140</sup> Sc. II. 917-920.

<sup>141</sup> Ure, *C. A. H.* iv. 108.

<sup>142</sup> *Ib.* 105.

<sup>143</sup> See above, pp. 11-12.

<sup>144</sup> Plut., *loc. cit.*

<sup>145</sup> H. iii. 45.

<sup>146</sup> Ure, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

<sup>149</sup> *Constitution of Athens*, ch. 15.

<sup>150</sup> H. v. 63.



### 5. *Maritime Connexions of the South Dorians*

Standing apart from the feuds of the Samian and Milesian trade-leagues, and showing traces of friendly contacts with both, a third not less important group of states can be distinguished; a group which for lack of a better name one might denominate the Triopian trade-league, from the Asiatic Dorian amphictyony to which its most prominent member-states belonged. Alternatively, naming the Milesian and Samian groups Eastern and Western respectively, from the seas in which they colonised most successfully, one might call this third party the Southern.

The three Rhodian cities, headed by Lindus, and Cnidus on its neighbouring peninsula, together form the centre of the Southern group, and bulk most largely in the available evidence.

Before proceeding to use this evidence, however, it will be necessary to clear up, even at some length, some possible misconceptions.

Situated as it is between the Aegean and the Levant, and forming a stepping stone both between the shores and islands of these two seas and between Crete and Asia Minor, Rhodes has inevitably had in all times a troublous and eventful history and known many conquerors and many changes. Hence, in Hellenic times, the great wealth of her mythology—a serious embarrassment to the would-be student of her historic foreign relations. In relation to our present subject, we have numerous traditions of early Rhodian penetration of the Levant, of a connexion between Rhodes and Argos, and of Argive colonisation in Eastern waters which, in view of this connexion, one presumes to have passed through Rhodes. But a difficulty immediately arises as to chronology; are we to ascribe such-and-such a reputedly Argive or Argeio-Rhodian settlement to Hellenic colonisation after 750 B.C., or to the 'migration period' which closed the Mycenaean Age before 1000 B.C.? Some settlements can be ascribed with tolerable certainty to one of these two periods of eastward movement, some to the other; but in yet other cases no such certainty is attainable.

It appears best to state, with the above warning, all the principal relevant traditions.

First of all, then, come a few which certainly refer to that Aegean movement into the Levant which, about 1200 B.C., colonised Philistia and assailed Egypt in the Great Sea-Raid. Rhodes itself has no less than four traditions of Greek immigration, after the days of those Telchînes and Children of the Sun who seem to represent Minoan craftsmen and kings in local memory. The Homeric 'catalogue'<sup>151</sup> tells us how Tlepolemus the Heracleid emigrated to Rhodes, having slain his kinsman, Licymnius, brother of Alcmene; whence he led nine ships to Troy and was killed there by the Lycian king Sarpedon.

A 'tomb of Licymnius' was shown at Argos in latter days; but Strabo<sup>152</sup> points out that Heracles and his family are best localised at Thebes; and Tlepolemus on his mother's side was of northern blood—son of the Thessalian Astydameia or, in the Homeric passage, the Thesprotian Astyocheia.

The same complex of traditions appears in the genealogy of Phorbas,<sup>153</sup>

<sup>151</sup> H. ii. 653-70; cf. v. 647.

<sup>153</sup> D. S. v. 58; Dieuchidas, fr. 7.

<sup>152</sup> xiv., 653.

another mainland hero who came to Rhodes and who delivered the island by killing a dragon—the story which reappears in the Middle Ages attached to Deodato de Gozon. Phorbas is called either a Lapith, or a son of Triopas by a daughter of Myrmidon; which gives us the same combination of Thessalian and Argolic antecedents; for Triopas, though he is obviously merely the eponym of the Triopian Cape and of the amphictyony of the Asiatic Dorians which met there, was inserted by professional mythologists among the ancestors of the kings of Argos. One may compare the parentage of Pheidippus and Antiphus, 'sons of the lord Thessalus, the Heracleid,' who led the contingent from the neighbouring islands—Nisyros, Cos, Cassos and Carpathos—to the Trojan War.<sup>154</sup> The whole group of stories suggests that in this case at least the theory is sound which supposes legends originally belonging to the 'Pelasgian' Argos 'of the horse-pastures' in Thessaly to have been transferred later to the more famous Peloponnesian town. So too the Dorians in Crete were said by Andron<sup>155</sup> to have come direct from Thessaly by sea.

In this context one need only mention the legends of Haemon the Theban, who having killed a kinsman when hunting came and 'dwelt among the Argives' of Rhodes,<sup>156</sup> and of Leucippus of Lesbos, who settled peaceably among the existing inhabitants of the island with a large colony of many peoples, 'chiefly Ionic'<sup>157</sup>; or of the three prophets. Amphilochus<sup>158</sup> son of Amphiaraus of Argos, Mopsus<sup>159</sup> son of Teiresias of Thebes, and Calchas,<sup>160</sup> Agamemnon's prophet, who were claimed as the founders of various Pamphylian and Cilician cities. Mopsus had even taken part in the invasion of Palestine.<sup>161</sup>

In view of all this one must evidently handle with the utmost care the stories of Rhodian, Argive and Lacedaemonian 'colonies' in the Levant. Such places are Selge in Pisidia ('colonised by Calchas and afterwards by Lacedaemonians'<sup>162</sup>), Aspendus in Lycia (Argive)<sup>163</sup> and Soli in Cilicia, the two diverse accounts of which ('Argeo-Lindian'<sup>164</sup> and 'Achaian'<sup>165</sup>) obviously suggest that the settlement dates from the Bronze Age, before the Argolid was Dorian. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the Greeks of Pamphylia, like their neighbours in Cyprus, used the 'pre-conquest' dialect found also, in historic times, only in Arcadia.<sup>166</sup>

However, we have some records of Rhodian activity in this region which we can with safety ascribe to historic times. Phaselis, planted traditionally about 691 B.C., is a genuine seventh-century colony of Lindus<sup>167</sup>; though whether the 'Argive' colonists whom Aristaenetus<sup>168</sup> mentions were con-

<sup>154</sup> *Il.* ii. 676–80.

<sup>155</sup> *Ap.* Str. x. 475.

<sup>156</sup> Menecrates of Nysa, *Frag.* 1.

<sup>157</sup> *D. S.* v. 81.

<sup>158</sup> Arrian, *Arab.* ii. 5; Str. xiv. 675; *H.* vii. 91.

<sup>159</sup> Str. xiv. 675; Pliny, v. 26.

<sup>160</sup> Str. xii. 520.

<sup>161</sup> *Ath.* viii. 346; cf. *N.D.* *Frag.* 24.

<sup>162</sup> Str. xii. 520.

<sup>163</sup> Str. xiv. 667.

<sup>164</sup> Mela, i. 13.

<sup>165</sup> Str. xiv. 667.

<sup>166</sup> Meillet, 'Place du Pamphylien dans les Dialectes Grecques,' in *Rev. des Études Grecques*, xxi. (1908).

<sup>167</sup> *Ath.* vii. 297; cf. *Thc.* vi. 4: Lindus Temple-Chronicle, Entry 24.

<sup>168</sup> *F. H. G.* iv. p. 319.

temporary or of earlier 'heroic age' origin we cannot say. Rhodian reinforcement at this time of the old sea-raider settlements in this region is not ruled out by what we have seen of their earlier foundation, and there is no lack of archaeological evidence to prove historic Rhodian interest in this region. In Cyprus, for instance, the Dark Age 'is succeeded by a phase of which the characteristic novelties are imitations of the geometric pottery of Rhodes and Crete and the resumption of intercourse with Egypt;' <sup>169</sup> that is to say, at the very time at which Rhodes herself was, like other Greek districts, developing an orientalising style based perhaps on imitation of embroidery, she was also finding a market for her native ware in Cyprus. And it must have been now that a Greek alphabet was introduced into the mainland coast-settlements, <sup>170</sup> to the exclusion of the curious quasi-Minoan syllabary of Cyprus. Nor are we without evidence from historic times for Argive interest in the south-east; an inscription shows her keeping up Cretan connexions in the middle of the fifth century. <sup>171</sup> The obscure foundation legends, over which we have been compelled to spend so much time, were no doubt furbished up if not even invented in support of the growth of friendly feeling between Argos, Rhodes, and the Levantine cities; a feeling of which we have more tangible evidence in an entry, as late as the fourth century, in the Temple-Chronicle of Lindus <sup>172</sup>—a dedication by the men of Solous to Athene of Lindus of spoil captured in a punitive expedition against the Isaurian mountaineers.

Megarians too—allied with Argos against Corinth at so early a date <sup>173</sup>—were looking in this direction as well as, with Miletus, northward; they colonised Astypalaea, <sup>174</sup> a useful stepping-stone on the Levantine route, and one which must not be allowed to fall like Amorgos <sup>175</sup> into the hands of hostile and piratical Samos; while the fact that they called the south-west Aegean the Melian <sup>176</sup>—not like the Athenians the Myrtöan—Sea suggests that Melos was to them an important port of call. But Aegina—again, an ally of Argos against Corinth and her Athenian friends <sup>177</sup>—was the greatest exploiter of this south-eastern route. Her early 'tortoise' coins, an Argive as much as an Aeginetan currency, if Ephorus' story of King Pheidon be true, occur in Crete, Cnidos, Rhodes, Cyprus, and all along the Pamphylian and Cilician coast-line, as well as plentifully in other Aegean islands <sup>178</sup>; it was she who had a proverbially close alliance with certain Cretans <sup>179</sup>; she who with their help ejected, in the sixth century, the Samian exiles from their pirates' nest in Cydonia, <sup>180</sup> and who then secured the place with almost the only colony that she ever sent out <sup>181</sup>; she, finally, who, alone among towns of European Greece, shared the treaty port of Naucratis with its Asiatic Greek tenants. <sup>182</sup> Among these latter, be it noted, the Triopian towns are conspicuous: Rhodes (*i.e.* the three cities, acting, as usual, together) Cnidos, Phaselis and Halicarnassus.

<sup>169</sup> Myres, in *J. H. S.* xxvi.

<sup>170</sup> Myres, *C. A. H.* iii. p. 648.

<sup>171</sup> Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, in No. 56.

<sup>172</sup> Entry 33.

<sup>173</sup> Paus. vi. 19. 9.

<sup>174</sup> Scymn, l. 551.

<sup>175</sup> Suidas, *s.v.* Σιπρονίδης.

<sup>176</sup> Theognis, l. 672.

<sup>177</sup> H. vi. 89.

<sup>178</sup> Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 5.

<sup>179</sup> Suidas: Κρής πρὸς Αἰγινητῶν.

<sup>180</sup> H. iii. 59.

<sup>181</sup> Str. viii. 376; H. *loc. cit.*

<sup>182</sup> H. ii. 178.

Westward also the South Dorians were active, even though Strabo's stories of an Aeginetan colony in Italy<sup>183</sup> and of Rhodian settlements in Liguria<sup>184</sup> and Spain<sup>185</sup> lack confirmation. The two last indeed are perhaps unintelligent guesses based on the fact that two towns in the regions named, which we have no reason to suppose other than Phocaean, were named respectively Rhodanousia and Rhode. But Strabo's allusion to a very early expansion of Rhodian sea-power<sup>186</sup> is circumstantial, and also in agreement with the Eusebian Thalassocracy-List, and his allegation that Rhodes had a colony on the Bay of Naples—'near Parthenope among the Opici'—commands attention by its use of two archaic names. Hellenistic writers would normally speak of 'Cyme' rather than Parthenope, and of Campanians instead of 'Oscans.'

Here, however, again, in the west as in the east, the position is complicated by the impossibility of dating the settlement. Have we here an allusion to a very early historic foundation like Cumae, or to sea-raider activities? We cannot tell: and so it is again with Strabo's alleged Rhodian settlement near Sybaris (elsewhere ascribed to Tlepolemus!<sup>187</sup>) and Cöo-Rhodian settlement at Elpiae (near Canusium), which is sometimes ascribed to Diomedes.<sup>188</sup> Historic connexion between Rhodes and Sybaris is shown, however, in an interesting fashion by an entry in the Temple-Chronicle<sup>189</sup> recording a donation by certain Sybarites to Athene of Lindus, in thanksgiving for deliverance from disaster at sea—presumably off the Rhodian coast. One should perhaps ascribe this magnification of early Rhodian sea-power to Castor<sup>190</sup> of Rhodes, who wrote a 'history of sea-power' in the last century B.C.; Strabo might well be led astray by his authority's local patriotism.

In Sicily, however, we are at last on firm ground. We know as surely as we know anything in ancient history<sup>191</sup> that Cretans and Rhodians founded Lindii on the south coast—better known by the native name of its river, the 'Cold-stream' of Gela; and that hence Acragas, 'fairest of mortal cities,' was founded in the sixth century. Continued communication between the colonies and the mother-city is attested by numerous entries in the Temple-Chronicle—dedications by Antiphemus, the Lindian oikist of Gela,<sup>192</sup> by Phalaris, tyrant of Acragas,<sup>193</sup> by Deinomenes of Gela,<sup>194</sup> father of the famous Syracusan tyrants, and by the Republic of Acragas,<sup>195</sup> for a success over Heracleia Minöa. It is attested, too, on the archaeological side, by the 'Rhodian' pottery in the Syracuse Museum, found at Gela and Acragas and conspicuously absent from Syracuse; while here, as in the south-east, finds of Aeginetan 'tortoises' testify to trade, directly or indirectly, with that city.<sup>196</sup>

Rhodes and Cnidos (citizens of the latter apparently predominating) were the states concerned, about 580 B.C.—almost at the same time as the foundation of Acragas and, one can hardly doubt, synchronised with it—in the ill-fated

<sup>183</sup> viii. 376.

<sup>184</sup> iv. 180.

<sup>185</sup> xiv. 654; cf. Scymn., l. 203.

<sup>186</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>187</sup> *E.g.* Silius Italicus, iii. 364.

<sup>188</sup> Vitruvius, i. 4. 12.

<sup>189</sup> Entry 26.

<sup>190</sup> See Suidas, *s.v.*

<sup>191</sup> The. vi. 4.

<sup>192</sup> Entry 25.

<sup>193</sup> Entry 27.

<sup>194</sup> Entry 28.

<sup>195</sup> Entry 30.

<sup>196</sup> Hill, *loc. cit.*

attempt made by Pentathlus of Cnidos to force his way into the 'barbarian corner' of West Sicily and occupy Lilybaeum<sup>197</sup>; but the settlement made in the Lipari Islands<sup>198</sup> by the remnants of the expedition after their disastrous defeat and the loss of their leader seems to have had little commercial intercourse with its distant mother-cities, though its piratical fighting ships were renowned.<sup>199</sup>

Lastly, before leaving the west, we must note Herodotus' incidental remark<sup>200</sup> that Cnidos was in close alliance with Taras (at the end of the sixth century); while Scymnus<sup>201</sup> tells us that Cnidians had colonised Black Corcyra in the Adriatic. The date of this colony is unknown, but it must (if Herodotus is right in making the Phocaeans first in this field) be later than the Phocaean exploration of the remoter seas of the west,<sup>202</sup> which itself probably falls about the end of the seventh century.

The connecting link, for Rhodian and Cnidian sailors, between their Aegean and Western ports of call, was Cyrene. The fact is at first sight surprising, in view of the close friendship of Cyrene and Samos and the bitter enmity between Samos and some members of the Southern Trade-League. It is, however, well attested; we find Cnidians going out of their way to rescue Cyrenaeans from destruction by a tyrant,<sup>203</sup> and we know that Lindians took part in the colonisation of Cyrene<sup>204</sup>; while the Cretan element there in the sixth century was important enough to form a considerable part of one of the city's three artificial 'tribes.'<sup>205</sup> This is the most striking evidence that we have of the looseness or rather absence of organisation that characterised the 'trade-leagues'; the possibility of friendship between Cyrene and Cnidos, Samos and Cyrene (with the Cretan and Rhodian elements in its population), even while Cretans and their Aeginetan and Megarian allies were at deadly enmity with Samos further north. The Cnidian alliance with Taras forms another overlapping point between the Samian and Triopian confederacies; while the connexion between Rhodes and Sybaris shows similar overlapping between the Triopian group and the Milesian. In this latter context must be mentioned the participation of Rhodians in the Milesian colony of Apollonia in the Pontus<sup>206</sup>; a solitary instance of (perhaps dissident) Rhodian colonisation in the Black Sea.

The system of trade-routes commanded by the Southern confederacy is therefore as follows:

(1) From Egypt, where the Triopian states figure so prominently at *Naucratis*, to *Rhodes*, past Cyprus and the numerous *Rhodian and Argive colonies*, real or reputed, on the *Asia Minor coast*; of these *Phaselis* is the most important. From Rhodes to *Cos*, *Cnidos* and *Halicarnassus* is then a short step. From this centre of the league's strength a route runs (2) north-westward still, via *Astypalaea* and perhaps *Melos* to *Aegina* and *Megara*, or to Nauplia for

<sup>197</sup> D. S. v. 9.

<sup>198</sup> *Ib.*; also Str. vi. 275.

<sup>199</sup> Paus. x. ii. 13.

<sup>200</sup> iii. 138.

<sup>201</sup> l. 428.

<sup>202</sup> H. i. 165.

<sup>203</sup> H. iv. 164.

<sup>204</sup> Temple-Chronicle, Entry 17.

<sup>205</sup> H. iv. 161.

<sup>206</sup> S. B. (according to Bilabel, *Ionische Kolonisation*).

*Argos*; or (3) one might run south-west from the Triopian ports to the friendly coast of *Crete*, and skirting that island join at *Cydonia* the route, southward from the Isthmus, which led to *Cyrene*, hence across the open sea. From *Cyrene* again two possibilities lay open. Either (4) one might run north for *Taras*, and thence seek either the friendly *Sybaris* or the Cnidian Adriatic port at *Black Corcyra*; or, (5) setting a more westerly course, reach the wealthy and powerful colonies, *Gela* and *Acragas*. Other Rhodian settlements are at best 'not proven,' and *Lipara* has no known commercial life in early times: but one may reasonably conjecture, even in the absence of evidence, that Megarian *Selinous* formed a terminus of the western route, and that it was by these communications that the *Sicilian Megara* was enabled to hold up her head, sandwiched as she was between the western colonies of *Chalcis* and *Corinth*.

Sailors from the Triopian cities had therefore a secure passage from friendly port to friendly port from *Naucratis* to *Sicily*, along the whole southern margin of the Greek world. It was, however, between *Aegina* and the east that trade was especially active—as we have seen from the distribution of *Aeginetan* coins. It is therefore not surprising that we find among the Triopians, as at *Miletus*, a strong barbarophile tendency in the years following the coming of *Cyrus*. The cities made little or no defence against *Persia*. *Herodotus* tells an amusing story of the show of resistance of the Cnidians in the first Persian invasion, and in his account of the great Ionian revolt makes no mention of the Dorians at all. *Aeginetan* sailors indeed fought gallantly against *Xerxes*, and even received the prize of valour after *Salamis*, but their Hellenic patriotism ran clean counter to their commercial interest, and it has been suggested that the island's power, during these years of hostility to her best market, declined absolutely, as well as relatively to that of the hated Athenians. And in 468 we hear from *Plutarch's* *Life of Cimon* (c. 16) of a still more significant fact—that the Rhodians of *Phaselis* resisted stubbornly when *Cimon*, at the head of the fleet of the *Delian League*, attempted to 'liberate' them from Persian control. They opened their gates only when their friends of *Chios*, another eastward trading power, persuaded them that the time had come to follow *Athens'* lead, and no longer to keep the peace at any price with the *Phoenician* and the *Persian*, but to force open again the south-eastward seaways with a strong hand.

#### 6. *The Date and Origin of the Lelantine War.*

And now, at long last, we are in a position to sketch the history of the great feud that developed out of the economic rivalries of the various Ionian and Isthmian mercantile powers. There are, doubtless, serious gaps in our knowledge; nevertheless it is possible to trace the main outlines of the conflict with some confidence, and occasionally to furnish details.<sup>207</sup>

At the beginning of the Age of Colonisation, far back in the eighth century, there is no trace of the coming trouble; the wars of the period were, as *Thucy-*

<sup>207</sup> References to sources already cited section.  
will not necessarily be repeated in this

dides tells us, small affairs between next-door neighbours, and, during intervals of peace from border-raiding, neighbour-states frequently colonised together. Thus Chalcis and Eretria join forces in their Italian enterprises, Corinth and Argos in Sicily (if we may trust a late writer's statement that Pollis, an early 'king' of Syracuse, was of Argive blood<sup>208</sup>); while Megara is permitted to colonise in Sicily within a few miles of the sites taken by Chalcis and Corinth. Probably Corinth at this early date favoured Megarian colonial enterprises because she regarded Megara as her subject-ally.<sup>209</sup> It was a quite different matter later, when the Megarians had asserted their independence by war, under their leader the Olympic victor Orsippus.<sup>210</sup>

It looks as if the great outburst of colonisation—the new panacea for all the ills of over-population, and solution of all the problems of food-supply—led to a temporary cessation of border-wars in many parts of Greece. Instead of fighting over that marginal strip of the fertile Lelantine Plain, whose possession might make all the difference between success and failure in solving the annual food problem, Chalcis and Eretria agree together to set up their surplus population on allotments of their own in the north or west. The old motive for fighting had disappeared; and there was as yet no commercial rivalry, for the good reason that there was little or no commerce. Mr. Aubrey Gwynn<sup>211</sup> has well stressed the point that the colonising movement was in origin essentially agrarian and not mercantile. It began, in Thucydides' opinion, with island-grabbing by states that had not sufficient land for their population<sup>212</sup>; it was a product of that same land-hunger that prompted Sparta to annex 'Messenia, good to plough and good to plant.'<sup>213</sup> It was on their broad and fertile territory that Sybaris,<sup>214</sup> Croton, and Metapontum, the crest on whose coins is an ear of corn, built up their power. Taras relied partly on the land, partly on the inexhaustible fisheries<sup>215</sup> of her gulf. Rhegium, we are expressly told, was a famine-relief settlement.<sup>216</sup> In Sicily, again, it was the fatness of the land that roused the covetousness of the shipwrecked Theocles and brought him back next year with a colonising band, to dispossess the peaceable and kindly barbarians who had entertained him and let him go in peace.<sup>217</sup> Leontini was built several miles inland. At Syracuse, the settlers are a homogeneous body, for the most part, drawn from a single Corinthian village<sup>218</sup>—dependents, it would seem probable, of the family of the young noble who led them—and the attraction that drew them from home was an allotment of land.<sup>219</sup> Cyrene—another famine-relief settlement<sup>220</sup> in spite of its later date—was built at the top of the cliffs, not down on the sea-shore.

In the east there is more to be said for the commercial theory, though it is perhaps significant that so admirable a commercial site as Byzantium, like

<sup>208</sup> Ath. i. 31.

<sup>209</sup> Plut., *Greek Questions*, xvii.

<sup>210</sup> Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 1.

<sup>211</sup> In *J. H. S.* xxxviii. pp. 88 ff.

<sup>212</sup> The. i. 15.

<sup>213</sup> Tyrtaeos, fr. 4. 1 3 (Diehl).

<sup>214</sup> Varro, *On Agriculture*, i. 44.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. Ar., *Politics*, iv. p. 1291 b.

<sup>216</sup> Str. vi., 258.

<sup>217</sup> Str. vi. 267.

<sup>218</sup> Str. viii. 380.

<sup>219</sup> Archilochus, Frag. 145 (Bergk). cf. H. vii. 153.

<sup>220</sup> H. iv. 153.

Zancle in the west, lay long uncolonised. Mr. Gwynn adduces the rather slender evidence of the tunny crest on coins of Cyzicus, as evidence that fishing and not trade was the original source of that city's prosperity; but it is, at least, quite certain that Cyzicus was growing famous as an entrepôt of the North-eastern trade when those coins were struck, as witness their distribution; and Sinope at any rate, a very early foundation indeed, seems to have been solely or chiefly an emporium from the first.

However this may be, it is certain that colonisation did not immediately lead to commercial wars; there was an interval of peace which perhaps—as in the rather similar economic circumstances of A.D. 1851—men hoped might turn out permanent.

It was all very idyllic, and too good to last. The growth of trade was an immediate consequence, though hardly, in the first instance, a cause of colonisation. The settlers, living a primitive life on a strange coast, would be in need of the import from their old home of manufactured goods, such as the best quality textiles and metal work. In return, living as they were in a land selected on account of its potential agricultural resources, they could often send home food-stuffs to supplement the still meagre resources of the mother-country. Trade, under such a stimulus, was soon in full swing; the luxury-trade in gold and silver, amber and jewels, and (as contact was made with the East, via Cyprus and the colonies of Samos and Rhodes in Lycia and Pamphylia) the spice-trade, so important to a people whose diet was still monotonous and cooking primitive, developed and became more and more profitable; and by the end of the eighth century the rivalries of the old agrarian period were starting again in an aggravated form. For the tendency now was for the rivals to cross swords at the ends of the earth, like French and British in India and Canada, and not only at home; and, as we have seen, the various pairs of cities, between which the usual neighbourly enmity had existed in time past, tended to become united into the widespread and mutually hostile 'trade-leagues' of the succeeding age.

An *approximate* date for the Lelantine War can be quite securely given, though the data are tantalisingly lacking in exactness. A *terminus post quem* is afforded by the joint Eretrian and Chalcidian western colonies—did we but know their exact date—and a *terminus ante quem* by Hesiod's alleged presence at the funeral games of a king of Chalcis who fought in the war and was killed.<sup>221</sup> Plutarch doubted some details of this story, as given in Hesiod and his scholiast, but admitted the historical reality of the king.<sup>222</sup> It may be doubted whether there is anything untrustworthy about the story except later details which made use of the occasion to stage a 'contest' of Hesiod and Homer.

As further evidence on the date of the war, we have the fact that it is mentioned by Archilochus,<sup>223</sup> in the fragment which describes Euboean warfare with its hand-to-hand fighting and abstention from the use of missiles—almost certainly a reference to that convention of which Strabo,<sup>224</sup> long after, saw the record, in an inscription of the Lelantine War period; an agreement between Chalcis and Eretria 'not to use missile weapons.'

<sup>221</sup> Hesiod, *W*; *D.* l. 656, and *Σ ad loc.*

<sup>223</sup> No. 3 (Diehl.)

<sup>222</sup> *Table-talk*; *M.*, p. 153.

<sup>224</sup> x. 448.



The war belongs, then, evidently to the eighth century or the very beginning of the seventh—when heroic monarchy still survived at Chalcis, as we know that it did at Cyme in Aeolis <sup>225</sup>; and it overlaps the lifetimes both of Archilochus, the contemporary of Gyges <sup>226</sup> and earliest master of the ‘new poetry’ of the Greek Renaissance, and of Hesiod, the peasant of backward Boeotia, who, though his knowledge of the Cymaeian West shows him contemporary with the colonising period, is in spirit the last representative of the Dark Ages. It agrees very well with the traditional date at which the Samians imported their Corinthian shipbuilder to strengthen their navy with four of the new ‘trireme’ ships of war—704 B.C. How long the war continued it is harder to guess; it was probably long drawn out; Archilochus appears to speak of it as still in progress, and he can hardly have been writing before 680 at earliest; and some lines in the Theognidean corpus <sup>227</sup> couple a lament for the fall of Cerinthus, in northern Euboea, and the ravaging of the Lelantine Plain, with a curse upon the Cypselidae. All that this, however, tells us is that border warfare was still going on after Cypselus’ rise to importance at Corinth—perhaps while he was polemarch <sup>228</sup> and before he overthrew the republic (in 655 traditionally). It seems hopeless to attempt to decide whether it refers to the great Lelantine War—in which case it will be a phil-Eretrian lament for Chalcidian successes gained by the aid of Corinthians under Cypselus as polemarch—or to some later Eretrian *revanche*, made possible by the defection from the Samian alliance of revolutionary Corinth under the Tyrannis. For practical purposes these lines are therefore useless.

We may say then, safely, that the war began before the end of the eighth century and continued well into the seventh. More we cannot say.

One other point requiring attention is the alleged early existence of a small ‘Eretrian Empire’ in the western Aegean. Strabo <sup>229</sup> testifies to Eretria once having controlled Andros, Ceos and Tenos, and Wilamowitz <sup>230</sup> has argued from certain Eretrian peculiarities, which appear in the mainly Boeotian dialect of Oropus, to a supposed Eretrian political control of that district. His case hardly appears conclusive, though Bury <sup>231</sup> accepted it. And even as to Strabo’s statement, the date to which we should refer this hegemony is doubtful. The geographer mentions it in the same sentence as some certainly early details; but this fact can hardly be stressed—it is quite in Strabo’s usual manner to mention together various salient points of a city’s history, which may be spread over centuries. It seems much more natural to refer this control of the neighbouring islands to the years (505–490) immediately before the Persian sack of Eretria, since to these years belongs the only Eretrian period of power known to the Eusebian ‘thalassocracy list,’ and since we know that at the later date a similar empire had already been possessed by Naxos, <sup>232</sup> the state to whose power the Euboeans succeeded.

<sup>225</sup> Heracleides, frag. 11 (κυμαίων πολυτεία).

<sup>226</sup> Arch. fr. 32. (Diehl).

<sup>227</sup> 891–894.

<sup>228</sup> N. D. frag. 58.

<sup>229</sup> *loc. cit.*

<sup>230</sup> *Hermes*, xx, pp. 91–115.

<sup>231</sup> *History of Greece*, p. 151.

<sup>232</sup> H. v. 28.

7. *The Defeat of Eretria, and the Successes of Miletus* : 710?–670? B.C.

We may restore the history of the earliest clash between the Greek naval powers as follows :

Until the last decades of the eighth century the formation of the trade-leagues cannot be foreseen, and such 'incidents' as do occur happen between Euboean and Dorian, not between the two parties later formed. The attempt of Chalcidians and Megarians to join forces at Leontini was a failure<sup>233</sup>; though the fact that it could be made shows that there was no pre-existing unfriendly feeling; and at Corcyra there seems to have been an actual capture of an Eretrian colony by Corinthians.<sup>234</sup> Some of the original colonists were banished, and sailing home to Euboea were not unnaturally refused permission to land. An epoch at which cities were everywhere relieving the pressure of population by colonising was not likely to find a mother-city ready to take a large band of returning emigrants to her bosom again. A refuge was ultimately found, according to Plutarch, on the west coast of the Thermaic Gulf, at Methone. Many other Eretrians seem to have been left at Corcyra, however, if we may judge by the islands' Euboean coin-type, similar to that of Carystus; and it was their descendants no doubt who were largely responsible for the breach with Corinth some two generations later (traditionally, 664 B.C.).

Then, towards the end of the century, old neighbourly enmities break out again, and fighting, as they now tend to do, in more than one theatre of war, the combatants seek aid from allies who had in the Dark Age been beyond their political horizon. Finally, an old boundary-question between Chalcis and Eretria forms the occasion for an outbreak of hostilities that affected every part of the Aegean basin. Miletus, Eretria, Aegina, Chios, perhaps Megara, seem to be ranged against Samos, Chalcis and her northern colonies, the Thessalians, Corinth, Paros and Erythrae: but it was Euboea, scene of the first appeal to arms, that saw also the fiercest fighting. Missile weapons, such as the bow and sling, both sides abjured: so might Bayard have signed a convention against 'villainous saltpetre.' With sword and lance the Euboean chivalry fought out their battles in the level fertile plain which was the prize of victory.

In infantry the two sides were well matched, but in mounted men the Eretrians were superior<sup>235</sup>; one-sixth of their whole strength in men-at-arms was mounted—an enormous proportion for a Greek army—and the Chalcidians found it 'a great matter' to withstand their sixty war-chariots and the impact of their cavalry regiment some six hundred strong.<sup>236</sup> Amphidamas, king of Chalcis, was killed in battle, nor did the tide turn until aid arrived from some or all of the Thessalian chieftains, and from the colonists of the northern Chalcidice, who must also have found means of neutralising the forces of Eretrian Mende. Now at last the Eretrians were faced by a more powerful cavalry than their own, but they held on stubbornly and the Northern victory was dearly won. Cleomachus, prince of Pharsalus, commander of the Thessalian contingent, fell in the hour of victory as his horsemen drove the Eretrians from

<sup>233</sup> Thec. vi. 3; cf. Polyaeus v. 5.

<sup>234</sup> Plut. *Greek Questions*, xi.

<sup>235</sup> Plutarch, *Love Stories*, M., p. 760.

<sup>236</sup> Str. x. 448.

the field<sup>237</sup>; and with him among the dead was Anton,<sup>238</sup> a leader of the colonials from Thrace, whose gallant death in a forlorn hope inspired a famous Chalcidian drinking-song.

But if long delayed, the defeat of the Eretrians was not on that account the less complete. The Lelantine Plain passed definitely into the power of Chalcis, and the western colonies of Eretria disappeared so completely as to be in danger of being forgotten even by the historian. Nothing remained to her west of the Malean Cape with the obscure and doubtful exception of an early settlement at Oricus on the Epeirote coast, popularly ascribed to 'Euboeans returning from Troy.'<sup>239</sup>

In other parts of the Aegean there was a different tale to tell. Here Chios and Miletus stood not unequally matched against Samos, Paros and Erythrae. As we have seen, several other states—Lesbos, Teos, Clazomenae—appear on good terms with Miletus in the course of the century; but our fragmentary evidence does not mention them as taking part in hostilities. The result of the early seventh-century period of warfare would seem to have been decided by the fact that, while the allies of Chalcis loyally supported her, west of the Aegean, the Milesians, with a far-sighted cynicism worthy of mediaeval Venice, secured their position in the east, and especially the north-east, against all comers. The Samians under their king Amphicrates, carrying the war into the west, struck boldly at Aegina; but a gruelling campaign brought them no decisive success.<sup>240</sup> The Milesians, on the other hand (while this fighting, and the stubborn resistance of Eretria against overwhelming odds, served to occupy and exhaust their rivals), in company with the men of Chios fell upon Erythrae,<sup>241</sup> which was presumably overwhelmed; though we are not told the result of the attack. Miletus thus further secured her route to the north.

Herodotus' incidental references to these two campaigns do not, be it noted, connect them with one another, or either of them with the Lelantine War. Both, however, are securely dated to the earliest period of Greek recorded history—one by the presence of a king, the other by Herodotus' statement that it was before the attack on Miletus made by Alyattes.

The success of Milesian policy is shown by the course which events now took on the Hellespont and Propontis. Hitherto, here as elsewhere, there had been room for all comers—Paros,<sup>242</sup> Erythrae,<sup>243</sup> Colophon,<sup>244</sup> Phocaea.<sup>245</sup> Now, all is changed, Lesbos still colonises on and beyond the narrow seas; permitted to do so, no doubt, out of respect for her strategic position. So too do Teos and Clazomenae, apparently; but cities of the rival league fare ill. It is now, presumably, in the time of her prosperity that Miletus sends colonists to Parium,<sup>246</sup> of old a possession of Paros and Erythrae, and also to Lampsacus,<sup>247</sup> where the original Phocaeen colonists seem to disappear without

<sup>237</sup> Aristotle, *ap. Plut. l.c.*

<sup>238</sup> Dionysius the Poet, 'Origins'—*ap. Plut. l.c.*

<sup>239</sup> *Sc.*, i. 441.

<sup>240</sup> *H.* iii. 59.

<sup>241</sup> *H.* i. 18.

<sup>242</sup> *Str.* x. 487. xiii. 589.

<sup>243</sup> *Paus.* ix. 27. 1; *Str.* xiii. 589.

<sup>244</sup> *Pliny, N. H.* v. 32.

<sup>245</sup> Charon of Lampsacus, fr. 6; *ap. Plut. 'Brave Women' (M., p. 255).*

<sup>246</sup> *Str.* xiii. 588.

<sup>247</sup> *Str.* xiii. 589.

trace, judging by Strabo's silence.<sup>248</sup> It was the Parians, especially the colonists of Thasos (which seems soon to have outstripped the mother-state in importance) who of all Greeks made the strongest effort, in the seventh century, to break the Milesian 'ring'; but they had to admit defeat. A colony which one Archias of Thasos led to Archium (named after himself), on the Bosphorus, was dislodged by the Megarians of Chalcedon,<sup>249</sup> as was the post at Parium by the Milesians. Even at Aenus, outside the narrow seas but still near them, whither Archias and his friends retired, the Parians were not tolerated; it was Lesbians this time who ejected them.<sup>250</sup> Even their post of Stryme, no great distance from Thasos itself, was attacked in the lifetime of Archilochus by the Chian colonists of Maroneia.<sup>251</sup> Here the Thasians appear to have held their position; but throughout the north-eastern Aegean, Miletus and her allies were now undisturbed by the presence of unfriendly colonists.

One of the inscriptions found at Miletus<sup>252</sup>—a decree of the people of Apollonia on the Rhyndacus—commemorates the power and energy of the Milesian oligarchy in this period of its greatest glory. In it we are told how the Milesians 'having looked up the histories of these matters and the other records' in answer to an application by an embassy from Apollonia, 'answered that our city is in truth a colony of theirs, by the action of our forefathers; at the time when they sent out an expedition into the regions about the Hellespont and the Propontis and conquered with the spear the barbarian natives and founded both our city and the other Greek cities also.'

So far were the Milesians from any such avoidance of political and military complications far from home as is imputed to the Ionians by Thucydides of Athens.<sup>253</sup>

A. R. BURN.

<sup>248</sup> Contrast his remarks on Parium.

Archilochus.

<sup>249</sup> Dionysius of Byzantium, fr. 30 (*Geog. Graec. Min.*, vol. ii.).

<sup>252</sup> *Milet*, i. iii. No. 155.

<sup>250</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>253</sup> For continuation of the history down to the time of Cyrus, see *J. H. S.* xlvii.

<sup>251</sup> Philochorus fr. 128 (Müller) citing pp. 165 *sqq.*



FIG. 1.—BOSTON 98. 880.

## CHARINOS

### ATTIC VASES IN THE FORM OF HUMAN HEADS

BUSCHOR, by his *Crocodile*, has brought order into the study of Attic plastic vases,<sup>1</sup> but even after Buschor much remains to be done. I propose to examine and classify the Attic vases in the form of human heads. I shall not discuss, or not fully, either the vases in the form of complete human figures—the Dionysos in London,<sup>2</sup> the satyrs in Saraievo<sup>3</sup> and Taranto; or the

<sup>1</sup> *Das Krokodil des Sotades in Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1919, pp. 1-43: referred to in my article as Buschor K.

The fine collection of Attic head-vases in the British Museum is to be published in the next, fourth, fascicule of the *London Corpus Vasorum*: by the kindness of Mr. H. B. Walters I am able to give references to the plates. This publication dispenses me from figuring a number of important pieces which I had intended to figure. I beg the reader to have the London fascicule, as well as his *Crocodile*, at his elbow.

I am indebted to Miss Richter, Professor Bulle, Professor Buschor, Dr. Caskey, Mr. Castriotis, Mr. Pottier, Dr. Sieveking, Mr. Walters, and Professor Zahn for permission to publish vases in the museums of

New York, Würzburg, Boston, Athens, Paris, Munich, London, Berlin; to Mr. Buckler, Dr. Hirsch, and Mr. Torr, in their collections; to my wife, for the photographs reproduced in Pl. 1, 1-2, Pl. 2, Pl. 3, 3-4, Pl. 4, 1-2, Pl. 6, 3-4, and Figs. 5, 13-15, 17, 21 and 24.

<sup>2</sup> London, E 785: C.V. B.M. III. Ic, Pl. 37, 1; Dionysos (so Buschor, K. p. 18, rightly) sitting with a great rhyton on his knees: compare the amphora-stands represented in the paintings of the Tomba dell' Orco at Corneto (Weege, *Etruskische Vasenmalerei*, p. 30; phot. Moscioni 6980): date about 520.

<sup>3</sup> Bulanda, *Vasen in Saraievo*, p. 33, Fig. 52, and p. 34; from Camiros.

sphinxes; or the groups—mounted Amazon, blackamoor and cayman, pygmy and dead crane; or the small and usually petty plastic adjuncts to hydriai, oinochoai, kyathoi, epinetra; or the head-vases and bust-vases of the fourth century,<sup>4</sup> which are best studied in connexion with the other plastic vases of the same period.

Some head-vases are oil- or perfume-pots, others drinking-vessels, others jugs. The perfume-pots have the same mouth, neck, and handles as a round aryballos: <sup>5</sup> fourth-century vases borrow this part from the squat lekythos,<sup>6</sup> but with these we are not concerned. The drinking-vessels, whether two-handled or single-handled, have a kantharos mouth: <sup>7</sup> I shall keep the word kantharos for the two-handled sort; the single-handled kantharos I shall call a mug. The jugs nearly always have the same mouth as the kind of vase which I have called oinochoe shape I: <sup>8</sup> but three other kinds of mouth occur as exceptions, and will be noted each in its place.<sup>9</sup>

There are single-head and double-head (janiform) vases: when a vase is janiform I shall say so. There are female heads, negro's heads, negress's heads, heads of satyrs, heads of Dionysos (rare), and of Herakles; and at the end of the fifth century, heads of Orientals. The satyr's head is an intelligible shape for a drinking-vessel or a jug; the head of Dionysos also: and Herakles was a great lover of wine and of the capacious kantharos. Women's heads are commonest: appropriate for perfume-vases; in jugs or drinking-vessels they may be thought of as maenads, especially when they are coupled with satyr-heads. But the fact is that they are simply girls, κόραι, and as such seldom come amiss. The black man gets in not because he has strong prophylactic properties,<sup>10</sup> nor because he is more addicted to wine, or perfume, than the white man, nor because there were both perfumes and black men in Egypt,<sup>11</sup> but because it seemed a crime not to make negroes when you had that magnificent black glaze. As to the Orientals—it is Orientals everywhere, as we know well enough from Xenophon, at the end of the fifth century and in the fourth.

The problem of using the forms of the human head in making a vase is a delicate one, and the Attic potters cannot be said to have found a perfect solution. It was tempting to try. Perhaps they ought not to have yielded to the temptation. Perhaps they began too late; perhaps even by the later archaic period Greek art had become too naturalistic for the enterprise to succeed. However that may be, the Attic head-vase, though it often has

<sup>4</sup> The fourth-century vases, and the larger group of which they form a part, have been studied by Treu, *Griechische Thongefässe in Statuetten- und Bustenform*, and Séchan, *Léda et le Cygne*, in *Rev. arch.* 20 (1912), pp. 106-126. See also Waldhauer, *Lekyth iz Tamani* in the Russian *Hermes*, and Zahn in *Die Antike*, i. pp. 80-85.

<sup>5</sup> See N.Y. *Shapes*, p. 27, 2; Pfuhl, *Malerei*, Fig. 777; *Die Antike*, i, pp. 282-3 (Zahn). I shall study the round aryballos in the next number of *B.S.A.*

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Treu, *op. cit.*, Pl. 1, 4-5.

<sup>7</sup> The handles (except in the special class of face-kantharoi, see p. 40) do not rise above the mouth, so the variety of kantharos I mean is what I have called kantharos shape B (*Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 4).

<sup>8</sup> *Att. V.* p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> See pp. 45; 50 and 68; 76.

<sup>10</sup> Maximova, *Vases plastiques*, p. 27, top.

<sup>11</sup> Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, 10, pp. 752-3.

beauty in its several parts, is less satisfactory in its total effect than its simpler predecessors from Eastern Greece, the female heads and warriors' heads of the so-called gorgoneion class, small, compact, and cosy in the hand: <sup>12</sup> just as the animal-vases of Attica are never quite such exquisite objects as the best protocorinthian or the best East-Greek. <sup>13</sup>

#### GROUP A. THE FACE-KANTHAROI

Janiform face-kantharoi: the faces in 1-4 are youthful; in 5 and 6, bearded satyr-faces.

1. Boston 98.880. Fig. 1.
2. Munich J 868. Micali, Pl. 99, 1: *Mon.* 1, Pl. 39, 3; Darenberg and Saglio, *s.v.* kantharos, Fig. 1130: new, Lau, Pl. 34, 1; new, Buschor *K.* p. 13, Fig. 18.
3. Berlin 4012, from Chiusi. *A.Z.* 1847, Pl. 8, 1.
4. Berlin 4013, from Chiusi. *A.Z.* 1847, Pl. 8, 2.
5. Louvre H 42.
6. London 86, 4-1, 1324, fragment from Naucratis.

This group stands well apart from all others.

First, the shape: it is a kind of kantharos, of course, but there is nothing very like it among kantharoi, whether head-kantharoi or not; the nearest approach to it in plastic vases is a donkey-head kantharos in London, <sup>14</sup> and in some points it faintly recalls the kyathos of Theozotos, <sup>15</sup> in others Attic kylikes of Corinthianising type. <sup>16</sup> Closer are Etruscan kyathoi of Duemmler's class. <sup>17</sup>

Second, the relation of the human part to the total shape. These are not head-vases, but face-vases. The features are there, but the surface which they animate is too broad and flat, seen from the front, too short from ear to nose, seen in profile, to represent a head. There is something un-Greek in taking such a liberty with the human form.

Payne has drawn my attention to the resemblance between the Boston

<sup>12</sup> The term is Maximova's: I use it in the same modified sense as E. R. Price, *East-Greek Pottery*, pp. 37-8. The Samo-Milesian figure-vases (Price, pp. 36-7), though later than the gorgoneion class, are inferior to it.

<sup>13</sup> The work of M. I. Maximova gives an excellent account of archaic figure-vases (including head-vases) with the exception of the Attic (*Antichnaya figurniya Vazi*, vol. i Moscow, 1916): translated as *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité, époque archaïque*, Paris, 1927: some of the pictures are better in the Russian edition: I fancy the author exaggerates the importance of Ionian art, and the religious significance of the objects. The account of East-

Greek figure-vases is supplemented by a valuable chapter in Miss E. R. Price's *East-Greek Pottery*, pp. 34-41; and that of the protocorinthian by K. Friis Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens*, pp. 156-8. Protocorinthian and Corinthian plastic vases will be dealt with by Payne in his forthcoming book on Corinthian art.

<sup>14</sup> B 378: Buschor, *K.* p. 12.

<sup>15</sup> *W.V.* 1888, Pl. 1, 9-10, whence Hoppin *B.f. Vases*, p. 353 (dated far too early, and the inscription given wrong).

<sup>16</sup> *E.g.* *W.V.* 1888, Pl. 7, 3: see *Vases in Poland*, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *E.g.* Sieveking and Hackl, *Vasensammlung zu München*, Pl. 42, 973.

kantharos and certain Etruscan pots grouped together by Egger.<sup>18</sup> This gives a clue, I think. The Boston vase and its companions, made for the Etruscan market, are imitated from—are a civilised version of—the barbarous face-pots long cherished by the Etruscans. The Nicosthenic neck-amphora, if as seems likely it was imitated from Etruscan,<sup>19</sup> furnishes a parallel, and the kinship with Duemmler kyathoi, and bucchero kyathoi,<sup>20</sup> points in the same direction.

The handles are quadruple bands. Foot and stem are like those of little-master cups. In 1 and 5 the stem is black, in the two Berlin vases it is decorated with a row of rays and below that a row of short thick strokes. The foot of the Munich vase is ancient, as Dr. Sieveking informs me, but alien: Saglio, who speaks of the foot being suppressed,<sup>21</sup> has been misled by the first publication. The vase-lip is decorated inside and out: outside with ivy, in No. 4 with myrtle; inside with black-figure dolphins, in No. 1 with water birds. In No. 5 the inside of the lip is undecorated.

Is the face male or female? The piercing, as it seems to be, of the ears, rendered by a black dot, suggests female: but the Boston face has a small black moustache.

The date is probably about 530.

#### GROUP B. THE EPILYKOS GROUP

Janiform aryballoi: 1. woman's heads; 2. woman's head and negro's head.

1. Louvre CA 986, from Greece. *Mon. Piot.* 9. Pl. 11 (Pottier); Perrot, 10, pp. 750-1; side-view, phot. Giraudon = Pfuhl. *Malerei*, Fig. 270. R.f. palmettes. On each side, below, a black owl, with eyes and beak reserved. On the topside of the mouth, ΕΡΠΛΥΚΟΣΚΑΛΟΣ.
2. Louvre CA 987, from Greece: said to have been found in the same tomb as the last. *Mon. Piot.* 9. Pl. 12 and p. 138 (Pottier); Perrot, 10, Pl. 24; Herford. *Handbook of Greek Vase Painting*, Pl. 2, a; side-view, phot. Giraudon = Pfuhl. *Malerei*, Fig. 272. Two eoks between palmettes. Down each side. ΚΑΛΟΣ.

I do not feel it necessary to repeat Mr. Pottier's excellent description of these two vases,<sup>22</sup> especially as Mr. Perrot (following his favourite recipe for transmuting archaeology into literature) has copied it out verbatim.<sup>23</sup> Mr.

<sup>18</sup> *Jahreshefte*, 6, pp. 66-8: cf. also Schaal, *Gr. Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Pl. 26, f.

<sup>19</sup> See *A.Z.* 1881, p. 37 (Loeschke), *A.J.A.* 1926, pp. 76-8 (Gallatin).

<sup>20</sup> E.g. Pottier, *Vases du Louvre*, Pl. 27, C 650 and C 649.

<sup>21</sup> In Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v.* cantharus.

<sup>22</sup> *Mon. Piot.* 9, pp. 135-40.

<sup>23</sup> *Histoire de l'Art*, 10, pp. 749-52. Thus

passage is copied from Pottier, *Mon. Piot.* 9, p. 135, 10; p. 136, 6; p. 136, 7; p. 137, 3; p. 137, 9-19; p. 138, 16; p. 139, 5; p. 139, 10-19; p. 139, 23; p. 140, 9: one of these passages is placed between inverted commas. I shall give other examples of this method of composition: it is never unprofitable to follow the process by which great works of scholarship and literature come into being.



Pottier notices that the female head of the second vase is in the same style as those of the first; and there he is certainly right. He goes on to connect these two vases with a third, the Berlin woman's head signed by Proklees.<sup>24</sup> Here I cannot follow him: the Proklees vase belongs to the same period, and is the same sort of vase; but beyond that I can see no point in which this ill-designed, styleless object, with its coarse neck and muddy features, resembles the little masterpieces in the Louvre.

Let us turn back to the negro-head in the second of the Paris vases, and contrast it with another negro-head of the same period, a mug in Boston.<sup>25</sup>

In the mug, the outlines are hard, the boundaries of the features are stressed, the nose has a sharpish ridge and a small compressed nostril, the mouth is more orifice than mouth, the eyeball projects, the eyebrow-ridge is emphasised by arcs in colour, and parallel to these, three deep wrinkles are scored on the forehead: there is another score on the upper eyelid, and the crow's-feet are rendered by half-a-dozen thin smart cuts. The expression is that of one born to serve, and to suffer confusedly: a drudge. The Paris head is not linear or angular: the features are not hidebound, or unexpressive, or unintelligent. A dark fruit ripened evenly and fully.

The same conception of the negro as in the Paris head appears in another vase.

#### Janiform aryballos: negro's heads.

3. Boston 98.988. Buschor, *K.*, Pl. 4; *N. Y. Shapes*, p. 23, 1. Pl. 1, 3.

The heads of this aryballos are not from the same mould as the Paris head, but the same modeller must have made both moulds. In profile the Boston negro and the Paris are doubles, in full-face brothers. There is the same strong plastic modelling; and the forms of nose, brow, eyes are very like. The hair of the Paris negro grows farther down than the other's hair; farther down even than might be expected in a negro, for in profile it would cover part at least of the ear. The full-face photograph shows the reason for the longer hair: the coupling of two disparate heads usually leads to trouble—sometimes serious trouble as we shall see later: in the front view, a piece of one head is apt to project to right and left of the other: here the artist has sought to conceal the projection of the woman's kerchief by lengthening the negro's hair: even so, the nether ends of the kerchief show below it.

There is a third negro-head by the same modeller as these two.

#### Aryballos.

4. London (white-on-black number 1005). B.M. *C.V.* iii. IC. Pl. 44, 2. Pl. 1, 4.

The present mouth and handles are those of a pointed amphoriskos,<sup>25a</sup> but they are only partly ancient, and they do not belong to the vase, which is shown by the stumps remaining on the head to have been an aryballos.

<sup>24</sup> *L.c.*, pp. 141–2. For the references p. 13, Fig. 19. B.f., between eyes, Dionysos and silens. Below, p. 77, No. 1.

<sup>25</sup> 00.332: Buschor, *G.V.* p. 142, and *K.* <sup>25a</sup> See *C.V.* Oxford, text to Pl. 40, 3.

The head resembles that of the Boston aryballos very closely. The neck is longer, and this helps to make the face look broader.

Finally, a negro-head in Athens stands at least very close to these three.

#### Aryballos.

Athens 2058 (N. 1229). One handle missing. Less careful than the others. The lips are left black. Nicole classifies this vase as Hellenistic—an error.

We must now ask whether the Paris female was modelled by the same hand as the Paris negro. Possibly it was: the eyes at least are like; but the subjects are so different that one can hardly tell.

The date. One of the Louvre vases bears the love-name Epilykos. Up to the present this love-name has been found only on cups painted by Skythes: <sup>26</sup> further, the drawing of the palmettes on the other Louvre vase, as Pottier observed, connects it with a cup by Skythes in the Louvre: <sup>27</sup> conceivably, therefore, Skythes decorated the two Paris aryballoi; and we know that he painted in black-figure as well as in red-figure.<sup>28</sup> In any case, the love-name Epilykos dates the Paris vases to about the last decade but one of the sixth century.

That the painter Skythes was modeller also there is naturally no reason to suppose.

#### GROUP C. THE CHARINOS GROUP

Mugs: 1, negro's head; 2, woman's head.

1. Villa Giulia, from Vignanello, fragments. Hoppin, *B.f.* p. 73. The vase-mouth white, chequered with black. Incised on the handle, [+] $\Lambda$ PIN $\omicron$ S $\epsilon$ P $\omicron$ IESEN, and  $\pi$  $\iota$ K $\omicron$ S $\kappa$ APTAKA $\Lambda$  $\omicron$ S.
2. Tarquinia, from Tarquinii. *Röm. Mitt.* 5, Pl. 11 (Reisch); phot. Moscioni 8251; Pfuhl, *Malerei*, Fig. 269; Hoppin, *B.f.* p. 67. The vase-mouth white, chequered with black. Incised on the handle, + $\Lambda$ PIN $\omicron$ S $\epsilon$ P $\omicron$ IESE.

Oinochoai: woman's head.

3. Berlin 2190, from Vulci. *Röm. Mitt.* 5, pp. 316-7 (Reisch); Kekulé, *Gr. Skulptur*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 149-50; Hoppin, *B.f.* p. 65; Rodenwaldt, *Kunst der Antike*, Pl. 10, Fig. 2. A cushion between head and vase-neck, with r.f. palmettes on it. Incised on the handle, + $\Lambda$ PIN $\omicron$ S $\epsilon$ P $\omicron$ ISEN.

<sup>26</sup> It also occurs, but not as a love-name, on the psykter by Phintias in Boston (*A.D.* 2, Pl. 20), which is contemporary with the vases by Skythes.

<sup>27</sup> *Cat. des vases du Louvre*, p. 892: the cup is Louvre G 10.

<sup>28</sup> On Skythes see *Att. Vasenmaler*, pp. 39-42 and 468; on his b.f. work. Langlotz in Graef and Langlotz, *Vasen*

*von der Akropolis*, Pl. 110, 2586, and Pl. 106, 2557. The mysterious object in the Louvre cup G 14 (Pottier, *Mon. Piot*, 9, p. 163, bottom) is the end of the warrior's spear plus the end of his crest: this is obvious in the original though not in the reproduction. The warrior is not shod but greaved.

4. Petrograd 686, from Vulci. Waldhauer, *Kratkoe Opisanie*, p. 92, Fig. 12; Hoppin, *B.f.* p. 71. Replica of number 3. Incised on handle, +ΑΡΙΝΟΣ ΕΡΟΙΕΣΕ.

The pictures in Hoppin are spoilt by the cutting out of the background: the side-view of the Tarquinia vase is particularly bad.

Berlin and Petrograd were found together, and are replicas.<sup>29</sup> There are slight differences in the palmettes. Tarquinia is by the same modeller, but is



FIG. 2.—BERLIN 2190.

earlier, more rigid and mask-like: it has something of Kore Acropolis 682 about it, whereas Berlin and Petrograd make one think of Kore 674. In the later pair of vases the nose is roomier and more subtly curved, the mouth less pursed, the chin lifted expressively from the throat. They must be contemporary with early Douris or early Panaitios painter, about 500; the Tarquinia ten years earlier. The Villa Giulia fragments are connected with Tarquinia by the shape and pattern of the bowl.

The name of Charinos appears on a fifth vase, a pretty oinochoe, white with a black vine on it, in London.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Furtwangler, *Vasensammlung im Antiquarium*, p. 512.

<sup>30</sup> B 631: Hoppin, *B.f.*, p. 69. The

inscriptions are given wrong in Hoppin. The signature is not incised but painted: it reads +ΑΡΙΝΟΣ ΕΡΟΙΕΣ, with per-

To the 'school of Charinos' Pottier attributes a head-kantharos in the Louvre which will be discussed and classified later on.<sup>31</sup> The woman's hair resembles that of the Berlin Charinos, and there are the same dots on the iris;<sup>32</sup> but the style is quite different. Nor can I accept a second kantharos as a 'type derived from the school of Charinos.'<sup>33</sup> There is rather more to be said, as we shall see, for Pottier's third candidate, a vase now in Providence: poor as it is, it does seem to stand in some sort of relation to the signed vases in Berlin and Petrograd.<sup>34</sup>

#### GROUP D. THE HIRSCH GROUP

Oinochoai: woman's head.

1. Würzburg H 627. Pl. 2, 1-2.
2. Geneva. Dr. Hirsch, 41. Pl. 2, 3-4.

The Würzburg vase has lost its mouth and handle: but it was an oinochoe; and no doubt an oinochoe type I, like the Hirsch. The Hirsch vase is smaller and differs in minor details: the vase-neck sets on with a cushion: the leaves on the head are white as in Würzburg, but the wreath-line is reserved, not red; and the circle dividing iris from pupil is incised, not reserved. The features are the same in both, allowing for the different scale: the peaky features, acute smile and slanting forehead once more recall the Kore 682. In both pieces the vase-foot is splayed, the hair over the forehead is a plain roll, and there are no ears.

#### GROUP E. THE OXFORD GROUP

Oinochoe, usual type: woman's head.

1. Oxford 1920, 106. *C.V.* Oxford iii. I. Pl. 44, 1-2, and Pl. 20, 19. Pl. 3, 1-2.

Oinochoe of special type: <sup>35</sup> woman's head.

2. Athens 2061 (N. 1238). Pl. 3, 3-4. The handle is modern: Nicole does not notice this: he calls the vase a balsumary, and the red-figure palmettes 'a large black palmette.'

Aryballos: woman's head.

3. New York, from Attica. *Burlington Catalogue*, 1883, Pl. 16, No. 72; *Bull. Metr. Mus.* 20, p. 128, Fig. 3 (Richter); Richter, *Handbook*

haps a trace of the final epsilon. The other inscription is fragmentary and hard to read: + ΨΕΝΟΔΟ[<]Ε.....ΠΑ:ΚΑΛΕ. Between the proper name and the rest, room for three letters, and traces of two more: καλε seems likely at the end, but the letter before it was not a sigma, more like an upsilon, and of the letter preceding that only the lower part remains. Most of the handle is modern, and patches of

the lip.

<sup>31</sup> *L.c.* pp. 147 and 149. See below, p. 51.

<sup>32</sup> *L.c.* p. 149: see below, p. 52.

<sup>33</sup> *L.c.* p. 149: see below, p. 60, No. 4.

<sup>34</sup> See p. 58.

<sup>35</sup> I find the same mouth in one other vase, a black oinochoe, of peculiar shape, in Athens (12474).

*Class. Coll.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 94. It is hard to believe that this is the vase published in the Burlington Catalogue, but it is.

I grouped these three little vases together in my text to the *Corpus Vasorum*. The Athens vase is not so good as the other two: Oxford and New York, with their well-planned shapes, the fine oval of their faces, their small piquant features, tilted chins, and pretty mouths, are among the most charming of head-vases: there is a kinship between this group and Group G.<sup>35a</sup>

The forehead-hair is rendered differently in all three: in Oxford, by three rows of raised dots, very neat: each dot is tipped with black, as in the Louvre Epilykos vase and a fragment in Athens.<sup>35b</sup> In New York, raised dots again, but of the ordinary kind. In Athens, a smooth roll, with two



FIG. 3.—BOSTON.

rows of incised circles. In New York and in Oxford the lips are edged with black relief-lines, as in the Epilykos vase and the Proklees, and the whole eyeball is black, not only pupil and iris. In Oxford and Athens the ears are done in the same way, and the saccos is decorated with a design of palmettes, and these palmettes are in the same taste. The Oxford palmettes, as I observed in the *Corpus*, 'find their analogy on the cups of Epiktetos in not his earliest period, and of the *Euergetes* painter.' I dated the vase about 500: it may be somewhat earlier, say about 510.

In profile there is a distinct resemblance between these three and, hideous as it is, the Proklees vase. But enough of Proklees. There is a fourth vase, and a pretty one, which may be by the same modeller as the three.

Mug: woman's head.

Würzburg 163. Pl. 4. 1-2. On the vase-mouth, r.f. palmettes. Forehead-hair in dots. The slapdash palmettes make one think of the

<sup>35a</sup> See p. 47.

<sup>35b</sup> Acropolis F 19: see p. 76.

symposium kantharos in the Louvre.<sup>36</sup> There is something in the face that brings to mind the beautiful kore who wears peplos over chiton, No. 679 in the Acropolis museum. The kore is earlier, but the modeller of the Würzburg vase had of course seen it, had perhaps seen later works, lost to us, by the same sculptor, and may have been influenced by it or them.

#### GROUP F. THE CASTELLANI GROUP

Janiform kantharoi : woman's head and negress's head.

1. Boston. Fig. 3. The mouth of the vase is decorated with black palmettes on a white ground; below this, a white band with black inscriptions (on A.  $\text{H}\Omega\text{P}\Lambda\text{I}\varsigma\text{K}\Delta\text{L}\Omega\varsigma$ , on B.  $\text{K}\Delta\text{L}\Omega\varsigma\text{H}\Omega\text{P}\Lambda\text{I}\varsigma$ ); above the palmettes, a reserved band with chequers. There is some restoration: the right eye of the negress is modern.
2. Villa Giulia, Castellani collection. The mouth of the vase is decorated with chequers on a white ground; below this, a black band; above the chequers, a white band with inscriptions,  $\text{H}\Omega\text{P}\Lambda\text{I}\varsigma\text{K}\Delta\text{L}\Omega\varsigma\text{N}\Delta\text{I}$  on each side. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Mingazzini for sending me photographs of this vase: it is many years since I saw it.<sup>36a</sup>

The Villa Giulia heads are almost doubles of the Boston. The features, the hair, the inscription-bands, connect these two vases with the great group, G, that follows, especially with the early pieces, Nos. 1 and 2 in it.

#### GROUP G. THE LONDON GROUP

Janiform kantharoi : woman's heads.

1. Boston. Pl. 5. 1. Ivy-wreath on the vase-mouth.
2. Berlin inv. 3357. The vase-mouth reserved (or white ?) with black rays and ivy.
3. Vatican, from Vulci. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 89. 1. On the mouth of the vase, r.f. palmettes, and incised on a black band below them, (A)  $\text{H}\Omega\text{P}\Lambda\text{I}\varsigma\text{K}\Delta\text{L}\Omega\varsigma\text{N}\Delta\text{I}$ . (B)  $\text{H}\Omega\text{P}\Lambda\text{I}\varsigma\text{K}\Delta\text{L}\Omega\varsigma$ . Some restoration in the palmettes.
4. London E 784, from Capua. Phot. Mansell 3217. middle: C.V. B.M. Pls. 36. 1. and 38. 1. Symposion: A. youth reclining with lyre: B. man reclining with kotyle: on A.  $\text{H}\Omega\text{P}\Lambda\text{I}\varsigma\text{K}\Delta\text{L}\Omega\varsigma$ , on B the same (omitted in the catalogue).

Janiform kantharos : woman's head and negress's head.

5. Athens 2056 (N. 1232), from Thespiai. On the vase-mouth, ivy-wreath. The negress is rather careless—the forms blunt, the eyes

<sup>36</sup> See p. 48, No. 6.

<sup>36a</sup> I do not know if this can be the vase

mentioned in *Bullettino*, 1866, p. 236, as found at Corneto.

black all over. The right eye of the European is lost, and most of her left. Nicole's account of this vase is not free from error, for he calls it a balsamary.



FIG. 4.—BOSTON.

Kantharoi : woman's head.

6. Louvre H 46, from Italy. *Mon. Piot.* 9, Pl. 13 (Pottier) = Perrot 10. Pl. 23. A, Pottier, *Le dessin chez les grecs*, Pl. 14. 69. A, symposion (a youth reclining, and a boy running to a volutekrater) : B, r.f. palmettes.

7. Berlin 2323. On the vase-mouth, ivy-wreath.
8. London (white-on-black 1020). *C.V. B.M.*, Pl. 37, 3. Pl. 4, 4. The vase-mouth black, with a clay-red line at the bottom. Part of the lower edge of the vase is restored.
9. Boston. Pl. 5, 2, and Fig. 4. The vase-mouth white, with (A) a woman holding a mirror, a heron in front of her, a wool-basket behind her, between palmettes; in the field  $\text{K}\Delta\text{L}\omicron\varsigma$  retrograde: B, a negro sitting on the ground. There is no relief-line: the chiton is purple, with details in white (or reddish-brown).

Kantharoi : negress's head.

10. Vienna, Oesterreichisches Museum, 347, from Cervetri. Masner, Pl. 8. On the vase-mouth, r.f. palmettes, and incised on a black band below them  $\text{H}\omicron\Gamma\Delta\text{I}\varsigma\text{N}\Delta\text{I}$  and  $\text{K}\Delta\text{L}\omicron\varsigma\text{K}\Lambda\cdot\text{T}\Lambda\text{E}$ , that is,  $\delta$   $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha$   $\gamma\epsilon$  (not  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\gamma\epsilon$  as Masner proposes).
11. St. Louis. I know this only from a tiny photograph belonging to Mr. Warren, which I suppose to represent a vase in St. Louis mentioned by Furtwängler.<sup>36b</sup> Head, and shape of vase-mouth, are the same as in Vienna, and the short neck of the negress curves out in the same way below. The hair is a plain black roll with vertical incised crinkles on it. The vase-mouth black with a coloured myrtle-wreath.

Kantharos : head of Dionysos.

12. Formerly in the Munich market. On the vase-mouth a white myrtle-wreath. I take this vase, which I know from a photograph in Berlin, to be that mentioned by Buschor ('Versteigerung Helbing München, 1897, No. 80').<sup>37</sup>

Mug : woman's head.

13. New York 06.1021.205. Sambon, *Coll. Canessa*, Pl. 12, No. 149; *N. Y. Shapes*, p. 23, 4 (called handleless, which it is—in the photograph). Pl. 4, 3. On the vase-mouth, r.f. palmettes.

Oinochoai : head of Dionysos.

14. Athens, Acropolis F 14, fragment. Fig. 5.
15. Compiègne 873, from Corinth. *C.V. Compiègne*, Pl. 18, 9 (Flot). The god wears a stephane, a senseless transference from female heads.<sup>37a</sup> More, the head has been made male of female by jabbing a beard on.

Oinochoai : woman's head.

16. Reggio, from Rocaarno. *Notizie*, 1913, suppl., p. 136 (Orsi). Short vase-neck, cushion between vase-neck and head: patterns on vase-neck and cushion.

<sup>36b</sup> *Neue Denkmäler*, iii, p. 243, No. 8 = *tion with my Nos. 5, 6, and 9.*  
*Kleine Schriften*, p. 488.

<sup>37a</sup> See below, p. 68.

<sup>37</sup> K. p. 14: he speaks of it in conjunc-  
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17. Compiègne 872. from Corinth. *C.V.* Compiègne, Pl. 18, 10 (Flot).  
Wears a stephane: companion-piece to No. 15.
18. Lewes. Mr. H. Asa Thomas.
19. Villa Giulia 43597. from Vignanello. *Notizie*, 1924, Pl. 10, c-d (Giglioli).
20. Louvre H 53. Cushion between head and vase-neck.
21. Louvre H 49. As the last.
22. London 67.5-8.1106. *C.V.* B.M. Pl. 45, 1. The vase-mouth is of special shape. flat, with a low handle.<sup>38</sup> There is a cushion, decorated with a white ivy-wreath, between vase-neck and head.



FIG. 5.—ATHENS, ACR. F 14.

23. Formerly in Dr. Hirsch's possession. I know it from a small photograph. Replica of the last, except that the mouth is of the ordinary shape.
24. Formerly in the Blakiston collection (*Cat. Sotheby*, May 22-23, 1919, No. 269). Cushion between vase-neck and head. Above the forehead-hair a clay-red line. White ivy-wreath. I do not know whether this is the same as the last or not.

This is one of the best groups. The object, with a few exceptions, is well constructed. The features are not large or carefully worked out, but

<sup>38</sup> Mr. Buckler's vase (see below, p. 68), *griechischen Agonen*, p. 5: see also Furtwängler, *Agina*, Pl. 128, 26 and text, p. 452, No. 198. But in our vases the neck is longer.

there is plenty of character, especially in the ripe mouth swelling towards the middle; and the expression is extraordinarily winsome.

In 1-4, 13, 16, and the European of 5, the forehead-hair is wavy; in 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19 it is a plain roll, in 11, as in the Tarquinia Charinos, a roll with incised lines; in 10, 14, 20-24, and the negress of 5, it is rendered by rows of dots. The wavy-hair vases are earlier than the roll-hair. In the roll-hair the forms are ampler, while the smaller features of the wavy-hairs connect them with the Castellani group, and from the Castellani group to the earliest wavy-hairs, Nos. 1 and 2, is but a step. Where you have wavy hair you have incision used in the eyes; where roll-hair, not: this also points to wavy hair being the earlier. Dot-hair is used in two of the negresses, with special reason; in the Athens Dionysos; and in five small oinochoai. Of these five, 22 and 23 are replicas: there is no incision of the eye, but in spite of that they are not necessarily late: the eye is naturally simplified in such summary works. 20 and 21 are not early.

1 and 2, as we have said, stand side by side at the beginning of the series: they share the long neck spreading at the bottom. The other janiforms are all early. 5 (Athens) has the long neck. 3 (Vatican) stands close to 1 and 2: it is linked with 1 by the band in the hair—two incised parallel lines with an incised zigzag and white dots between. Then it is linked with 10, the Vienna negress, by the palmettes and inscription-band, which are of exactly the same type. 10 takes another negress with it, No. 11. 4 (London E 784) is extremely like 13, the New York mug, and the finest of the roll-hairs, 9 (Boston), has a smaller, though excellent, counterpart in 8.

There is figure-work on 6, 4, and 9. 4 was decorated, as Cecil Smith saw, by the Brygos painter,<sup>39</sup> and must be dated between 490 and 480. The pictures on 9 are by the Syriskos painter, about 480.<sup>40</sup> I judge by the woman: the negro on the back of the vase is very like a number of negroes on white alabastra and plates.<sup>41</sup>

No. 6, the Louvre vase, must have been painted earlier than 4 or 9. It is by a bad painter: his patterns—in palmettes or on saccos—are no better than his figure-work. Even supposing him to have been a dugout, I cannot see how the vase can be put later than the last decade of the sixth century. If so the Castellani group, at least, will be earlier than 510.

Mr. Pottier, by a slip, describes the mouth and handles of 6 as those of a skyphos;<sup>42</sup> and so, strange to say, does Mr. Perrot. Mr. Perrot's account of the vase follows Mr. Pottier's, but not slavishly, for in one place he has boldly struck out the word 'dout,' and in another the words 'ou parlait.'<sup>43</sup>

Mr. Pottier connected the Louvre vase with Charinos:<sup>44</sup> but the resemblances are quite superficial: patterned saccoi are common, and the

<sup>39</sup> *B.M. Cat.* iii, p. 372: No. 77 in my list of vases by the Brygos painter, *Att.* V. p. 181: on the painter see also *Vases in Poland*, pp. 23-25.

<sup>40</sup> A list of vases by this painter is given in *Att.* V. pp. 158-69 and p. 473: additions in *Vases in Poland*, pp. 17-18. See also

below, pp. 58, 60.

<sup>41</sup> See Pfuhl, *Malerei*, I, p. 306: Watzinger, *Vasen in Tübingen*, p. 40.

<sup>42</sup> *Mon. Piot*, 9, p. 145: cf. *ibid.*, pp. 150 and 152.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 748-9.

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 147-9.

same treatment of the iris occurs not only in several other head-vases,<sup>45</sup> but also in the owl's eye on a red-figured amphora in the Paris market,<sup>46</sup> and in the ram's eye of a plastic vase in Lyons. It is one of the renderings current in the archaic period and not confined to one workshop.

Three other pieces may belong to this group. The first two I have not examined, the third is a fragment.

Janiform kantharos : woman's head.

Syracuse, from Gela. Side-view, *Notizie*, 1905, p. 446 and *Mon. Linc.* 17, pp. 313-14. On the vase-mouth, textile patterns. Worth noticing that one woman has wavy-hair, the other dot-hair.

Oinochoe : woman's head.

Bologna. Soprintendenza, from Comacchio. *Notizie*, 1927, Pl. 13. 3 (Negrioli). A cushion between vase-neck and head.

Fragment.

Athens. Acropolis F 21. Woman's head. Wavy-hair. What remains of the vase-mouth is a concave ledge, spreading upwards, black with a white zigzag : traces of a handle. The mouth went on for some distance after this, for the remnant is rough inside. Perhaps a kantharos.

There is one more vase which belongs to our group, but I have kept it for a special reason to the end.

Kantharos : woman's head.

Naples 2952. Patroni, *Ceramica dell' Italia Meridionale*, p. 145, Fig. 101. Woman seated.

The style of the pictures is the ordinary Apulian style of the second half of the fourth century. But the style of the head is Attic of the late archaic period, and in particular of our group : compare, for example, the vases in Compiègne. The Apulian modeller has made a mould from an antiquity, and used it to produce new head-vases.<sup>47</sup> Even in the shape of kantharos and handles he has conformed to the taste of an earlier period. This is not the only instance of Apulians harking back to works of an earlier age : they imitated the satyr-heads of late fifth-century Athens,<sup>48</sup> and the man-eating crocodile of Sotades.<sup>48a</sup>

#### GROUP H. THE PRINCETON GROUP

Janiform kantharoi : woman's head and negro's head.

1. Bologna 466, from Bologna. Zannoni, Pl. 90, 6 and 14; Montelius, *Civ. Primitive*, B. Pl. 106, 11; new, Pellegrini, *V.F.* pp. 211-12.

<sup>45</sup> See pp. 45, 58, 60.

(*K.* p. 19).

<sup>46</sup> *A.J.A.* 1927, p. 348.

<sup>48</sup> See below, p. 74.

<sup>47</sup> Patroni (p. 141) speaks of 'traits imitated from the archaic,' Buschor of 'conscious imitation of archaic work'

<sup>48a</sup> See Buschor, *K.* pp. 5-8. His Fig. 4, however, is Attic.

2. Princeton, Mrs. Josephine Morgan. Side-view, *Art and Archaeology*, 1925, p. 120, Fig. 2 (H. R. W. Smith). Mr. Smith very kindly procured me photographs of this vase.

Negro and woman are evidently by the same modeller. Grim-mish expression: the woman lantern-jawed. One thinks of Harmodios and Aristogiton, of the Critian boy, of the bronze discobolos in New York, of the Ludovisi discobolos; and dates the class 480 to 470.

With this group I am inclined to associate a smaller vase, which I know from a photograph kindly given me by Mrs. Wade-Gery.

Oinochoe: woman's head.

Thebes, from Rhitsona.

#### GROUP J. THE MARSEILLES GROUP

Oinochoai: woman's head.

Louvre H 48. Fig. 6.

London WT 61, from Nola. C.V. B.M. Pl. 45, 11.

Louvre H 54. Fig. 7.

Louvre H 55.

Marseilles.

Cassel.

Naples. Phot. Sommer 11079.

Naples. Phot. Sommer 11079, left.

Würzburg 618.

Louvre H 48 is larger and finer than the rest: the photograph, taken from a wrong angle, does not do it justice. The forehead-hair is done in a special way, scolloped: the several strands are rendered elaborately by thin shallow crinkled lines, not only in the forehead-hair, but over a great part of the head: and the hair is turned up at the back in a *krobylos*. The painter, however, ignoring the work of the modeller, has covered all but the forehead-hair with black.

In the smaller vases the strands are not indicated, but the forehead-hair has the same scolloped edge, and there is sometimes a white band, as in the big Louvre vase, above the forehead-hair.

A good healthy type of about 480, parallel to Group G.

#### GROUP K. THE TORONTO GROUP

(a)

Kantharos: woman's head.

1. Toronto C 366. *A.J.A.* 1928, pp. 50 and 52 (D. M. Robinson). On each side, a silen pursuing a maenad. On each side  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  twice.



FIG. 6.—LOUVRE H 48.

FIG. 7.—LOUVRE H 54.

Janiform kantharos : woman's heads.

2. Naples Stg. 60. from Capua. Phot. Sommer 11029. A. Buschor, *K.* p. 14, Fig. 21. A. three women; B. woman and youths. On each side,  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  and the like several times.



FIG. 8.—LONDON E 786.

The whole vase well-proportioned, the head powerfully and beautifully modelled. The forehead-hair wavy.

Robinson has already compared the Toronto with the Naples vase.<sup>49</sup> The Toronto pictures he attributes to the Brygos painter, whether rightly or

<sup>49</sup> *A.J.A.*, 1928, p. 51, note 1.

not I cannot tell from the reproductions. The Naples pictures, as Buschor has seen, are by the Syriskos painter.<sup>50</sup> The date of the Naples vase will therefore be about 480. The Toronto will be a little earlier.

By the same modeller, but somewhat later, the two following vases.

(b)

Janiform kantharoi : woman's head and silen's head.

3. London E 786. Phot. Mansell 3214; *C.V. B.M.* Pls. 36, 2, and 39, 1. Pl. 6, 1-2. and Fig. 8. A, Dionysos reclining, with two silen's; B, Dionysos reclining with a friend (Herakles ?),<sup>51</sup> and a silen. On A, ΚΑΛΟΨ.
4. Yonder Wreylan, Mr. Cecil Torr. Pl. 6, 3-4.

First, the London vase. Vase-mouth and handles are uncommonly powerful. Silen and woman (maenad) are beyond doubt by the same modeller. Big forms, glowering eyes, the silen jolly, the woman joyous and sensual, with plenty of make-up. The same lip-salved mouth, with brown fossettes at the corners, as in the Toronto vase; and the same character.

The woman's forehead-hair, and the hair at the silen's temples, consist of fat corkscrew-curly stuck on one by one. They are not all stuck on quite right : there is too much space between the woman's curls and her forehead and eyes, so that from the front, unless she has the light behind her, you suspect a wig. There are other pieces of carelessness : her neck is too thick, and the pictures are slovenly. In spite of these blemishes, the boldest of all head-vases, and a magnificent piece. Date about 470.

In the photographs, the Torr heads look more subdued, but that is partly the fault of the lighting. There are no corkscrew-curly : the woman's forehead-hair is in dots. The silen's beard is black with incised lines. There are no pictures, only a white line from handle to handle, and another between vase-mouth and head.

There may be a connexion between this type of silen-head and the amusing silen of the vase in Saraievo.<sup>51a</sup> The picture on the bowl of the Saraievo vase—the Struggle for the Tripod—is in much the same style as the pictures on the London kantharos, and must be dated about 470.

#### GROUP L. THE PROVIDENCE GROUP

Janiform kantharos : woman's heads.

1. New York 12.234.5. *Bull Metr. Mus.* 8, p. 158 (Richter); A, Beazley, *V.A.* p. 92; A, Richter, *Handbook Class. Coll.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 120; *N. Y. Shapes*, p. 23, 2; the picture on B, new, Richter, *Sculpture*, Fig. 483. A, Fig. 9. On each side, a silen reclining; one playing the flute, the other the castanets. On A, ΗΟΓΑΙΨΚΑΛΟΨ, and on the wineskin ΚΑΛΟΨ; on B, ΚΑΛΟΨ.

<sup>50</sup> *K.* p. 20.

<sup>51a</sup> See above, p. 38.

<sup>51</sup> See C. Smith, *B.M. Cat.* iii. p. 373.

Janiform kantharos : silen's head and woman's head.

2. London E 793. *C.V. B.M. Pl. 36, 4.* Ivy.

Oinochoai : woman's head. In 3 the vase-mouth is of the usual kind, in 4 it is that of an oinochoe type 5B.<sup>52</sup> There is a cushion between head and vase-neck in both.



FIG. 9.—NEW YORK 12. 234. 5.

3. Providence. Tischbein, 3, Pl. B : new, *Bulletin of the Rhode Island School of Design*, 16, p. 49, 3. Fig. 10.

4. London 73.8-20.280, from Capua. *C.V. B.M. Pl. 44, 5.* Fig. 11.

<sup>52</sup> See *Att. V.* p. 3.



3 and 4 are sister-pieces. The same ugly head with big bony features, receding mouth, thick lips, brown or black arcs for the fossettes at the corners of the mouth, cleft lower lip, deep vertical depression between the upper lip and the septum of the nose, dotted forehead-hair, weak neck, downward glance, bashful look, chequered kerchief. The female head in 2 differs chiefly in the neck, which has been brought up to the thickness of the silen's neck.

No. 1 is far superior to the rest, is a masterpiece of its kind: but looked at close it turns out to be a highly refined version of the same thing: big features, receding mouth, downward glance, cleft lower lip, slender neck—clearest in profile—are all in the same taste. Many of the vases we have already considered are as late as the New York vase or even later: but let us linger over it for a moment: it is the last good head-vase we shall come across: henceforward our path will be tinged with a browner shade.

Pottier assigned the Providence vase to 'the group of Charinos.'<sup>53</sup> and Buschor even calls it a replica of the Charinos in Berlin.<sup>54</sup> That is going too far—they had only Tischbein's drawing to judge by: but there does seem to be a sort of connexion; and the New York vase helps to bridge the gap, by its excellence, and by the forehead-hair, which is treated as in the Berlin Charinos and its Petrograd replica. The only other example of this forehead-hair is furnished by a fine fragment in Athens, Acropolis F 18: what remains—a female forehead with hair and stephane above it—resembles the New York vase closely.

The pictures on the New York vase are by the Brygos painter in not his latest period: <sup>55</sup> the date will therefore be between 490 and 480.

The silen of the kantharos in London—a poor creature after him of the Toronto group—reappears in another vase.

Janiform kantharos: silen's head and woman's head.

Boston R 463A, from Capua (according to Froehner: Robinson says Nola). Froehner, *Coll. Hoffmann*, Pl. 21; Robinson, *Boston Cat. of Vases*, p. 168. Symposion: on each side, a youth reclining; on B, on a pointed amphora, ICALOX retrograde.

The female head is carelessly moulded, and suffers as usual from the thickening of the neck to fit the silen-neck. It recalls Group G; but much more Group M, to which it might almost be reckoned.

The woman's forehead-hair is waved. The iris is light brown with darker dots in it, the same treatment as in the Berlin Charinos and elsewhere.<sup>56</sup> The pictures are in the manner of the Syriskos painter,<sup>57</sup> and the date will be about 480.

<sup>53</sup> *Mon. Piot*, 9, p. 149.

<sup>54</sup> *K.* p. 13.

<sup>55</sup> *V.A.* p. 92: *Att. V.* p. 181, No. 78.

<sup>56</sup> See pp. 45, 52.

<sup>57</sup> See p. 51.



FIG. 10.—PROVIDENCE.



FIG. 11.—LONDON 73. 8-20. 280.



FIG. 12.—NEW YORK GR 599.

## GROUP M. THE VATICAN GROUP

Janiform kantharoi: 1, 2 and 4, head of Herakles and head of woman;  
3, head of Herakles and negro head.

1. Cabinet des Médailles 866. Phots. Giraudon 8122, A, and 8119, A: the picture on A, De Ridder, p. 509. A, Nike and man (Zeus ?) and youth. B, three youths. On each side, four times,  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  and the like.
2. New York GR 599. A, phot. Moscioni 11106 = Buschor K. p. 14 Fig. 22 (before cleaning: erroneously stated to be in Corneto). Fig. 12. A, Athena seated between two seated women: B, man reclining and seated woman. On A, rough,  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  twice; on B,  $[\nu?] \alpha\iota$ .
3. Vatican. *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 89, top right: A, phot. Alinari 35812, 2; B, phot. Alinari 35817, 1 = *Atti della Pont. Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 14. p. 222 (Albizzati). Ivy.
4. Louvre H 43. *Mon. Piot*, 9, Pl. 14, 3-4 (Pottier); A, Perrot, 10, p. 753. Symposion. On A,  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  retrograde. Much restored, especially the female head. Modern in the pictures, on A, the head of the right-hand man except part of the face and beard; on B, the hand and cup, part of the himation, part of the basket.

1 has already been associated with 2 by Buschor,<sup>58</sup> and 3 with 4 by Albizzati.<sup>59</sup>

The four Herakles heads are all of the same type. The female heads are by the same modeller as the Herakles. Whether the Vatican negro, which is better than Herakles or woman, is by the same modeller as they or not, I should not care to decide.

The forehead-hair is a plain roll, except in the Louvre woman, where it is wavy, and in the Vatican negro, whose fuzz is rendered by dots. In the Louvre vase, the iris is light brown with darker specks.<sup>59a</sup> The women's necks are disagreeably thickened. The forms of the female face somewhat recall Group G, but they are heavier, cruder, and the charming blitheness has given place to a timorous, anxious expression. There are links with Group F also; and especially with Group L. A vase in Boston, as we have seen, is connected by the silen with Group L, by the woman with Group M. Moreover, the ivy on the London kantharos is exactly the same as on the kantharos in the Vatican, except that in one the stalk is red, in the other white; and the Vatican negro-head, unless I am mistaken, has something in common with the Providence females.

As to the pictures, Buschor has already connected Nos. 1 and 2 with the astragalos which bears the signature of Syriskos.<sup>60</sup> The pictures on 1 and 2 are in the manner of the Syriskos painter.<sup>61</sup> The date will be about 480 or 470. The pictures on 4 are by a different hand, but in the same

<sup>58</sup> K. p. 19.

<sup>59</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 223.

<sup>59a</sup> See p. 52

<sup>60</sup> K. p. 20.

<sup>61</sup> See p. 51.

tradition : <sup>61a</sup> they recall the Villa Giulia painter at his worst. They may be as late as 460.<sup>62</sup>

Mr. Perrot's description of the Louvre vase is a cento of phrases from Mr. Pottier, but an adroit alteration reveals the master stylist : Mr. Pottier had written 'de chaque côté de la tête' : Mr. Perrot writes, 'des deux côtés de la tête.' There is one sentence of Mr. Perrot's which may puzzle the reader : 'l'exécution est tardive et négligée : les retouches blanches la datent du temps d'Hiéron et de Brygos.'<sup>63</sup> Now white details have hitherto been supposed to be very rare in the time of Brygos and Hieron ; but if the reader will look at Mr. Perrot's raw material I think he will find the origin of what seems a revolutionary statement. The passage in Mr. Pottier reads : 'L'extérieur porte de chaque côté un sujet peint en figures rouges qui rappellent les scènes de banquet chez Hiéron ou chez Brygos, mais avec une exécution plus négligée et plus tardive qu'accentue encore l'emploi des retouches blanches.'<sup>64</sup> A slip of the great man's scissors.

#### GROUP N. THE COOK GROUP

Janiform aryballos : head of Herakles and woman's head.

1. Cambridge, Dr. A. B. Cook. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. Pl: 21. Cook calls the male head Dionysos, but the expression, and the short beard, with raised dots to indicate short curls, suggest Herakles.

Janiform aryballos : negro's head and woman's head.

2. London 47.8-6.35. Walters. *Ancient Pottery*, i. Pl. 46, 2 : C.V. B.M. Pl. 44, 1. Mouth and one handle are modern, but the neck and the other handle show that the vase was an aryballos.

Janiform oinochoe : negro's head and woman's head.

3. Brussels R 434. Buschor, *K*, p. 11, 2. A singular vase, the only janiform oinochoe : the handle is at right angles to a line passing through the two noses ; so that the front-view of the vase shows the two heads in profile. See addenda.

Oinochoai : 4-6 head of Herakles : the rest woman's head.

4. Berlin 4033. Fig. 13.
5. Athens 2053 <sup>65</sup> (N. 1235), from Thebes. *Mon. Piot*, 26, p. 80 (Demangel : three-quarter view, cut round). New, Fig. 14.
6. Vienna, Mr. Franz Trau.
- 7-14. London 64.10-7.165, from Camiros : white-on-black 1014 : white-on-black 1013 : 42.4-7.12 : WT 55, from Nola : white-on-black

<sup>61a</sup> On this tradition see *Vases in Poland*, pp. 34-36.

<sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 753.

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 150.

<sup>62</sup> Albizzati, *l.c.* p. 223 : Pottier, *Mon. Piot*, 9, p. 150. Albizzati's 470 seems a little early.

<sup>65</sup> Not 2586 : Demangel has already corrected Nicole's slip.

- 1018: white-on-black 1020: and another. *C.V. B.M.* Pl. 45, 4;  
 45, 7; 45, 2; 45, 6; 45, 3; 45, 8; 45, 5.  
 15-16. Oxford, 1929. 1 and 2.  
 17. Cambridge 165. E. Gardner, Pl. 29, above, right.  
 17 bis. London, Mr. Henry Oppenheimer.

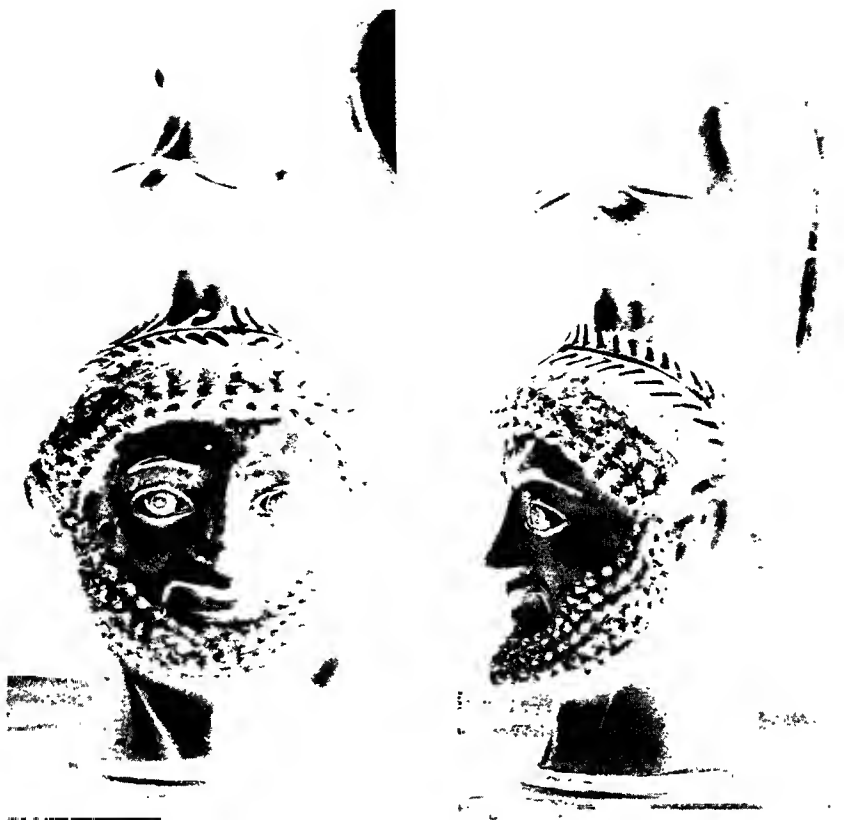


FIG. 13.—BERLIN 4033.

18. Formerly in the Parrish collection (*Sale Cat. Sotheby, July 5, 1928*, No. 34).  
 19-26. Louvre H 50: H 51: H 52: H 56: H 57: H 58: H 59: H 60.  
 27. Cabinet des Médailles 868. De Ridder, Pl. 24.  
 28. Compiègne 874, from Corinth. *C.V. Compiègne*, Pl. 18, 11 (Flot).  
 29. Brussels R 432. Buschor, *K.* p. 11, 1.  
 30-33. Berlin 2192, from Nola (Fig. 15): 2193: 2194: 2195.  
 34-5. Munich (two).  
 36. Hamburg 1924.75.  
 37. Stuttgart.  
 38. Gotha.

- 39-41. Vienna 417, 418, and 419.  
 42. Copenhagen inv. 6504, from Chalke (Sporades). *C.V.* Copenhagen, Pl. 144, 4.  
 43. Copenhagen inv. 534. *Ibid.*, Pl. 144, 5.  
 44-45. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, 153 and 154.  
 46. Geneva, Dr. Hirsch, 222.  
 47-8. Bologna 332 and 335, from Bologna. Pellegrini, *V.F.* p. 169, Figs. 99 and 100.



FIG. 14.—ATHENS 2053.

49. Lecce 579.  
 50. Syracuse, from Syracuse.  
 51. Syracuse, from Licodia.  
 52. Girgenti, Baron Giudice.  
 53-58. Athens 2077 (N. 1236 : called a balsamary by Nicole): 2068 (N. 1225); 12148 (N. 1226); Acropolis F 15; and two recent acquisitions, one from Calydon (mentioned by Poulsen in Poulsen and Rhomaios, *Erster Bericht.* p. 43); the other, I think, from Athens.

This is far the most numerous group. Unpretentious little works with an archaic alertness of expression. Dotted forehead-hair. There are naturally

earlier and later: in the later the face is longer and the smile fainter: and unless I am mistaken the length of the vase-neck increases with time. The Herakles heads are all, I think, very early. That the Herakles is by the same modeller as the women may be seen by comparing the Herakles in Athens with the Athens woman 2077. The two negroes, London and Brussels, are of a single type: this also may be by the same modeller as the women, but one cannot say for certain.



FIG. 15.—BERLIN 2192.

The group begins in the late archaic period, and goes on into the free period: sub-archaic.

Nicole calls the Herakles in Athens a balsamary, suggests that it represents Achelous and is signed by Pasiades, calls it an Attic imitation of Rhodian work.<sup>66</sup> Demangel has pointed out that the reading Pasiades is improbable: <sup>67</sup>  $\text{K}\Delta\text{I}\text{I}\Delta\Delta\text{E}\varsigma$  has been read (for Kalliades), but that also seems to me doubtful.<sup>68</sup> Certain that the vase is not a balsamary, does not represent a river-god, and has nothing to do with Rhodian head-vases: nor is Nicole's description of the hair intelligible.

The Berlin Herakles is much more careful and precise than the Athens.

The following woman's-head oinochoai probably belong to this group: but I have not seen the first six, and my notes on the others are old and inadequate.

1. Formerly in the Vogell collection. *Sammlung Vogell*. Pl. 3, 14 (No. 176).
2. Formerly in the Bourguignon collection, from Capua. *Coll. d'ant. 18-20 mai*, 1901, Pl. 5, 79.
3. Angers, from Nola. *Rev. arch.* 82 (1923), p. 62, 1.
4. Barcelona, Montaner collection, from Emporion. *Institut d'Estudis Catalans: Anuari*, 1908, p. 227, Fig. 49 (Frickenhaus).
5. Gerona, from Emporion. *Anuari*, 1908, p. 227, Fig. 50 (Frickenhaus).
6. Formerly in the Pourtalès collection. Panofka, *Portalès*, Pl. 2, 3. Has a stephane.
7. Yonder Wreyland, Mr. Cecil Torr, from Tanagra.
- 8-10. Boston R 461: R 462; and another, I suppose R 463. R 461 has a stephane.
11. New York.

<sup>66</sup> *Vases d'Athènes, supplément*, pp. 283-4.

<sup>68</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* 16, p. 155, note 2 (Wolters).

<sup>67</sup> *Mon. Piot*, 26, p. 80.

Finally, Louvre H 47 may belong to the group, but is so much restored that one cannot be sure.

#### GROUP O. THE SABOUROFF GROUP

Small janiform kantharoi: 1-8, silen's head and woman's head, 9-13 woman's head and head of Herakles, 14, two woman's heads.

1. Louvre H 45, from Italy. *Mon. Piot*, 9, Pl. 14. 1-2 (Pottier); A, Pottier, *Le dessin chez les grecs*, Pl. 14, 71 (called 'fourth century,' by a slip, in the description of plates). Mr. Perrot's description (p. 754)—shall we say adds nothing to Mr. Pottier's?
  2. Berlin 4044, from Boeotia. Furtwängler, *Coll. Sabouroff*, Pl. 69.
  3. Berlin 4045, from Boeotia.
  4. Formerly in the Bourguignon collection, from Capua. *Coll. d'ant. 18-20 mai, 1901*, Pl. 5, No. 80, and p. 25.
  5. London 73.8-20.284, from Capua. *C.V. B.M.* Pl. 37, 2.
  6. Athens 10487, from the Cabirion. The bowl is lost.
  7. Athens 10486, from the Cabirion. Much restored.
  8. New York, Dr. Hirsch, 297. Fig. 16. The silen's ears broken.
  9. Oxford 1923.756. *C.V. Oxford*, Pl. 44, 7-8.
  10. Basle.
  11. Naples. Phot. Sommer 11033, below, 3.
  12. Louvre H 44.
  13. Louvre, from Elaious.
  14. London, Mr. Henry Oppenheimer, from Italy.
- Oinochoai: woman's head.
15. Munich.
  16. Carlsruhe B 3134.
  17. Berlin 4032, from Greece. Fig. 17.

Mr. Pottier noticed that No. 1 was by the same modeller or even from the same mould as Nos. 2 and 3,<sup>69</sup> which Furtwängler had described as replicas. The silen's beard has white lines on it, except in 4, where the lines seem to be incised, and in 7 and 8, where the beard is white with black lines.

Silen, woman, Herakles are all by one modeller. The woman has thick lips, an embarrassed or mortified look, and the same very wide-open eyes as the males. The forehead-hair in all three types of head is dotted, but the dots are less neat than in other groups. The features are blunter in the Herakles vases than in the others, and the Herakles himself is a marvel of insignificance. The female head No. 17 has a stephane. The date of this group must be about 480 to 460.

#### GROUP P. THE CHAIRETE GROUP

Kantharoi: 1, woman's head; 2, janiform, woman's head and silen's head.

1. London E 794, from Capua. *C.V. B.M.* Pls. 36, 5, and 39, 3. The pictures are in added colour—brown-red, purple-red, and white: A, woman and youth; B, youth.

<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 154.





FIG. 16.—NEW YORK, DR. HIRSCH.



FIG. 17.—BERLIN 4032.



FIGS. 18-19.—BOSTON.

2. Boston. Figs. 18 and 19. A, symposion: a youth reclining: +ΔΙΡΕΤΕ. B, a woman seated between two youths: ΚΑΔΟΞ, and the same retrograde.

The handles are set singularly low in 2, and in 1 lower than usual. The neck starts suddenly out at the bottom. The female head has a thick nose; a fat chin; blubber lips with the uneasy vestige of a smile; and the look of a half-wit. The forehead-hair is wavy, but not in the old way: the waves run evenly from parting to ear, and less of the forehead is exposed. The Boston pictures are in the manner of the Syriskos painter: the London belong to the same period, about 480 to 460, and in spite of their different and hideous technique, show a certain resemblance in style.

In this neighbourhood one would place the Sotadean Sphinx,<sup>69a</sup> if it had to be brought into relation with the head-vases.

The goatish silen-head of the Boston vase is no doubt by the same modeller as the female. It is not far removed from the silen-head of Group O: and a third head stands midway between these two.

Oinochoe of special type: silen's head.

3. Oxford, Mr. W. H. Buckler. Tischbein, 3, Pl. C. New, Fig. 20. The vase-mouth is of the same shape as in a vase of Group G.<sup>70</sup> The ears are mended, and a small patch at the end of the beard is modern. The lines on the beard are incised. The stephane is a senseless transference from female heads: it has already appeared in a Dionysos,<sup>70a</sup> and it recurs in a fragment of a silen-head vase from the Acropolis of Athens, F 19 in the Acropolis collection: there as here the ground of the stephane is white.

The head figured above this vase in Tischbein has nothing to do with it, no doubt comes from the handle of a bronze vase.

#### GROUP Q. THE VIENNA GROUP

Oinochoai: woman's head.

1. London 73.8-20.281, from Capua. *C.V.* B.M. Pl. 45, 9.
2. London 73.8-20.282, from Capua. *C.V.* B.M. Pl. 45, 10.
3. Berlin 2200, from Nola.
4. Munich 2746. Fig. 21.
5. Vienna 422.
6. Vienna 420.
7. Bologna PU. 369, from Campania. Pellegrini, *V.P.U.* p. 65, Fig. 62.
8. Florence, from Chianciano.

Akin to the last group in hair, face, expression. The nose sharper, the lips not so thick. About 470-60. Poor as it is, this type has something that

<sup>69a</sup> London E 788: *J.H.S.* 8, Pls. 72-3 = FR. iii, p. 93; new, *C.V.* B.M. Pls. 40, 2, and 42, 1.

<sup>70</sup> See above, p. 50.

<sup>70a</sup> See p. 49.



FIG. 20.—OXFORD, MR. BUCKLER.



FIG. 21.—MUNICH 2746.

FIG. 22.—NEW YORK.

makes one think of a charming marble in Naples, the head of a sour-sweet boy, copied from a Greek work of the earliest classical period.<sup>70b</sup>

#### GROUP R. THE MANCHESTER GROUP

Mugs : silen's head.

1. Naples 2951, from Apulia. *Mus. Borb.* 4, Pl. 35, 1-2; phot. Sommer 11079, middle, right. Picture : king and woman.
2. Munich 2740. Lau, Pl. 44, 1 : Buschor, *K.* p. 14, Fig. 20. Picture : man and woman : repainting in the woman's face and in the upper part of the man.
3. New York. Fig. 22. Picture : king and Nike, both running. The beard chipped; the surface impaired.
4. Manchester. Picture : fight : some repainting.
5. Naples 2948, from Ruvo. *A.Z.* 1878, p. 145 (Knapp) : phot. Sommer 11079, middle left. Picture : silen and maenad.

Nos. 1, 2 and 5 have already been put together by Buschor.<sup>71</sup> He also observed that the pictures on 1 and 2 were by a single hand and that the same artist decorated a pygmy-shaped vase in Boston.<sup>72</sup> This artist is the Karlsruhe painter : the vases in Boston and Naples are Nos. 29 and 30 in my list of his works : <sup>73</sup> the Munich vase should be added, and the New York vase as well. I cannot say who painted the Manchester vase, I had only a glance at it. The picture on No. 5 is much better than the others, and is not by the same hand. I think it is by the Marlay painter.<sup>74</sup> This would not be the only place where he appears in association with the Karlsruhe painter : both artists had a predilection for stemless cups of a special kind.<sup>75</sup>

3 is particularly like 2. 1 and 5 have the outline of the beard in common, but the surface of the beard is treated differently in 5. 1 and 2 have the same palmettes. The date must be between 450 and 430. The silen is of the subdued kind familiar from the vases of the time, and a boring specimen of it.

#### GROUP S. THE CANESSA GROUP

Oinochoai : woman's head.

1. Brussels 433. Buschor, *K.* p. 11, 3.
2. New York. Mr. Albert Gallatin. *C.V.* Gallatin, Pl. 30, 3.
3. Paris market (Canessa). *Coll. B. et C.*, Pl. 23, No. 217.
4. Angers, from Nola. *Rev. arch.* 82 (1923), p. 62, 2.
5. Angers, from Nola. *Ibid.*, p. 62, 3.

<sup>70b</sup> Arndt and Amelung, *Einzelstudien* 505-6 : *Jahrbuch* 26, pp. 186-7, Figs. 86 and 89.

<sup>71</sup> *K.* p. 13.

<sup>72</sup> *K.* p. 20.

<sup>73</sup> *Att. V.* p. 328.

<sup>74</sup> A list of his works in *Att. V.* pp. 413-14.

<sup>75</sup> *Att. V.* p. 328, Nos. 32-3, and 'man-ner,' Nos. 1-5; *Att. V.* pp. 413, Nos. 7-14.

6. Bari.
7. Bologna 336, from Bologna. Pellegrini *V.F.* p. 170.
8. Bologna 334, from Bologna. Zannoni, Pl. 62, 5.
9. Bologna 337, from Bologna. Zannoni, Pl. 117, 9.

4 and 5 I know from the rough sketches published by Valotaire : I think I am right in placing them here.

The roll of the forehead-hair is interrupted half-way on each side of the parting by a deep furrow. Above the forehead-hair, a white line. The face, especially the mouth, is very serious : this, the strong chin, the hair, the touch of archaism in the eyes, place the type about 460 to 450. There is still something of the Choiseul Apollo here, of the Cretan goddess and her companions.

#### GROUP T. THE BASLE GROUP

Oinochoai : woman's head.

1. London 67.5-8.1105 *C.V. B.M.* Pl. 45, 12. Fig. 23.
2. London (white-on-black 1017), from Nola. *C.V. B.M.* Pl. 45, 14.
3. London (white-on-black 1016), from Nola. *C.V. B.M.* Pl. 45, 13.  
Parts of the eyes repainted, and some of the black and white.
4. London (white-on-black 1015). *C.V. B.M.* Pl. 45, 15.
5. Munich 2747. Lau, Pl. 39, 3.
6. Vienna 421. *Jahreshefte*, 1, p. 145 (von Schneider). The end of the nose modern.
7. Basle 1906.282.
8. Geneva 687. The eyes repainted.
9. Tarquinia RC 6219. The mouth of the vase, and part of the handle, lost.
10. Naples. Phot. Sommer 11065, below, 2.
11. Cracow.
12. Syracuse, from Camarina.
13. Berlin 2201. Gerhard, *A.B.* Pl. 101, 2. Fig. 24.

Not a bad type of head. One would like to see this modeller working on a larger scale. The look is less nun-like than in Group S, the lips fuller, the hair freer, and the last touch of obliquity in eye and eyebrow is gone. The wave of the hair is looser than in previous groups : this is the manner of the later fifth century. The date will be between 440 and 420. Not unlike this type is the bust on the Eretria painter's epinetron<sup>75a</sup> : the date of the epinetron is somewhere about 430.

The Berlin vase differs from the others in having a stephane ; which is decorated with a maeander on a white ground.

Most of these vases I have put together already.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75a</sup> Athens 1629 (*Eph. Arch.* 1897, Pls. 9-10) : on the painter, *Att. V.*, pp. 428-30, and *Vases in Poland*, pp. 61-4.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

## GROUP V. THE SPETIA GROUP

Janiform kantharoi: 1-3. silen's head and woman's head: 4. woman's heads.

1. New York 27.122.9. B. *Bull. Metr. Mus.* 1928, p. 108, Fig. 2 (Richter).  
A and B. Fig. 25. On each side, a warrior leaving home.
2. Naples Stg. 57, from Ruvo. Phot. Sommer 11033, 1, right. On each side, two Amazons.



FIG. 23.—LONDON 67. 5-S. 1105.



FIG. 24.—BERLIN 2201.

3. Formerly in the possession of Count Spetia di Radione: from Comacchio? *Cat. Sotheby*, 13 Dec., 1928, Pl. 17: Fig. 26. On each side, three women.
4. Formerly in the same collection (*Cat. Sotheby*, 13 Dec., 1928, No. 109): from Comacchio? On each side, three women.

In the New York vase the necks of the heads are shortish and spread out suddenly at the bottom: a spout issues from the female neck below the chin. The features are soft, and but for the pictures I suppose one would be inclined to date these vases in the fourth century. The forehead-hair of the woman



FIG. 25.—NEW YORK 27. 122. 9.



FIG. 26.—LONDON MARKET.



is concealed by a broad band, part of such a saccos as is worn by the handmaid on the tombstone of Hegeso: except beside the ears, where it is rendered tripily by little clay curls, not part of the mould, but rolled separately and stuck on one by one: the same sort of technique as in a vase of the Toronto group.<sup>77</sup> The silen's beard and hair are done in the same way. The pictures, by Aison,<sup>78</sup> date the vase about 420.

The other three vases have no spout, the vase-mouth is taller, the handles less heavy. The Naples pictures are not by Aison, but they are not very far off. The pattern below the picture on the woman side is the same as in New York, and it is interrupted, as there, in the middle. The necks of the head flare out at the bottom: the female head is of the same type, with long nose, saccos, and tripy curls. The silen's hair is also tripy: his beard I did not note.

The two other vases go together. Spreading neck, tripy hair. The women are of the same type as before. The silen is meant to look older: his features are the same, but the forehead is bald, the beard longer and quite plain. The pictures, which must be by a single painter—not Aison—seem a trifle later than in the New York and Naples vases, take us down to 410 at least.

Both heads, woman and silen, are interesting. How aloof, almost contemptuous, they are—compared with their earlier companions, for instance in the Toronto group,<sup>79</sup> where both silen and maenad do their best to attract our attention and to please.

Aloofness is not uncommon in the sculpture of the late fifth century. One finds it in sub-parthenonian goddesses—in the Athena of Velletri, in the Demeter of the Rotonda; and in males like the Borghese Ares.

The silen head in its New York form found favour with Apulian potters in the second half of the fourth century. It is imitated in Apulian kantharoi. One such is in Ruvo, another in Naples, a third in the British Museum.<sup>80</sup>

#### GROUP W. THE PERSIAN GROUP

1-5 are mugs, 6 a janiform kantharos. 1, woman's head: 2, 4, and 5, Persian's head: 3, head of an Eastern princess; 6, silen's head and woman's head.

1. London E 790, from Nola. Phot. Mansell 3217, left = *Jahrbuch*, 32, p. 56 (Bieber); *C.F.* B.M. Pl. 37, 5, and Pl. 38, 3.<sup>81</sup> Maenad and dancing silen.

2. London E 791, from Nola (?) (= Gargiulo, *Recueil* (1861), 4, Pl. 12—'from the province of Bari'?): *C.F.* B.M. Pls. 37, 6, and 38, 4.

<sup>77</sup> See p. 56.

<sup>78</sup> A list of his works in *Att. V.* pp. 445-7 and 479.

<sup>79</sup> See p. 56.

<sup>80</sup> Ruvo, Jatta collection, *Atti Pont. Acc.* 14, p. 225, Fig. 4 and p. 227, left

(Albizzati): Naples, phot. Sommer 11065, bottom, 1: B.M. F 436. On such imitations see above, p. 52, and Albizzati, *l.c.* p. 230, top.

<sup>81</sup> Bieber by a slip describes the style as early classical (*l.c.* p. 57).

A woman seated, and an attendant in Oriental costume, apparently male.

3. Oxford 554. *C.V.* Oxford, iii, 1. Pl. 4, 7-8. Woman and Eros.
4. Ruvo, Museo Jatta, 1515, from Ruvo. A youth in Oriental costume pursuing a woman : unmeaning inscription.
5. Ruvo, Museo Jatta, 1509, from Ruvo. Female head, with Eros and a silen.
6. London E 792, from Basilicata. *C.V.* B.M. Pls. 36, 3. and 38, 2. A, young satyr leading a fawn : B, seated woman, and Eros.

I have already grouped these vases together in *Corpus Vasorum*.<sup>82</sup> There are no repeats, unless 4 should be a repeat of 2—my notes do not tell me : 5 has at least a longer beard than 2 or 4. But the shapes go well together, the heads as well as could be expected, and the pictures, though not all by the same hand, are all in the same general style, the florid, sub-Meidian style current at the beginning of the fourth century. The woman of No. 1 has a long face, rather big features, and a dignified, not over-intelligent expression : the head is bare, the hair wavy over the forehead, lifted behind and tucked in. In the London Oriental the flesh over the brows is drawn down strongly towards the spring of the nose, just as in the New York silen—τοξοποιεῖ τὰς ὀφρῦς.<sup>83</sup> The worried look is increased by the deep wrinkles and the open mouth : one cannot help thinking of a Euripidean tragic mask, or of Greek portrait-heads petrified by the Roman copyist. The Oxford woman is shown by the tiara to be an Oriental princess, I have conjectured Andromeda.<sup>84</sup> The London kantharos is the runt of the family, and the woman is nearly as stupid-looking as the silen.

I now give, by way of supplement, a list of vases which will not go into any of my groups. Some of them I should be able to place if I had seen them, or seen them again. The negroes I have kept to the last.

Let it be remembered that this is a miscellaneous list : not groups.

Aryballoi : woman's head.

Berlin 2203, from Tanagra. *Mon. Piot.* 9. p. 141 (Pottier); Perrot, 10, pp. 747 and 749; new, Hoppin *Bf. Vases*, p. 319. Snake-handles. Underneath the foot, b.f., boy with panther-cub. Incised round the foot, ΠΡΟΚΛΕΕΣΕΡΟΙΕΣΕ. See above, pp. 42 and 46.

Oxford 1921.856. *C.V.* Oxford, Pl. 44, 5-6. About 500. See below, p. 76.

Formerly in the Paris market. *Coll. M. E.*, Pl. 4, 222.

<sup>82</sup> *C.V.* Oxford, pp. 10-11.

<sup>83</sup> Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 8. Artists at Athens must have had good opportunities of studying this expression in the last decade of the fifth century and the first of the fourth.

<sup>84</sup> *C.V.* Oxford, text to Pl. 4. 7; see Corneille, *Examen d'Andromède*. In an Apulian negro-head vase (Cabinet des Médailles 1238; phot. Giraudon 8121; the picture, De Ridder, p. 668), the black wears a tiara.

## Janiform aryballoi : woman's heads.

Oxford 1920.253. *C.V.* Oxford, Pl. 44, 3-4. Late sixth century.  
 Providence? Formerly in Lewes House. About 480.

## Janiform kantharoi.

New York, Mr. Albert Gallatin, from Capua. Silen's head and woman's head. *C.V.* Gallatin, Pl. 29, 3-4 : A, *N. Y. Shapes*, p. 23, 3.

Villa Giulia, Castellani collection. Women's heads. Symposion : on each side a reclining youth.

Marzabotto, Conte Aria, from Marzabotto. Silen's head and woman's head. Gozzadini, *Ulteriori scoperte nell' antica necropoli a Marzabotto*, Pls. 6-8; Montelius, *Civ. Prim.*, B, Pl. 109, 21 (a bad little reproduction). A, fight : B, woman and youth. Albizzati dates this about 450,<sup>85</sup> which seems too early, as far as one can tell from the reproduction in Montelius; Gozzadini's I have seen but cannot now consult.

## Oinochoai : woman's head.

1-5 are late archaic, or sub-archaic.

1. Naples. Phot. Sommer 11065, below, 4. Perhaps compare the kantharos, *C.V.* Gallatin, Pl. 29, 3-4.
2. Yale 171. Baur, p. 95, 1.
3. New York, Mr. Albert Gallatin. *C.V.* Gallatin, Pl. 30, 1.
4. Thebes, from Rhitsona. *B.S.A.* 14, Pl. 11, C (Ure).
5. Bowdoin College : formerly in Deepdene. Has a stephane.
- 6-7. Bari : two of a single type : the style points to about 470-460, but from my hasty examination I could not be quite sure that the vases were Attic.
8. Athens 2049 (N. 1237), from Attica. About 440.

## Fragment.

Athens, Acropolis F 19. Part of a silen's head, with stephane. Recalls Group O.

Lastly, a unique vase.

Eleusis 964, from Eleusis. Very small. Woman's head. This is surmounted by a tall conical neck, decorated with white zigzags, and flanked by two cantharus-like handles. The upper part of this erection is lost : how it ended I cannot tell, and I do not know of any analogy ; or what purpose the object can have served. Late sixth century. By the same modeller, a fragment in Athens, Acropolis F 16. Not unlike, Oxford 1921.856 (see above, p. 76), and Group D.

## Various negroes.

I have included in this list, for the convenience of the negro-lover, not only unallotted blacks, but all those which I have discussed and grouped

<sup>85</sup> *L.c.*, p. 223.

above; and I have arranged the whole lot, as far as possible, in chronological order.

1. Boston 00.332. Mug. Buschor, *G.V.* p. 142 and *K.* p. 13, Fig. 19. B.f., between eyes, Dionysos and silens. See p. 42.
2. Villa Giulia, fragment of a mug, with the signature of Charinos. See p. 43, No. 1.
3. Athens 11725 (N. 1228). Aryballos. Pl. 1, 1-2. A magnificent head, probably by the same modeller as Boston 00.332, but without the wrinkles and the careworn look. Here the face is a boy's, a blend of bewilderment and brutal strength.
- 4-7. Louvre CA 987. Boston 98.988. London (white-on-black no. 1005). Athens 2058. See pp. 41-43 (Group B).
8. Athens 2385 (N. 1227),<sup>85a</sup> from Eretria. *Eph. arch.* 1894, Pl. 6 (Hartwig). Aryballos. Incised on the side of the vase-mouth,  $\Lambda\epsilon\alpha\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . Dated by the love-name to about the last decade of the sixth century.<sup>86</sup> Pottier thinks that the vase comes from the same workshop as the Epilykos aryballoi,<sup>86a</sup> but the resemblance between this negro-head and that in the Louvre is not close: the two are nearly contemporary, that is all.
9. Reggio, from Western Locri. Aryballos. *Notizie*, 1912, suppl. p. 16 (Orsi).
- 10-11. Boston. Villa Giulia, Castellani. Negresses. See p. 47 (Group F).
- 12-14. Vienna, Oest. 347. St. Louis. Athens 2056. Negresses. See pp. 47-51 (Group G, Nos. 10, 11, and 5). Akin to the last.
15. Vatican. See p. 60 (Group M, No. 3).
- 16-17. Bologna 466. Princeton, Morgan. See pp. 52-53 (Group H).
- 18-20. London 1915.12-29.1, from Etruria (*C.V.* B.M. Pl. 44, 4 (misprinted 3 in the text)). Louvre H 62 (Pottier, *Dessin*, Pl. 12, 37: restored with the mouth of an Italiote oinochoe!). Louvre H 61 (much repainted). These three oinochoai are by one modeller. A good type, though the modelling is rather blunt.
21. Formerly in the Gréau collection. Mug. *Coll. Gréau*, Pl. 5 and p. 23. Symposion: silen drinking and maenad sleeping. Buschor dates this vase between 470 and 460, correctly.<sup>87</sup> The pictures recall such cups as Leipsic T 532, (I. maenad: A-B, symposion: silens and maenads); Louvre G 251 (I. youth running: A-B, silens attacking sleeping maenads); Munich, Dr. Preyss (I, silen: A, silens attacking sleeping maenad; B, silens and maenad); Aberdeen 748 (I, komast: A-B, symposion, with a black boy in attendance): neighbourhood of the Pistoxenos painter. The Gréau vase is probably somewhere in America, for it appears in a New York sale catalogue (*Later Greek Art: Collection of Henry de Morgan*,

<sup>85a</sup> The museum number is not 2160 as Nicole states, and the height is not .28 but

.128.

<sup>86</sup> On Leagros, see Langlotz, *Zeitbestim-*

*mung*, pp. 48-54.

<sup>86a</sup> *Mon. Piot*, 9, pp. 142-3.

<sup>87</sup> *K.* p. 13.

- New York*, 1901, 12-13 *March*, No. 161). A good head, the last good one.
- 22-23. London 47.8-6.35. Brussels R 434. See p. 61 (Group N, Nos. 2 and 3). Dull, bestial type, and so are all those that follow. Even the negro of Sotades is a cockshy negro, and the modellers of the second half of the fifth century are as much interested in the soul of the negro as a boy bunging at the African dodger.
24. Berlin 4049, from Attica. Schrader, *Marmorkopf eines Negers* (60 *Winckelmannsprogramm*), p. 11. Aryballos.
25. Berlin 2203, from Nola. Buschor, *K.* p. 42. Oinochoe. The shape of his neck would seem to place the negro in the third quarter of the fifth century or not earlier.
26. Naples 2950. Phot. Sommer 11079, middle. Resembles the last.
27. Frankfort. Schaal, *Gr. Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Pl. 49. Mug. On the vase-mouth, silens. The neck of the negro modern. About 425.
28. Ruvo, Museo Jatta, 1521, from Ruvo. Mug. R.f. patterns. Late, if my memory serves.
29. London 91.4-22.2, from Tanagra. C.V. B.M. Pl. 44, 3 (misprinted 4 in the text). Small oinochoe, with mouth type 3. Brown dipinto, τ. Miserable: the negro looks like a Christie minstrel in liquor. This type of vase-mouth, 3, is common in the plastic vases of the fourth century,<sup>88</sup> and the negro belongs to their time.
- J. D. BEAZLEY.

## ADDENDA.

To Group N add a woman's head oinochoe in Carlsruhe (B 187) and two in the Paris market (Mikas): and a replica of the Brussels vase No. 3, this also in the possession of Mr. Mikas.

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<sup>88</sup> Treu, *Thongefässe in Statuettenform*, Pl. 2, 1, and 3, 5, and 6.

## HELLENISTIC RULER-CULT: INTERPRETATION OF TWO TEXTS

THE article published by Mr. Tarn on 'The Hellenistic Ruler-Cult and the Daimon' in *J.H.S.*, 1928, p. 206, is convincing in its main points and an effective refutation of certain serious errors into which Miss Taylor and Dr. Schnabel have fallen. I merely write this note to criticise his interpretation of two passages in his Greek authorities, which I consider wrong, while it does not affect his main argument.

The first is Plutarch, *Alexand.* c. 51 (p. 696 A), containing the account given by Chares of Mitylene of Alexander's feast, where all the guests drank his health with προσκύνησις, except Kallisthenes, who refused this act of adoration: the first who received the cup from Alexander is said πρὸς ἐστίαν ἀναστῆναι καὶ πίνοντα προσκυνῆσαι πρῶτον, εἶτα φιλῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον: the phrase πρὸς ἐστίαν ἀναστῆναι puzzled Dr. Schnabel, but Mr. Tarn regards as convincing Prof. Otto's elucidation, 'who has brilliantly shown that the function of the ἐστία in question was to carry the eternal fire which burnt before the Persian kings' (p. 207). According to this, the first person who drank Alexander's health rose and before he drank turned towards the πῦρ ἀθάνατον. I need not discuss the significance of this act: for Mr. Tarn himself does not, and I regard the explanation as far-fetched, unnatural, and in fact impossible; for the words will not bear the weight put upon them. If Chares had meant to convey the interesting information that the 'Immortal Fire' of Persian religion was carried with Alexander everywhere and that obeisance was made to it before the guest drank, he could not hope that this would be understood by so simple a phrase as πρὸς ἐστίαν ἀναστῆναι. The ordinary Greek reader would be likely to interpret the phrase in the light of the well-known proverb, ἄφ' Ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι, and of the ritual law, prevailing from the Homeric period down through later Greek religion, of offering the first libation (or other offering) to Hestia before any sacrifice, and according to one authority, at every festival-gathering before any other libation or invocation over the cups: <sup>1</sup> this may have dwindled at last into the form of making some slight obeisance to the Hearth-Goddess. We may therefore understand Chares as wishing to inform us that the first person who at Alexander's feast combined the προσκύνησις with the drinking of his health made first some obeisance to the spirit of the hearth, whether with or without a libation to her, so as to indicate that his whole action had a religious significance. There must have been some fire at the banquet; and wherever there was a fire, even in a temporary hearth, there was Hestia. In addition to the strong positive objections to Prof. Otto's theory there is this negative one that Arrian,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have collected the references in my *of Cults*.  
chapter on Hestia-Cult in the fifth volume <sup>2</sup> *Anab.* 7, 12.

describing the same scene and drawing from the same source as Plutarch, and using to a great extent the same words, omits *πρὸς ἑστίαν* altogether as if the phrase conveyed something of no importance. It is strange that he should have omitted them if the words conveyed all that Prof. Otto reads into them; not strange if they merely expressed a common and conventional Greek act that had ceased to have much value.

Against the simple explanation I offer may be urged the objection that this is a Macedonian feast, and that we are not able to say that the Macedonians had that particular practice in regard to Hestia, or in fact worshipped the Hearth-Goddess at all. This objection would only be serious if the writer were describing a purely Macedonian feast conducted with purely Macedonian fashions, where none but Macedonians were present; even then if the writer, being a Greek, inserted the phrase *πρὸς ἑστίαν ἀναστῆναι* [καὶ πιόντα], we should not hastily conclude that by this slight phrase he meant to allude to the 'Immortal Fire' of Persian religion; we might be more inclined to suppose, if we took his statement as authoritative, that the Macedonians had the same custom in regard to Hestia as the Greeks. But the objection does not arise; for obviously this feast was not purely Macedonian, but there were Greeks present, we do not know how many; and the first person who started the *προσκύνησις* may well have been a Greek. And after all we should not perhaps take Chares' phrase too seriously; he was a Greek and writing for Greeks, and may have carelessly thrown into the account a Greek touch, which the careful Arrian discards.

The second passage which Mr. Tarn quotes in two notes (p. 207, n. 3, and p. 217, n. 52) from Diodorus Siculus (xviii. 60, 5-61) as proving Prof. Otto's interpretation of *πρὸς ἑστίαν ἀναστῆναι* cannot possibly be brought into that connexion or be misunderstood by anyone familiar with Greek ritual: the Greek Eumenes, having seen a dream-vision of the great Alexander functioning as if alive, persuades the chief men to assist him in erecting a magnificent tent in which is placed a throne, and on it a diadem, sceptre, and suit of armour; and hard by an *ἑσχάρα* is set up with a fire into which they fling frankincense and other savoury and costly spices: 'and they worshipped Alexander as a God,' and held a council near the throne. It is surprising that Mr. Tarn should discern in the *ἑσχάρα* with the fire a distinct reference to the 'Immortal Fire' of the Persians. Surely we need not go so far to explain so simple and common a fact of ritual. This is a purely Greek rite on the lines of ordinary hero-worship: the suit of armour goes better with the hero than with the God, while the throne belongs either to the hero or the God. Eumenes and the others are said, indeed, to be worshipping Alexander as a God, but in later times the terms *ἥρωας* and *Θεός* are often used confusedly for the glorified deceased. But whether he was being worshipped explicitly as *Θεός* or *ἥρωας* makes no difference: fire was usually necessary in the worship of all heroes and most Gods: therefore Eumenes had to provide it in or near his tent; and it would have to be brought in a brazier, which is one of the special meanings of *ἑσχάρα*. If Eumenes, whose arrangements were very swiftly carried out, had determined that it was necessary to provide Alexander with the

'Immortal Fire' of Persian ritual we should surely have been informed of this, and we should wish to have been told where he got it from and how long it took to arrive. But these difficulties do not arise in so simple and easy a narrative, which is sufficient without any complications to prove Mr. Tarn's main point, namely, that they were worshipping not 'the daimon' of Alexander, but Alexander's glorified self of flesh and blood.<sup>3</sup>

L. R. FARNELL.

Dr. Farnell very kindly showed me the foregoing note. I think I was very likely wrong about the ἑσχάρα in the Alexander-tent (which I only put in at the last moment), even though an ἑσχάρα was the proper vehicle for the Persian πῦρ ἀθάνατον (Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3, 12, borne before Cyrus). But I cannot help feeling doubtful of his interpretation of the ἑστία in Plutarch; it is most difficult to see clearly. My trouble is, that nothing is actually known about Hestia in Macedonia; that the *Persians* who made proskynesis (and according to Arrian it got no further than Persians) would know nothing of her; and that we have to explain the Ptolemaic φωσφόρος (which is Otto's point), and it could not have come to the Ptolemies from the Achaemenids without some intermediary. The sacred fire, I imagine, could have been brought to Bactra for the occasion from the fire on Mt. Ravand, as it was brought to Asaak for the coronation of the first Arsaces; had we the Alexander-historians we might find that ἑστία *had* been explained. But the whole question is so difficult, and any fresh light so welcome, that I am very glad Dr. Farnell has published his view of it.

With regard to what I wrote (p. 214 and n. 38 of my article) about the term 'god-begotten' in connection with the Hero in the Romance. Miss Taylor has pointed out to me that there is a note in Raabe's edition (not reproduced by Kroll) to the effect that the Armenian word for ἥρωϛ used in the second passage means θεογενής. [It is Raabe, p. 22, l. 20: text, τῷ ἥρωι; note, 'wörtlich θεογενεῖ'.] I mentioned in my article that I had been unable at the time to consult Raabe. It makes no difference in *substance*, for the reasons I subsequently gave (pp. 214 *sq.*); but, in case I have unintentionally not been quite fair to Miss Taylor in not knowing and giving Raabe's note, I feel I ought to offer her my apologies.

W. W. TARN.

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<sup>3</sup> I have emphasised this view of the ἥρωϛ in my *Hero-Cults*, p. 371.



## THE BACCHAE

THE *Bacchae* remains a puzzle. It is hard to be content with an interpretation of the play which makes Dionysus the hero, and even approximates him to Christ.<sup>1</sup> Dionysus is more like Judas; he fondles the man whom he means to kill (l. 933). It is equally hard to believe that he is, as Pentheus said, a mere human hypnotist, a γόης ἐπωδός (l. 234) and an impostor.<sup>2</sup> For the play is the story of how Pentheus, acting on that belief, was ruined utterly.

I propose to argue, first, that Euripides is here, as elsewhere, a realist, giving us a picture of Dionysus worship as it really was; and that the miracles are meant as evidence of the presence of some supernatural power; and secondly, that if we want to know his judgment on that religion, we shall come nearest his thought, if not his vocabulary, in saying that it seemed to him devilish.

Euripides is baffling, and he is τραγικώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν because of the wide range of his sympathies and the rare truthfulness of his mind. His unflinching vision of the dangers to which human nature is exposed is one of the things that distinguishes him from his countrymen, who let their vision of the truth be blurred by their wish that things were otherwise (cf. Thuc. iii. 3 : μῆτιζον μέρος νέμοντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι). Not less baffling to the ordinary mind is his fidelity to the beauty and nobility, which he discerned in unlikely places; the motherliness of Medea and Phaedra's chastity are, like the beauty of the Bacchanals, traits that the common mind would never have the insight or the courage to recognise.

The argument against taking the play seriously and straightforwardly, as meaning what it plainly says (that Dionysus is real and terrible and evil), is founded mainly on the contention that the miracles, in which Dionysus displays his power, are a fraud. This point of view is put strongly by Mr. Norwood in *The Riddle of the Bacchae*, and it hinges on the suggestion that the only miracle, which can be tested, is the alleged falling of the palace (l. 633), and that for this we have evidence inside the play that no such thing really happened. The evidence is that the people in the play never notice that the house is fallen, go in and out and never see that συντεθράνωται δ' ἅπαν. This giving us the clue, Mr. Norwood argues, we can understand the other miracles as due either to hallucination induced by the γόης ἐπωδός, or to the excitement of those who report them.

But this argument can be reversed; if the manifest falseness of one miracle is to determine our interpretation of all the rest, then the genuineness of one

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Murray's translation of lines 509, 510 suggests this.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Norwood, *The Riddle of the Bacchae*, pp. 88 ff.

may equally be taken to show how the play is as a whole to be taken. I suggest that the madness of the maenads, and specially their strength in their frenzy, are felt by Euripides to be miraculous, and to prove the presence of some unseen power, and that this may have been actually observed by him in Macedon. Dionysus in the prologue announces that he will cause the city which disbelieves in him 'to learn for certain' (ἐκμαθεῖν, l. 39) that he is a daemon, by making the women mad; we may take it that Euripides meant this seriously, and that he himself felt that the frenzy and the terrific strength it generated, which he knew to be a fact, was evidence of some daemonic agency at work. Perhaps we should be safer in supposing that the poet had not definitely made up his mind about the interpretation of the facts, but that he felt that we at least do not know for certain that there is no god there, and that it is *possible* that we are, as the old legends said, compassed about by powers of darkness, whose evil will has power to ruin all our lives; and that he wrote the play to exhibit that possibility.<sup>3</sup> It seems to me characteristic of the poet's mind that he could entertain, if not simultaneously, then alternately, different points of view, and would write a play to put forward and explore a possible interpretation of human life and destiny.<sup>4</sup> In this play he meant us to feel the full horror of the possibility that there is a supernatural power, corresponding in its nature and its work to the Dionysus of the myths. To me, however, the intensity of the play suggests that the poet was not merely putting a point of view; that he felt profoundly that human life is tragic because there is a malign power, such as was Dionysus of the myths, which a man can thus easily and thus unwittingly stir up to his undoing.

If this interpretation is right, we must find some other explanation for the fact that the characters in the play do not notice the supposed fall of the palace. It seems that the suggestions put forward and declined by Mr. Norwood may really meet the case; viz. that the palace was only partly shaken down (συντεθράνωται δ' ἅπαν being an exaggeration—when a house is actually falling it is natural to feel that it is *all* coming down); and secondly, that the characters are too excited, first about the escape of Dionysus, and then about the death of Pentheus, to notice anything else at all. (I cherish a feeling, which it is doubtless impolitic to mention, that the poet himself may have been so occupied with his central theme as to forget the house was down.) But Dr. A. B. Cook has most kindly pointed out to me, that the notion that Dionysus was a god who could cause an earthquake is not an invention of Euripides; it was an established Orphic belief,<sup>5</sup> and Orphism was strong in Macedonia.

But I have still to show grounds for supposing that the events of the play

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Macbeth*. Did Shakespeare believe in witches? The play is immensely more powerful if you think he did, or at least that he contemplated them as possible; as he probably did.

<sup>4</sup> I think I am here indebted to a remark of Prof. Murray's in his Introduction to the volume called *Athenian Drama—Euripides*.

<sup>5</sup> See *Orph. L. Perikion*, 47. 1 ff. Dr.

Cook has also supplied me with the following note:—'The epithet ἡρηξίχτων, the "land-breaker," has reference in all probability to the disruptive effect of earthquakes and is applied in Orphic hymns to "Dionysus." *Orph. L. Lys. Len.* 50. 5; *L. triet.* 52. 9.' See his third volume of *Zeus*, chapter ii. § 5.

can be accepted as a description of actual or possible occurrences. The reason for such a view is briefly this—the picture of Dionysus worship, which Euripides gives, is paralleled by many other accounts of religious ecstasy in ancient and modern times. One may refer to Davenport's account of the phenomena accompanying revival movements among the North American Indians, among Americans of Scotch-Irish descent, and among Englishmen at the time of the Wesleyan revival.<sup>6</sup>

Euripides tells us that it was the women who were first affected by the Dionysiac madness, but that men were afterwards overcome as well; that a marked feature of the cult was the moving together in a crowd (θίασος); he shows us the ecstatic joy, the rhythmical dance and song, working up to a climax, in which some violent muscular outlet must be found for the extraordinary nervous excitement (it is found in dancing, running and tearing of animals), and ending in complete exhaustion. The manifestations become more menacing as they proceed, beginning with a very attractive exaltation of the feelings of joy and emancipation, and ending in complete inhibition of the normal powers of perception and rational control. All these are characteristic features of religious revival. Even in quite small details Euripides' account is paralleled by Davenport's. Davenport, for instance, speaks of 'falling out' as a marked feature of many religious revivals. On page 39 of his book he quotes:—'Under the power of the emotion and the hypnotic power of the medicine man . . . first one and then another would break from the ring (of dancers) stagger and fall down.' ἡδὺς ἐν ὄρεσιν ὅταν ἐκ θιάσων δρομαίων πέσῃ πεδόσῃ (*Bacchae*, 136).

It may be objected that the central feature of the Bacchic frenzy, on which the play hinges, is the extraordinary muscular strength of the maenad, and that for this there is no parallel. It is known, however, that hypnotic excitement, or even strong excitement without hypnotic influence, does enhance to an extraordinary degree the normal muscular strength; and we may notice that in all Davenport's accounts there is *some* muscular discharge of energy, in shouting, 'jerking,'<sup>7</sup> or leaping. The tearing of small animals, the typical fawns and kids of the sculptured Bacchanal, seems therefore to be well within the bounds of possibility.<sup>8</sup>

The tearing of the bull and the man are in a different category. Whether

<sup>6</sup> See Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revival*.

<sup>7</sup> See Davenport, *op. cit.*, p. 28 and *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Carpenter, *Mental Physiology*, p. 327:—'An old cook maid, tottering with age, having heard the alarm of fire, seized an enormous box containing her whole property, and ran downstairs with it as easily as she would have carried a dish of meat. After the fire had been extinguished she could not lift the box a hair's breadth from the ground, and it required two men to carry it upstairs again.' Another and most

interesting parallel has been supplied to me by a neurologist, one of whose patients, suffering from shell-shock, would sometimes be unable to control an impulse to go out and tear off the heads of living fowls. It is suggested that the desire to see blood, which in normal human beings is completely repressed, was in this case stimulated by the suggestion supplied by the man's experiences in the war; in the case of the maenads, a similar suggestion would be found in the ritual slaughter of animals, and particularly in the sacrifice of the bull to Dionysus.

they are possible or not is for the medical expert to decide.<sup>9</sup> Euripides may have felt that the licence due to a poet entitled him to heighten the actual facts in order to bring the old tale within the limits of the poetically conceivable. I suggest, however, that the facts which are known to be possible are enough to have made *him* believe that the old story could not be regarded as certainly incredible.

If we ask what were the influences at work in Dionysiac religion to induce the hypnotic state, there are several points to notice. First the darkness, which nearly always, I think, undermines our sense of reality. Let anyone ask himself, whether he does not feel that a hypnotist would have a better chance with him by night, in a forest, than by day, at home or in the city. The second factor is the rhythmical dance and song. All writers on hypnotic and kindred states emphasise the immense importance of rhythmical movement and sound. Thirdly, we are probably right in including wine among influences affecting the mental condition of the worshipper. And we have already noticed the fact that the psychological effect of the crowd was present.<sup>10</sup>

There is another element, which in the play helped in no small degree to bring on the hypnotic symptoms, and that is the presence of the γόις ἐπωδός. Whether this condition was always present in real life we cannot tell, but it seems likely that often enough the priest performed the rôle here assigned to the god.

I have said, perhaps, enough to show that it is at least possible that in this play Euripides was founding not upon imagination, nor upon legend merely, but upon fact. And indeed most writers agree in supposing that he was moved to write the play by having found in Macedon an extremest form of Dionysus worship than was practised in Attica. I go further only in suggesting that this involved, not only the excitement and the midnight worship, but also the actual tearing of animals, with perhaps the possibility of danger to human beings.

But would Euripides necessarily regard these facts, granted for the moment that they were facts, as implying a supernatural agency? If he had anything like the attitude of mind and the bias of the nineteenth-century materialist (he could not have the knowledge of a twentieth-century psychologist), he might have taken the view that these states of mind, inexplicable as they were, must yet be due to the working of some as yet undiscovered natural law, and therefore need not be taken to imply divine agency. But I see no reason to suppose that he so regarded the facts. 'Panic' fear and madness were by the Greeks habitually thought to be due to the presence of a god or daemon; and, as Mr. Cornford has shown, there was a tendency to think of other strongly emotional states, in which the will seems powerless, as explicable by the same hypothesis.<sup>11</sup> Nor do I think that Euripides ever wrote anything to suggest that in theology

<sup>9</sup> One may note that there is no reason to suppose that the bull in question was as large as modern English prize cattle. The largest bulls in the ancient world came from Sicily and Epirus; what their actual size was

I do not know; sculptured friezes do not always observe proportion.

<sup>10</sup> Θιασέυεται ψυχάν (l. 75) his individuality is merged in the group?

<sup>11</sup> See his *Thucydides Mythistoricus*.

he was a dogmatic atheist. It is true that, during his lifetime, Anaxagoras had taught in Athens that all things are governed by cause and effect (probably to be conceived in terms of physics), and that there is no god but Nous, the Intelligence which is the First Cause. It is true also that Euripides was strongly inclined to doubt whether the orthodox Olympian gods were any good for anything; he once makes a character wonder whether perhaps there are no gods, but chance rules all things. But I think it hard to believe that Euripides ever finally made up his mind about the gods. And some of his plays seem to have been written in protest against the atheistic view. Of these plays the most striking are the *Hippolytus*,<sup>12</sup> written near the beginning of his career, and the *Bacchae*, written at the very end.

In the *Troades*<sup>13</sup> Hecuba says it is all nonsense for Helen to lay her sin at Aphrodite's door. Aphrodite is nothing else than the lust of Helen's own heart. But in the *Hippolytus* surely we get a different impression—the sense of some powerful thing outside Phaedra, which overpowers her gallant resistance. So in the *Bacchae*, while in the abstract it is possible that Euripides might have taken the view that the madness and the murder and everything else might be due to nothing more nor less than wine, in actual fact his suggestion surely is that Pentheus wrestled not against the things of this world, but against spiritual powers and the rulers of darkness.

This impression of the malignity of some non-human power is strongly suggested, in both plays, by the emphasis on the fact that in each case the hostility was aroused, and the tragedy precipitated, by the ὕβρις of a man. This belief in divine jealousy is familiar to us in Aeschylus and Herodotus; Euripides is not obsessed by it in the same degree, but I think that in the *Hippolytus* and the *Bacchae* we are made to feel that the danger is increased by the hero's self-assertive confidence; and this impression is against the theory that the poet thought natural causes would account for everything.

I come now to my second main thesis; Euripides not only meant us to think that Dionysus is a real power, mysterious and terrible, he meant us also to feel that he is evil.

It is not hard to point to passages in support of this view. Even in the lovely choral lyrics at the beginning of the play we get dark hints of another side—hints that we are perhaps too puzzled to accept. Compare νάρθηκας ὕβρισταῖς (in l. 113) and the astonishing, incredible blood-lust of l. 139.<sup>14</sup> (Blood-lust emerging in religious ecstasy is no unparalleled phenomenon: we may perhaps compare the priests of Baal.) The most horrible scene of all is the tempting of Pentheus by Dionysus (ll. 778 ff.). Here it seems to me, if anywhere in literature, we have the perfect devil, with his loathsome power to attract, and his appeal to the finer qualities<sup>15</sup> of human nature, of which he himself has not a

<sup>12</sup> Compare Prof. Gilbert Murray's remark that in order to deny the Aphrodite of the *Hippolytus* you would have to say not merely there is no such person, but there is no such thing.

<sup>13</sup> ll. 970 ff., especially 988.

<sup>14</sup> Here Euripides is, of course, strictly

loyal to the actual cult.

<sup>15</sup> Dionysus defeats Pentheus because he is able to win his *trust* (l. 934), while at the same time stimulating an unpleasant curiosity from which Pentheus had been free before.

trace. At the end of the play we have the overwhelming portrayal of the perfect evil work.

But if we are guided in our judgment of the play by these aspects of it, what are we to make of the beauty and the spiritual appeal of the choral odes sung by the Eastern maenads? There are three strains in these lyrics which make a strong appeal to our reverence. First the happiness; secondly the beauty, and thirdly the emphasis on holiness.

There is a quite extraordinary appeal in the sense of happiness in these odes, of the soul's escape, of care-free, innocent delight in simple things. We should compare it to the happiness of childhood, the purest thing on earth; to Euripides it suggests the unconscious happiness of the wild thing, and in one passage of heartrending beauty he gives it a double appeal, by comparing a *young* animal, running with its mother.<sup>16</sup> Does Euripides really mean us to condemn utterly a religion which gives its converts such a song as this?

But it is surely no uncommon thing for men and women to find that the offer of happiness, even of happiness that seemed innocent and childlike, has led them by strange ways into horror and disaster. Even so common and so sordid a thing as alcoholic intoxication is due to nothing else but this, the acceptance of an offer of happiness and escape from care, that ends in disillusion. Part of the tragedy of the play lies just here—the evil thing looked so fair, it was the hope and even the taste of exceeding joy that brought men into woe. Indeed I think the tragedy not only of Euripides' play, but of the whole world, lies very near this fact which we find it so hard to learn. We must sometimes forgo happiness, say no to the intolerable promise of joy.

So too the beauty of the Dionysiac religion must not mislead. For beauty, too, is among those things that we always must desire, and sometimes must refuse. 'Beauty is good,' we cry, with passionate insistence. And as in the old tale of the syrens, 'there lie close at hand the rotting bones of men' (*Od.* 12. 45).

I think beauty must have been a feature of the religion, and that it is not entirely an importation from the poet's own mind. The dances were almost certainly lovely, at any rate in their earlier stages; and Euripides shows us, with restraint upon his lips and passion in his heart, how the vile cult has prostituted to its own hideous ends, even the beauty of the night<sup>17</sup> and of the wild places of the woods.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, there is the appeal of holiness. Now I would suggest first that it is a common thing with all of us, when our emotion has been stirred, to utter with new fervour things we have known before; so that we falsely think the experience which moved us has also taught us something new; and secondly, that when we are moved, we may attribute to the cause of our emotion a moral value which it has not got; we may be mistaken in thinking that the man or the girl we are in love with is not only beautiful but good. The utterances about holiness in this play are no new revelation—they are the normal Greek platitudes. The maenads were mistaken in attributing to Dionysus their own moral ideas.

<sup>16</sup> l. 166, ἀμα μετέρι.

<sup>17</sup> l. 486.

<sup>18</sup> l. 862 ff. and *passim*.

But I think the insistence on holiness is due to something deeper than this. And here Rudolph Otto's book, *The Idea of the Holy*, is illuminating. Otto maintains that the words which mean holy, ὅσιος, *sacer*, and the rest, do not at first, nor indeed for a long time in the development of religion, mean *moral* purity. They are words that men use when they feel the presence of something supernatural, uncanny, other-worldly. Otto points out that even after the long endeavour of the Hebrew prophets to teach their people that God's holiness means His righteousness, they still felt, as the book of Leviticus shows, that God's holiness, and the holiness He demands in us, is of the ritual order.

I think the word in this play has this sense; it shows that the maenads felt the presence of something strange and supernatural—queer, moving, frightening. And βιοτᾶν ἁγιστεύει (l. 73) is a paraphrase of τελετὰς θεῶν εἰδῶς, meaning that the right way to meet the holiness of Dionysus is to go through the ritual and worship that he demands.

This cannot be proved, of course; but I cannot find, anywhere in the play, any suggestion of moral fineness which comes from Dionysus; and am therefore driven to believe that the fact that the word is used, is evidence simply that the worshippers felt a strange presence with them.

There remains, so far as I can see, nothing to cancel the dreadful horror of the end of the play, nothing to mitigate our impression of the damnableness of the havoc that the powers of evil work in human lives; but much, very much to make us feel 'the pity of it, O the pity of it.'

This play, the last Euripides ever wrote, is terribly tragic. There is no relief. The loveliest things, the greenwoods and the σμνότης of the darkness, the hope that some one or some thing will take care of us (l. 166, ματέρι), the joy of merry human fellowship (l. 380), are a snare and a delusion, leading to horror unthinkable and to black darkness. The only good things that remain undefiled at the end are the love and loyalty of human beings to each other; and how impotent these are.

M. R. GLOVER.

## TWO NORTH GREEK MINING TOWNS

### INTRODUCTORY

THE question as to the sources of metals in ancient Greece, as also in the whole of Europe, in the bronze age, has for some time exercised archaeologists. Apart from certain regions, little exploration has been carried out with regard to ancient mines, and there has especially been a tendency to take a long view in archaeology, and to connect across considerable distances regions where metal is known to have been worked in early times with regions where there is no information on the subject. But early mines are often hard to detect, as either the ore was completely exhausted, or the early workings have been obliterated by later peoples. There is, however, room for much careful investigation in this field, and metal being one of the most important objects of early commerce, the discovery of the sources used should throw a considerable light on this extremely complicated subject.

The present paper is an attempt to throw further light on the metal-sources of Greece in the bronze age, and describes some early mines which I have found there.

### CIRRHA MAGHOULA

Under two miles along the coast from Itea and some seven miles from Delphi lies the mound of Cirrha. This town is chiefly known as having been the port of Delphi in later times, but it has a long earlier history. The mound is large, and is partly covered by a modern village; fortunately, however, this area seems to have been also that chosen by the classical town, so that the northern part of the mound, where the prehistoric strata appear not to have been disturbed by later encroachments, is still clear. There even without excavation it has been possible to glean a great deal of information, and no doubt if it was dug it would yield results as rich as could now be obtained from any prehistoric site in Greece.

The question of Cirrha and Crisa has for many years been considered settled: Crisa was on the spur jutting out from the modern village of Chryso, while Cirrha was on the shore of the Gulf of Itea. The ancient evidence is, however, hopelessly confused, as we shall see in a moment when we come to discuss it; and for this reason it was not taken very seriously.

A certain number of ancient authorities say that Cirrha and Crisa are one place. Homer<sup>1</sup> only mentions Crisa, but does not say more. Pausanias<sup>2</sup> and the *Etymologicum Magnum* say that they are one name, by means of a mediate Cirsā, and that Leocrines is the only authority who distinguishes two towns. Stephanus of Byzantium also mentions this opinion, and Athenaeus<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> B 520.

<sup>2</sup> 10. 37.

<sup>3</sup> 566 c.



seems to subscribe when he says that the Crisaean War was fought by the Cirrhans. Finally, there is the modern tradition that the mound of Cirrha was once Crisa.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the identity of name, Professor Brauhnoltz kindly informs me that the *Etymologicum Magnum* is probably correct. The earlier form of the name would be Crisa, and the doublet Cirsa is very easy if, as seems probable, it is a foreign word. In certain dialects, especially Attic, but also in the Peloponnese, Cirsa would tend to become Cirrha.

On the other hand, some other authors distinguish the two places, especially Ptolemy<sup>5</sup> and Pliny.<sup>6</sup> Strabo<sup>7</sup> places Cirrha in the plain of Itea and Crisa between it and Anticyra on the coast, in which no modern scholar has followed him.

There is also considerable confusion as to which city was destroyed in the Crisaean War. Pausanias<sup>8</sup> twice says that Cirrha was the victim, and Suidas<sup>9</sup> and Aeschines<sup>10</sup> agree, while the latter adds that the harbour was blocked up. The Scholiast on Pindar says that the Cirrhans were driven out to Cirphis and later destroyed there. On the other side comes Strabo, who says that Cirrha was destroyed by Crisa and the latter by the Thessalians owing to tolls levied on pilgrims, while *Med. Gr.* 23, 833 says that the Crisaeans retired to a strong city near by, which Preller<sup>11</sup> thinks was Cirrha. Pliny<sup>6</sup> says that Crisa existed no more in his day. Frontinus describes the trick with the water-supply as an episode in the siege of Crisa, but it must be pointed out that this would be impossible on the rocky hill where the site of Crisa is usually located.

The principal difficulty is that our earliest authority, the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, is the most confused of all. The description of Crisa there says that it is on a spur jutting out westwards with a cliff above and a rocky valley below; which suits the accepted site of Crisa. On the other hand, the Cretans arrive at Crisa, at the harbour on the shingle beach; this is certainly Cirrha. Either we must suppose that the former passage is an interpolation or that the harbour is distinguished from the town; in the latter case, the description does not suit the archaeological evidence before the sixth century, and is important as a criterion for dating the hymn to after 550 B.C.

We must now consider the finds at these two sites. Frazer, on visiting Crisa, found a rough-hewn Cyclopean wall, which he thought might be Mycenaean. Bursian also saw this wall, while in Ulrichs' day it was standing ten feet high and was built of very large stones. Now the walls of Crisa are in great confusion; what was apparently the circuit wall of the city, which must have lain by the chapel of the Forty Saints, is now hardly visible, and is not built of very large stones, as a whole not large enough for Mycenaean; but there is a good circuit wall just missing the hill with the chapel and enclosing the next spur, of rough polygonal or Cyclopean masonry about six

<sup>4</sup> Leake, *North Greece*, p. 584.

<sup>5</sup> 3, 15.

<sup>6</sup> 4, 3.

<sup>7</sup> 418.

<sup>8</sup> 2, 96; 10, 37.

<sup>9</sup> s.r. Solon.

<sup>10</sup> Ctes. 109.

<sup>11</sup> *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*.

feet thick. Inside this enceinte there is no pottery. There are also the remains of a tower just by this wall.

Secondly, there has been found in Crisa an altar with boustrophedon inscription, published by Roehl.<sup>12</sup> Mr. Tod very kindly informs me that the date of this altar is most uncertain, as the experts are in great disagreement, but on the whole it seems that those who are working on purely epigraphical and not historical evidence would prefer a date in the sixth century to one in the seventh.

Finally, the sherds at Crisa show a complete disagreement with our

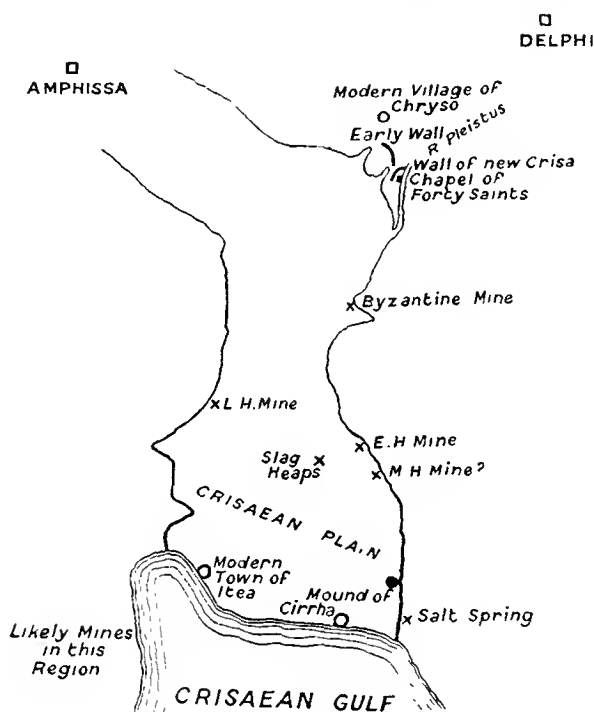


FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF THE PLAIN OF CIRRHA.

picture of a flourishing prehistoric and early classical town. The earliest that I picked up there seemed to be Corinthian, and there were several pieces of black glaze and unpainted yellow and grey wares. But they are not common, and give the impression of a poor and unimportant village.

The remains of buildings at Cirrha are now not numerous, and seem confined to the foundations of a stoa. Leake, on the other hand, found a great many ruins, while Ulrichs saw a mole and a town wall built as a square of well-fitted polygonal masonry. The date of this must unfortunately remain uncertain, but it presumably might as well belong to the end of the seventh century before the destruction as to the end of the sixth, about which time Cirrha was refounded as the port of Delphi.

<sup>12</sup> *I.G.A.* iii. p. 87.

The sherds at Cirrha, on the other hand, are eloquent and testify to a long and continuous habitation. There are several neolithic wares represented; one coarse piece and perhaps one or two fine pieces with matt-purple paint seem to belong to this age; more certain is a piece with yellow clay and opposing triangles in matt-black, filled in with wavy lines in red-brown, close parallels to which are known from Gonia. As to Thessalian sherds, A wares, which come down as far as the Schiste in this direction, and possibly to Delphi, were not found; but there was one sherd of B3α2, and one which was probably B3α3, but it was much faded. These are important, as they show that the Dimini culture was not completely cut off from the south by the Urfirnis cultures in the Spercheus valley.

Nothing was very definitely Early Helladic, but there were some pieces of black-polished ware like that from Volo, though without shapes it is difficult to say that this is not the Middle Helladic black ware from the Isthmus and Aegina. There were also several coarse pieces with outcurving rims, which rather resembled Early Helladic.

Middle Helladic, on the other hand, was plentifully represented. There were a number of pieces of Grey Minyan, and also two sherds which looked like the early Yellow Minyan from Eutresis; they were hand-made, and were parts of the rim and side of bowls, one with an angular and one with a rounded shoulder. Possibly to this date belongs a heavy yellow foot, hollow inside very nearly to the base of the bowl, of coarse unpainted clay; and a red-polished strap handle. There were also a number of sherds of purple matt-painted ware, the variety which is common at Orchomenus, and one piece which may possibly have been matt-painted with the paint badly applied, for it was decorated in wide horizontal bands alternately yellow burnished and red unburnished, the colour of the clay.

From Late Helladic we have a large number of Mycenaean cylix stems, mostly undecorated, and some other sherds, but they were not perhaps proportionately so plentiful as compared to other prehistoric wares as on some other sites. There were also a number of chips of obsidian.

Early iron-age pottery was as usual not represented, probably because the datable pieces were put in tombs, while a coarse undatable ware was used for ordinary life. There were a number of coarse grey sherds and then later a piece of late Attic and some black-glaze ware.

Now this evidence points very strongly to a revision of our usual ideas about Crisa and Cirrha. We have seen that the names are probably identical, and now it is evident that Crisa, the town on the hill, was not inhabited before the sixth century; in other words, it dates from after the Crisaean War. Thus it seems that what happened was that there was a flourishing town, founded in neolithic times, at Maghoula on the coast; this was called Crisa. The inhabitants of this town may have at some time built a refuge for flocks on the hill next to the Forty Saints, which is the second enceinte that we have described. At the time of the war, about 585, the town at Maghoula was besieged and destroyed, possibly by the stratagem of infecting the water-supply, which has been taken by some to refer to the salt-spring which comes

out near there, and the survivors took refuge on the hill of the Forty Saints, where they lived a miserable existence for several hundred years, though the village had apparently disappeared by Pliny's time. Cirrha was soon after refounded on the accursed land as the port of Delphi.

Now this hypothesis explains the extraordinary confusions of our ancient authorities, if there was only one place which had altered its name. It also suits better several other facts. A town on the coast would more naturally give its name to the Crisaeen Gulf than one up on the hill, and would also be more likely to indulge in important trading ventures to Sicily and Italy.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, Crisa is generally supposed to have been the chief offender in the Sacred War, but it would be curious if the land round the city was not cursed, but only the land round its port, as the curse certainly was laid on the fields near the shore. Thirdly, it is easier to understand how the name of Crisa survives in the modern Chryso if Crisa was a settlement which went on till late Greek times, and not one which was blotted out in the early sixth century.

The importance of Cirrha in prehistoric times, however, lay in its possession of a commodity which is rare in the ancient world and whose presence is not otherwise confirmed in Greece; its principal industry was the mining of tin. The mines lie on both sides of the valley, as will be seen in the sketch map.

They all seem to have been worked open cast, so that they now look like great cuts in the side of the hill. None of them now contain a trace of the ore, which was completely worked out. In parts of the open casts caves were dug, presumably so as to extract small veins of the mineral which ran into the hill; but these caves are not very numerous, and generally look natural, though a close examination shows that they wander about at various levels and sometimes intercommunicate. The evidence that metal was worked here lies in the discovery of at least six large slag-heaps, with a very good high-temperature slag and a number of fragments of crucibles.

The pottery found in the mines is our chief guide to the date at which they were worked. The principal mine on the east side of the valley contained a piece of Early Helladic red-polished ware, which appears to be a projection on the wide handle of a jug, and though no definite parallels to this in Early Helladic wares seem to be known, the evidence of the fabric is very strong as to its date. With it were found a few coarse hand-made pieces, and on the slag-heap a curious rough sherd, apparently early, which had the handle not stuck through the wall but plastered round on the outside.

Close by this mine is another, which I would like to think is Middle Helladic, though as only some fragments of pithoi were found here it is impossible to be certain. But as we cannot date the discovery of tin very early in Early Helladic times, and as the mines are both fairly large, it is probable that the Middle Helladic people continued to mine at the same place.

The Late Helladic mine was undoubtedly on the opposite side of the valley. In a very similar open cast mine there was found a quantity of Mycenaean sherds, all small and of no particular interest in themselves. Some of the sherds here look later than Mycenaean; for instance, there was a curious

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<sup>13</sup> Str. 418.

piece with black lustrous paint and a decoration of slanting lines bordered by a frame and outside by a row of dots, which might be a local variety of Geometric; and one or two rims from there do not at all suggest the pre-historic period. The fact that a piece of black-glaze ware was found on the slag-heaps shows that mining operations continued, at any rate sporadically, down into classical times. Then they seem to have stopped, as we hear nothing of mines here in the geographers; but another mine, rather higher up the east side of the valley, was opened in Byzantine times, and a number of sherds of that date were found there. There are also in the neighbourhood a number of other promising cuts in the hills.

The slag, as has been said, shows a high temperature, and is covered with a green-brown enamel. One piece was found high up in the Early Helladic mine, all the rest was in the plain, which shows that here was the principal smelting-works. A small stream runs close by, so that the ore was probably first crushed and washed, and then smelted to extract the remainder of the silica and to reduce the tin. An analysis of the slag was kindly made for me by M. Stathis of the Athens Laboratory; the only relevant metals which appeared were 9.7 per cent. of ferric oxide and traces of arsenic.

It will be noticed that this analysis makes no mention of tin. However, the slag was tested repeatedly for lead, which did not appear, and also for copper, and both of these always remain in fairly considerable quantities in early slag. It is likely that either traces of tin were counted in the silica and escaped notice, or that, as tin has a low melting point, it was all extracted from a high-temperature slag of this nature. The positive evidence for tin came from deposits on the inside of the crucible, which turned out by analysis to be stannic oxide.

The smelting was performed in crucibles of coarse very hard clay. The shapes of the pieces of slag show that it was tapped from a hole in the side, no doubt at the hottest moment, and run out on to the ground, where it picked up a certain amount of earth. In some cases these holes must have been very small. The metal was then either tapped or poured out.

Now these mines are important because they settle the source of Greek tin in early times. This question has much perplexed archaeologists of late, and they have been led to look to distant regions such as Bohemia and Spain. Tin has been said to exist in other places in Greece; Arzruni<sup>14</sup> mentions it on Pangaeum, but the mining operations here were more probably in search of gold; Paschale says that it occurs in an iron and copper ore on Andros; but the company which it keeps suggests much rather a small impurity in copper. Cuinet<sup>15</sup> says that it is found at Nigde in Taurus, but there seems no verification of this. But we now have a definite source close at hand, and thus the problem falls to the ground.

Secondly, Lucas has pointed out<sup>16</sup> that we require for our source of prehistoric tin some mines which are comparatively small and give out during the first millennium B.C., after which the tin trade with the West, as we know

<sup>14</sup> *Zs. f. Ethnologie*, 1884, p. 58.

<sup>15</sup> *Turquie d'Asie*.

<sup>16</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1928, p. 97.

it in classical times, comes in. Now, without wishing in the least to prejudice ourselves as to the source of Egyptian tin, for which he suggests Armenia, we may say that this hypothesis suits very well the mines of Cirrha so far as we can discover their history. They flourished in the prehistoric period, continued rather spasmodically into classical times, and finally closed down in the Hellenistic age. Thus this hypothesis, based mainly on a priori reasoning, is shown to tally in a remarkable way with the new facts.

Thirdly, it throws new light on the coming of the Cretans to Delphi, as related in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. Despite the lateness of this work, it probably contains a kernel of original tradition; but so long after the events that it describes, it is even more likely that the original motive of the Cretans would be lost. Indeed, it is probable that their real aim was something more material than the management of the oracle. Excavation at Cirrha would probably show marked traces of Cretan influence; but this at present is speculation.

Finally, these mines might shed a small light on the early importance of Delphi and Mycenae, though it is not suggested that they did not mainly stand on their own merits. Delphi itself indulged in mining in a small way, as the discovery of slag there shows; and it is very natural that the sanctuary belonging to a town with a unique position in the prehistoric world would obtain the riches which Homer ascribes to it. Mycenae again has always been supposed to have indulged in trade with the Corinthian Gulf, though it has been doubtful in what that trade consisted; here, however, is found at least one useful commodity near at hand, which could then be exported as far as the islands and Crete, and possibly even to Asia Minor and Egypt; but the last point must in the present state of our knowledge remain exceedingly doubtful.

#### VOLO KASTRO

The importance of the mound of Volo Kastro does not seem to have received sufficient attention from prehistoric archaeologists. Its position in a sheltered harbour, with probably a good beach for drawing up the small ships of early times, marked it out to be a trading station; it is indeed the only port in Thessaly with easy communication to the interior.

An excavation was carried out here many years ago, but the results were cursorily published. The cut in the side of the mound is, however, still fresh except right at the bottom, where there is a certain amount of fallen earth, and Mr. Radford very kindly examined the stratification. The sherds from here are in the collection of the British School at Athens.

Mr. Radford says that the strata are most clearly marked in the centre, further to the north they are less well defined, and to the south the face is obscured by vegetation and fallen debris. Unless there are lower occupation levels, the original settlement must have been placed on a low mound rising  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 metres above the surrounding ground. Below the classical remains, which were out of reach, the vertical intervals were accurately measured, but the horizontal distances are only approximate, the aim being to give a general

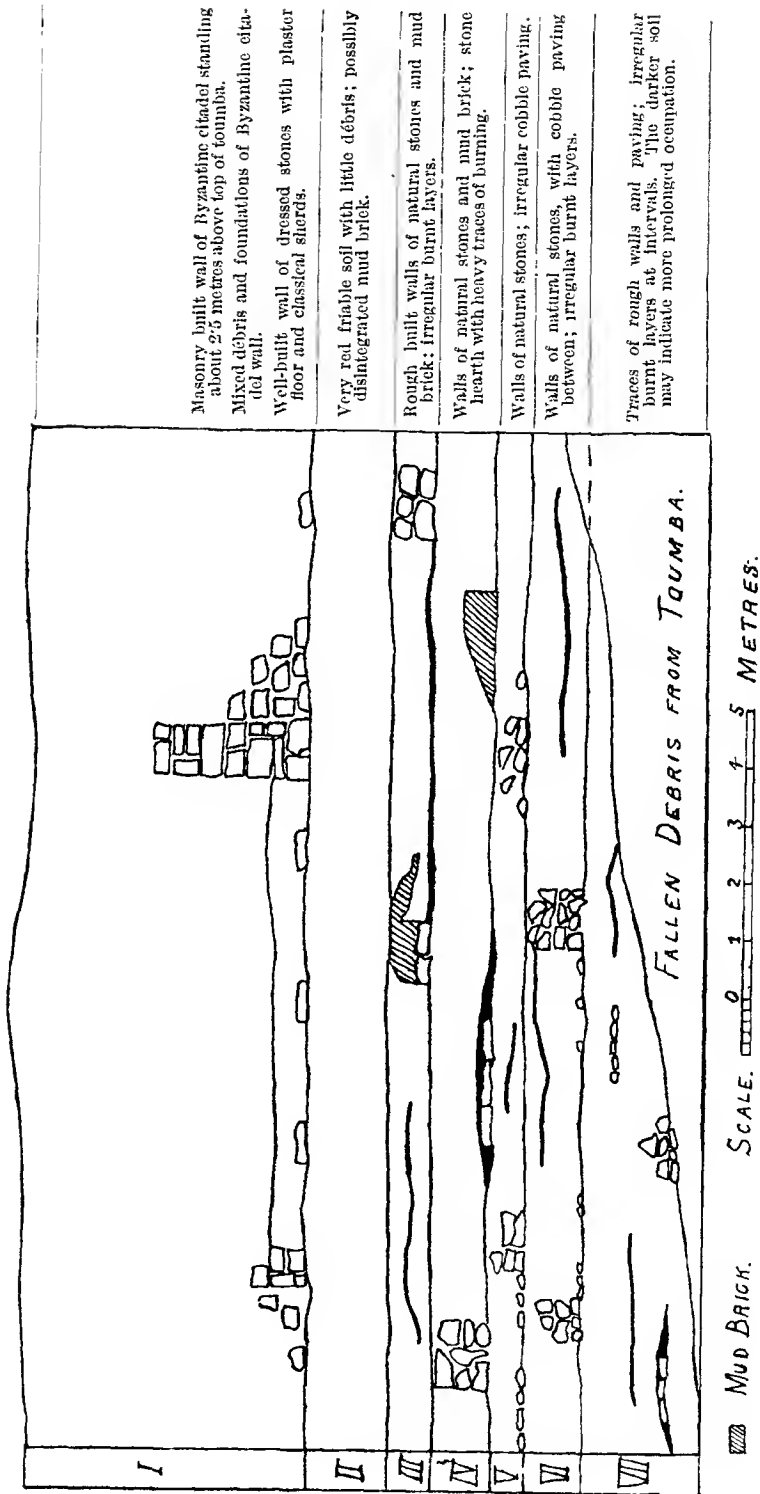


FIG. 2.—VOLO KASTRO: SECTION.

impression of each stratum rather than an absolutely accurate picture of a particular area. The divisions between the strata are marked in some places by changes in the character or colour of the soil, in others by rough lines of cobble paving or gravel. It is probable that the burnt layers within the lower strata represent successive occupation levels, but they show no marked change in the character of the debris. The soil of the tomba was light and very friable, tending to become darker towards the bottom, but it would be unwise to lay any stress on this appearance in view of its exposure to the air. Some of the stones which seemed to be cut through walls might on investigation prove to be chance accumulations of debris.

The lowest level apparently contains B wares. One sherd was B3β, probably part of the base of a fruit-stand, decorated in horizontal bands with wide spaces unpainted in between. Another was part of a medium-sized spherical bowl, of coarse clay, yellow-red in colour, slightly polished and unpainted. Another was part of a large horizontal pierced handle, attached to the outside of the vase, with coarse matt-red paint. There were besides two pieces of yellow monochrome ware, one part of a flattened base.

The characteristic ware of the next stratum was black polished, apparently from its shapes Early Helladic. The best sherd was a piece of a wide deep jar, with a large splaying rim and a horizontal ridge at the edge. Another interesting sherd was a ribbed handle, with the various ridges overlapping one another. There were several other pieces of black or grey-black polished ware, rather indeterminate.

The layer next above is apparently also Early Helladic: from here came part of a black bowl with a very angular shoulder: a large piece of a yellow-polished, wide-mouthed deep jar, with slightly splaying rim and red biscuit: and an indeterminate red hand-made sherd.

The fourth level contained a long flat red handle, suggestive of Γ wares, a coarse grey sherd with a small rim grooved underneath, closely resembling a Minyan rim from Chalia, and two indeterminate black sherds, one of which was certainly hand-made.

The stratum above this apparently also belonged to the bronze age, as is seen from a red strap handle which finds many parallels in Γ wares. The two other sherds from here, a thick cylindrical black handle and a grey wheel-made sherd, were doubtful.

The second stratum presumably belongs to the iron age, though the only sherd found, part of a grey rim, does not give much evidence as to date: finally, the first stratum contained the bottom of a footed bowl, which did not look earlier than late Greek or Roman. Above this again are mediaeval walls, which are illustrated in Wace and Thompson's *Prehistoric Thessaly*.

The importance of the site clearly lies in the prehistoric strata, which shows that there was a trading-station of southerners on the shores of the Pagasaeic Gulf in the midst of an alien culture. It seems fairly clear that the Thessalian peoples were agricultural, and the station at Volo presumably, therefore, supplied them with products from overseas. The principal of these, so far as we can tell from the remains, was obsidian, which is fairly



common on Thessalian mounds. This mainly is of the ordinary opaque Melian variety, though some pieces from Dimini are banded alternately light and dark, a sort which has been found at Thoricus, in Crete, and elsewhere, and which may or may not come from Melos.

This Early Helladic village would also explain stray finds of Early Helladic ware in Thessaly. The British School collection has one sherd from Dimini, two from Sesklo, and several from Aidin. A few sherds were also found in Tsani 4 and 5, above all the painted wares, including the  $\Gamma$  ones. This, together with the stratification evidence from Volo, suggests that the Early Helladic period goes on certainly for several centuries side by side with the  $\Gamma$ 3 wares in Thessaly, though unfortunately it is not possible to fix its beginnings with accuracy. The mound which would probably best do this is Cirrha, where there are a few B sherds in company with southern neolithic and Early Helladic. Lianokladi was not conclusive, though it rather suggested that the Urfinis people arrived very soon after the introduction of B wares.

But there was also another industry practised by the inhabitants of Volo. In the Early Helladic level was found a piece of copper slag containing

SiO <sub>2</sub> . . . . .	7.74%	Bi . . . . .	.19%
CaO . . . . .	.9	Fe . . . . .	41.74
MgO . . . . .	2.72	Cu . . . . .	2.06
Sb . . . . .	.48	Zn . . . . .	.77
Sn . . . . .	.06	Ag . . . . .	2.73
Pb . . . . .	tr.	Ni . . . . .	.19
As . . . . .	1.52		

This shows that copper was worked here and so probably mined in the neighbourhood. The exact site of this mine is uncertain, partly because the prehistoric people of Greece took and smelted all traces of ore, and did not leave gangue heaps with the poorer pieces which give the place away. This is clearly seen in the Early and Middle Minoan mine at Chrysocamino near Gournia. However, part of the hill has clearly been cut away near Gatzzea station, east of Volo along the gulf, though a subsequent landslip has made it impossible to determine if there is any prehistoric pottery here. This, however, seems the most probable site of the mine, as the hills elsewhere near Volo contain no traces of quarrying.

The settlement was thus clearly an important trading-station both for imports and exports. No doubt also much other commerce was carried on, such as in corn, which has left no trace. But what is clearest is that the prehistoric Thessalians were not seafarers, and that it required the enterprise of the southerners to bring them foreign products and to introduce them to contact with the outside world.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, one might say a few words on the danger of postulating distant metal sources for poorly gifted regions in early times. Archaeologists have recently tended to bring the tin and copper, the gold and silver to Greece from far-off lands; this paper has shown that there is no ground for the first two being sought outside the country. Trade in early times probably mainly consisted of handing on things from tribe to tribe as Herodotus describes; and it follows that such articles must be small and portable, such as ornaments, and not large and bulky ingots of metal.

Though tin has not yet been located elsewhere close by, there are a number of sources known for early copper in the Aegean area. Slag has been found at Abussos on Paros.<sup>17</sup> Chrysocamino near Gournia<sup>18</sup> associated with E.M. and M.M. pottery, Selino and Gavdos.<sup>19</sup> It is suspected that there was a copper mine at Mycenae; for there Tsountas found copper slag, and there is a cave with pick-marks—indeed it is possible that Mycenae drew the tin from Cirrha and alloyed it into bronze. Other prehistoric mines are not certain; but it is not unlikely that they will be found in all parts of Greece if thorough exploration is undertaken: there are numerous mineral deposits on the islands, and it must also be remembered that the habit of completely working their ores out makes it likely that mines exploited by bronze age people may be found in any part of Greece, whether known to be metalliferous or not.

O. DAVIES.

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<sup>17</sup> Tsountas, 'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1898, p. 192.

tion, p. 289.

<sup>19</sup> Xanthoudides, *Vaulted Tombs of the Messara*, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> Mosso, *Dawn of Mediterranean Civiliza-*

## THE SHIELD SIGNAL AT THE BATTLE OF MARATHON

So much has already been written about the battle of Marathon that it is only with great hesitation that the present writer ventures to make another contribution to the subject. But it seems that in spite of the various conjectures and explanations that have been advanced, there is still a solution of the shield signal which has escaped notice hitherto, and which simplifies the story.

For the general scheme of the battle this paper follows in the main the first reconstruction by Mr. J. A. R. Munro (*J.H.S.* xix. p. 185), with which Dr. Grundy is in substantial agreement (*The Great Persian War*): the essential feature in this version is, of course, the division of the Persian forces at Marathon after a delay of several days.<sup>1</sup> It is only in the interpretation of the shield signal that any claim to originality can be made, and the view of the signal here given is based on the acceptance of the Herodotean story that a shield was flashed, and that it was flashed when the barbarians were already in their ships.

This, of course, involves the existence of a pro-Peisistratid party in Athens, and the supposition that this party was then trying to communicate with the Persian commanders: whether it was the Alameonidae who flashed the shield or somebody else<sup>2</sup> does not affect the issue.

Though Mr. Munro (in the *Cambridge Ancient History*) has drawn attention to the difficulty of signalling by such a means, the full implications of the incident do not seem to have been appreciated. Mr. Macan<sup>3</sup> suggests that there were 'signs made in a fashion anticipating modern helio-telegraphy.' This postulates the existence of a code of some sort, known to both parties, which is, to say the least, highly improbable at that time, and ignores the serious practical difficulty, even if such a code be assumed, of directing the beam of light in exactly the direction required at so long a range; assuming, as is generally done, that the signal was flashed from the top of Pentelicus, Datis<sup>4</sup> in his ship must have been five miles away. As anyone who has used a heliograph knows, if the reader is not in the correct line and in the correct

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<sup>1</sup> I find myself unable to accept the second reconstruction recently put forward by Mr. Munro in the *Cambridge Ancient History*; but the meaning of the shield signal here suggested is not incompatible with that version.

<sup>2</sup> Always excluding the view of the late Prof. Bury, that it was flashed by a detachment of Persians (*Cl. Rev.*, March, 1896). If it had been so, some earlier Alameonid apologist would have got hold of the fact.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, IV-VI. App. x.

<sup>4</sup> I follow the usual tradition which makes Datis the real if not the titular commander of the expedition. In Herodotus he survives the battle (very probably because he was not present at it), and the story of his death is an accretion to the 'Marathon legend.' Mr. Munro would put Artaphrenes in the ship and leave Datis to fight the battle.

plane he does not see the flashes as intended by the sender : accurate sighting is essential. Even with a large convex shield there would be a tremendous difficulty in directing the beam of light accurately at such a distance in such a way as to ensure that the flashes were correctly read: a reliable sighting arrangement would have been necessary, and it is highly improbable that the signaller had such a thing. The difficulty, in fact, would have been so great as to amount to an impossibility: the most that could be attempted with nothing but a shield was the bare indication that *a flash was being made*. The shield would just be waved in the sun in the confident expectation that in some position or other it would catch the light in such a way that the flash would be seen by the person intended; but no attempt could have been made to flash any message in code, nor even to send a specified number of flashes; the risk of misreading would have been too great; the bare fact of a flash was all that could be indicated.

It may seem superfluous to labour this point, but all that is involved by these limitations to communication by this means does not seem to have been generally recognised. Given such limitations, it stands to reason that the only message which could be conveyed by such means was a perfectly simple one, such as 'Now's the time' (as in fact at Aegospotami, nearly a century later), or 'Yes' or 'No' to an agreed question. Such a means of communication, therefore, demands prearrangement, and presupposes that the two parties had already been in communication by written word or word of mouth before the meaning of the flash could be agreed upon. Thus if a shield signal was shown at Marathon, it proves indubitably that the pro-Peisistratid party in Athens had been in communication with Datis and Hippias before the battle, and not only before the battle, but while the Persian force was at Marathon, for the place and approximate time of the flash no less than its import had also to be prearranged.

If then the two parties were perfectly able to communicate with each other by direct (if secret and possibly dangerous) means, where was the need for the indirect and unreliable means of the shield? Possibly the channels previously used had become too dangerous, but on the whole it is improbable that the vigilance of the Attic authorities was so great as to prevent a determined man contriving to slip across the mountains and reach the Persian camp at the foot of Drakonera, or wherever it was. One reason which at once suggests itself for abandoning the direct for the indirect method of communication is speed—that there was something which it was of vital importance for Datis to know at the earliest possible moment. That is very probable, but it must always be borne in mind that this something of vital importance must have been something anticipated, and which the appearance of the flash would simply confirm or deny; the mere flashing of the shield could not be used to give warning of any sudden or unexpected emergency, for it would have been unintelligible.

There is, however, another reason equally obvious, but apparently not so far appreciated for preferring visual to verbal communication, and that is, that one of the parties would no longer be in a position to utilise the channels

previously employed. Herodotus particularly says that the signal was given when the Persians were already in their ships: one may then presume that this means of communication was arranged precisely because the Persians intended to be in their ships that day, and so could not receive a message by hand. The traitors in Athens thus knew of the Persian intention to embark and to sail round to Phaleron with the major part of their force, and the shield was the only means of communicating with Datis while he was at sea. Thus there is no reason whatever to suppose that the Persians had been waiting for the signal before putting out, or that the signal was 'belated' (Munro) or 'long-delayed' (Grundy). The two parties had probably communicated verbally the evening before, and the reply to some point discussed then was to be given by flashing the shield some time the next morning, when the Persians would have already have started for Phaleron.

What then was the nature of that reply? It could only mean a simple statement confirming or denying an arrangement of the night before: 'All's well' or 'All's up with the conspiracy.' It has generally been assumed without question that the signal was one of encouragement to the Persians, and that it signified 'Now's the time' or 'All's well.' But where was the need for a signal of 'Now's the time' if Datis had decided, and his friends in Athens knew he had decided to sail that day in any case? And if it meant 'All's well: the conspiracy is ripe: everything is ready for you,' it is hard to account for the subsequent immunity of the conspirators, and for Datis making no effort to land at Phaleron. True, the Athenian army had got back, but its numbers must have been seriously reduced; even if it had only 200 odd killed, its total casualties must have been at least five times that number, one tribe probably remained on the field of battle (Plutarch, *Aristeides*), and it is nowhere stated that the Plataeans came back to Athens; moreover, it had fought a hard battle and done a forced march since morning, and must have been utterly tired out, while the Persians in the ships were fresh: and with the assurance of support from within the city, and (as Munro aptly suggests) Phaleron itself being probably an Alcmeonid stronghold, it would surely have been worth while to make the attempt rather than to confess failure and to go meekly home. Some effort too was surely demanded to save his friends in the city; for if they had been so confident of success as to flash the message 'All's well,' they must have definitely committed themselves to medism; their activities could no longer be hidden, and their only chance of safety, with the Athenian army outside the walls, lay in a Persian victory. But supposing that the signal meant the opposite, 'The plot has failed,' then Datis' reluctance to attempt a landing becomes more intelligible, and his previous actions are also more easily understood: for it cannot be too much emphasised that the Persian hopes of capturing Athens with the comparatively small punitive expedition which was sent depended on the co-operation of the pro-Peisistratid party within the city. The Persian force was obviously not equipped for a serious siege; its success depended at Athens as at Eretria on treachery, and the interpretation of the shield signal as a confession of failure on the part of the traitors provides the best reason for Datis' action. And

not only that, but it also explains subsequent events at Athens. The doubt as to whether or not the Alemeonidae were traitors is far more easily explained if their conspiracy had failed to materialise; and the subsequent attack on and condemnation of Miltiades can be better accounted for as the spite of a party whose secret machinations had failed than as the revenge of persons caught red-handed in collusion with the enemy, who would hardly have been allowed to remain and wreak their vengeance with impunity. As it was, they were merely suspected, and though their leaders were soon afterwards disposed of, it was by the political process of ostracism and not by a judicial process for treason.

This interpretation also resolves the difficulty raised by Mr. Munro in his first reconstruction (that the starting of the Persians and the signal to them to start occur in the wrong order), by converting the signal to start, if not into a signal to stop, at least into a warning to be prepared for trouble, the signal being sent by the only means which could reach the fleet once it had put out to sea.

In the light of this interpretation, then, events may be reconstructed somewhat as follows :—

Datis landed at Marathon almost certainly with the assurance that the country-side would rise for Hippias as it had done for his father half a century earlier; but nothing happened. It was only his first disappointment, though to some extent it was counterbalanced by the success of the plan to bring the Athenian army as far as possible from Athens. Almost at once the pro-Peistratid party must have got into communication with him, and the intelligence they brought must have been a second disappointment. It can only have been a confession that all their promises were exaggerated and could not be fulfilled, a tale of the pitiful weakness of the party, of the bad impression created by the destruction of Eretria, of the difference between the Cleisthenic democracy and the faction-torn Athens of the days of Peistratus, of a people to all intents and purposes united in face of the common danger, of the energy of Miltiades, and finally of the promised help from Sparta. As the tale unfolded itself, Datis' and Hippias' hopes must have sunk lower and lower, and as the days slipped by and nothing happened the prospect of success grew less and less. Everything was ready if only those in Athens would do their part. Finally, when the moon was full 'the Persian commanders, fearing the imminent arrival of the Spartans, determined to make their attempt on the city without delay' (Munro), with or without the co-operation of the traitors. Datis told the messenger from his friends in Athens that he could wait no longer, and that he would sail for the city the next morning, leaving sufficient force to keep the Athenian army at Marathon. But he must know if he was to expect to be admitted to the city or to fight for it; he would assume that his friends would do their part, but if they could not manage to effect a *coup d'état*, they were to flash a shield which he could see from his ship. The next day, therefore, at or before dawn, one part of the Persian force, including the cavalry, re-embarked and set sail for Phaleron, the remainder being drawn up in battle array to cover the embarkation. This

latter part was simply a containing force, with instructions to remain on the defensive, unless, as was most probable, Callimachus retired on Athens, when it would have hung on to his rear, and caused him no small embarrassment: this purely defensive attitude sufficiently explains the absence of the cavalry. That the Athenians would venture to attack the containing force was probably not considered likely in view of their previous inactivity, though, of course, it was a possibility not to be disregarded, hence the presence of the Persians and Sacae. It was also clearly as small a force as could be spared, and cannot have seriously outnumbered the Athenians, if Callimachus could make his line equal to that of the Persians by merely thinning his centre: the assumption that this force was intended to march on Athens by the coast road can, as Mr. Munro has clearly shown, be definitely ruled out; the Persian object was 'to get the Greek army as far as possible from Athens and to keep it there' (Grundy): the one object had already been attained, the force left behind was to secure the other, while the main Persian armament moved on Athens, where it hoped to have the 'gates' opened to it.

The only military mistake Datis made was under-estimating the fighting qualities of the Athenian hoplite, and consequently under-estimating the numbers necessary for his containing force; but as he sailed away with his fleet and saw the opening stages of the battle he was ignorant of his error and must have been quite confident of the result, and even delighted that Callimachus had played into his hands by abandoning his defensive attitude, and so giving the Persians the chance of destroying the Athenian army, when Athens would of necessity submit. But as he went the signal was flashed to him that he could depend on no support from within the city; but what did that matter if the Athenian army was destroyed? He could sail on confidently. But before the end of the day he must have been overtaken by one of the ships which had taken off the survivors of the battle, and which had been sent on to acquaint him with the result. That news must have destroyed nearly all his hopes, but even so it was worth while pushing on on the chance that he could reach Phaleron before the Athenian army got back: a cavalry dash might still put him in possession of the city, and he had an unbeaten army in his ships. But when he arrived and found that Miltiades was there before him, he realised that his last hope was gone and so gave up and retired, defeated as much by the failure of his friends as by the success of his enemies.

#### A SUGGESTION AS TO THE ATHENIAN COMMAND.

It has been generally assumed that Herodotus is romancing in his description of the rotation of command among the ten Strategi, and that it was an invention of his own to account for the delay of several days before the battle, and an attempt to reconcile the positions of Miltiades and the Polemarch.

But is it a likely invention? Though a rotation of *πρωτανηγή* may be found in the civil institutions of Athens, it was certainly not extended to military command in the historian's own day. Is so cautious an historian as

Herodotus likely to have transferred a system from one sphere to the other on his own authority and without some justification?

That the supreme command rested with the Polemarch both in theory and in practice is now generally granted: given the one undisputed Commander-in-Chief, there is no difficulty in supposing that normally the ten Strategi took it in turns to act as 'Field Officer for the day,' and that the ten tribal regiments in rotation were 'Battalion on duty.' Presumably the Strategus for the day acted as Adjutant to the Polemarch, and if the Polemarch was the supreme commander, he could surely, if he thought fit, stop the normal rotation and keep one particular Strategus to assist him for several days in succession, especially if a battle was imminent. In this case Miltiades was the obvious man for the position. That the Polemarch normally consulted his ten Strategi may well be believed, and the equal division on this occasion may well be historical, but it cannot be so readily believed that he was bound to respect their views, and was merely *ὁμόψηφος* with his subordinates. Even the extremists of the latter years of the century did not carry democratic principles to such an absurd length. Callimachus' 'casting vote' may be taken as having been an order by the Commanding Officer.

If such a system as is here suggested had really been in force, the confusion in Herodotus is easily accounted for; civilian historians as often as not misunderstood the intricacies of military command. The surrender by four colleagues of their days of prytany to Miltiades actually took place then, according to this view, but by the order of the Polemarch, not by the courtesy of the Strategi concerned.

On the death of Callimachus, Miltiades naturally assumed the chief command as a result of the position he had been holding for the past few days. That he also assumed the glory which belonged to the chief commander was the fortune of war, and due to his family connections, and to the political situation.

P. K. BAILLIE REYNOLDS.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**The Civilisation of Greece in the Bronze Age.** By H. R. HALL. Pp. xxxii + 302, with 370 illustrations and two maps. London: Methuen, 1928.

DR. HALL has expanded and brought up to date six Rhind Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1923. In place of lantern-slides we are given an abundance of well-chosen and generally clear illustrations, skilfully linked with the text. Together they provide the best general account of the Bronze Age in Greece that is available to-day. Though the lectures were planned for an educated but not archaeological audience, the reader who wishes to go deeper will find in the foot-notes discussions of problems that are still *sub judice* and references to the technical literature.

The development of Cretan pottery is well illustrated. Dr. Hall regards the riot of colour and fantastic barbotine ornament of Middle Minoan pottery as a youthful excess, due to the desire to show that pottery could rival metal or stone for decorative and ceremonial uses. Later the potter's art became independent and excelled in L.M. I. through reliance on its own intrinsic virtues.

He throws a new sidelight on the Mycenaean elements at Tell-el-Amarna by publishing life-masks of three northerners, found there with other casts from the life in a sculptor's studio and now in the Berlin Museum (p. 208). The faience cups from Enkomi in Cyprus, reproducing the heads of women and animals, are claimed as the work of a Minoan craftsman working in Cyprus, and Andrae's discovery of similar head-vases at Ashur on the Tigris is illustrated to show that Cyprus exported *objets d'art* to Assyria.

Like many others, Dr. Hall finds it difficult to follow Mr. Wace and Mr. Blegen in assigning certain deep panelled skyphoi to the beginning of Myc. III. (p. 237). He illustrates the 'Warrior Vase' as 'one of the best examples of Achaean ceramic' (p. 260, Fig. 338), but does not cite the painted stele bearing similar figures painted in Minoan fashion on plaster. The subjects of both may be Achaean warriors, but the execution continues a native tradition; they were made by Mycenaeans for their new masters. This Mycenaean stele is a palimpsest, painted plaster over carved stone, and has its bearing on the date of the Shaft-grave stelai which Dr. Hall, who calls them 'crudely executed' (p. 140), regards as the work of barbarous sculptors of the Achaean period (p. 153).

The word *crude* is overworked, being used now to mean immature, now degenerate. Thus Dr. Hall says (p. 224): 'In Cyprus we have great amphorae or *kraters* which very soon show much barbarism in ornament: very typical being the crude groups of persons driving chariots. The idea of depicting the human figure on vases, which is non-Cretan, must have come from the Cyclades.' Is it not clear that these coaching scenes were copied from frescoes such as Fig. 305 from the late palace at Tiryns?

The writer suggests (p. 293) that brick is not a native invention in Greece, and may have come from Babylonia, but he understates the extent to which brick was used in Minoan Crete. He implies that bricks found there were usually square; oblong bricks are at least as common as square on Late Minoan sites.

There are slips which need correction. P. 90, Fig. 103, the Mallia axehead is made of schist, not bronze. P. 153, 'the older palace at Tiryns should be L.M. III. at latest'; a misprint for L.M. I-II. P. 223, Fig. 293, the larnax from Hagia Triada is of limestone, not pottery. P. 273, Fig. 349, the surface of the 'stone head in the round' from Mycenae is modelled in plaster, and is not in the round but in high relief; it may have belonged to a relief painting of a sphinx. The list of abbreviations (p. xiii) is incomplete, even as regards journals; the general reader who seeks more light on the Swedish discoveries in Argolis is referred to *K. Hum. Vet. Lund, Årsberättelse* (pp. 65, 188). References on p. 204

to *Manchester J.O.S.*, 1913, and on p. 229 to *Manchester Eg. Or. Journal*, 1913, relate apparently to the same article. In neither case does the list of abbreviations help.

Adherence to a uniform scale of illustration for objects of one class was no doubt impossible, but readers unfamiliar with the originals may be bewildered by such variety as occurs here, where the Knossos bull fresco is reduced to  $\frac{1}{10}$  and the Tiryns boar-hunt only to  $\frac{1}{3}$ . The Enkomi gold jewellery deserved better treatment than it gets on p. 210, by reduction to  $\frac{1}{10}$ , with consequent loss of detail.

The strength of the book lies in Dr. Hall's intimate knowledge of the whole group of cultures—Sumerian, Egyptian and Aegean. He is able to write with first-hand knowledge of recent researches in all three regions. Many of his illustrations and discussions bear on early contacts between Europe and the Near East, and on these matters, where he speaks with so much authority, he states his opinion frankly and incisively. It adds rather than detracts from our confidence in these judgments if we find him reluctant to decide *ex cathedra* on vexed questions of Minoan archaeology: if he hesitates about the Fitzwilliam statuette and even hints a doubt as to the Thisbe treasure.

**Solon and Croesus and other Greek Essays.** By ALFRED ZIMMERN. Pp. vii + 199. Oxford University Press, 1928. 7s. 6d.

The book consists of six essays, and these, with the exception of the first, from which the work takes its title, were written, as Mr. Zimmern says, 'at the time when I was feeling my way towards the general view of Greek life that I worked out later in *The Greek Commonwealth*.' The essays are, as might be expected, attractive and thought-provoking. They set forth in lucid language reflections which at one time or another have probably occurred to most students of ancient Greek. We may agree that the study of Greek history is an excellent introduction to the study of sociology—and to that of many things more; that Thucydides, patriot and imperialist, was deficient in humanitarian feelings; that Greek society was not a slave-based society in the sense that the free citizen did no work and that slaves were all down-trodden creatures without hope left to them. Mr. Zimmern's analysis of Greek social conditions, in their dependence on outside labour, is penetrating and in many respects novel. The suggestion of a fresh study of the Greek state from the standpoint of political economy is no doubt more easily put forward than capable of being worked out into practice. For it is doubtful how far we have adequate material for determining 'the relative importance of agriculture, trade, industry, war and private robbery as sources for the acquisition of wealth.'

The new Introductory essay, 'Solon and Croesus,' deals with the eternal problem of materialism *versus* idealism in striking fashion, with reference to present-day conditions. It is the old plaint of Xenophanes, that the rewards of this world are bestowed rather on the materialist than on the intellectual. It is unfortunately true that 'in some countries thinkers and teachers are living in chronic embarrassment and even in squalor, whilst in others, where the canons of the spirit are held of less account, the authorities have frankly adopted business methods and standards.' Yet it may be said, without undue optimism, that in recent times there has been some improvement in the student's lot. Mr. Zimmern hopes much from an intellectual League of Nations, but the true scholar, amid all the complications of modern life, will probably still be content, like Plato's philosopher, to get on with his work as best he may—'to keep quiet and mind his own business, like one withdrawing beneath the shelter of a wall during a storm, when dust and rain are being driven on by a gale of wind.'

**Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer.** By J. KROMAYER, G. VEITH, and others. Pp. 649; 149 illus. Munich: Beck, 1928. 45 M.

Of this important work not quite one half concerns the war-craft of the Greeks. The first 150 pages, by J. Kromayer, are devoted to Greek armies; the next 50, by A. Köster, to naval warfare; the following 50, by E. Schramm, to 'Poliorketik.'

The chapter on Greek land warfare leads off with a straightforward account of army equipment and organisation, in which polemics about the paper strengths of city-state forces are wisely avoided. Among the monster field armies of the Hellenistic kings, that of Ptolemy IV at Raphia should probably be reduced from 75,000 to 55,000 (W. Tarn, in *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, vii. p. 730 n.). In the section on tactics Kromayer gives little consideration to the influence of equipment on battle-formation (on the importance of which see W. How, in *J.H.S.*, 1923). On the other hand, he gives a clear and cogent account of the improvement in battle-plans which began with the Retreat of the Ten Thousand and culminated with Alexander's victories. An interesting contrast emerges between Alexander, who, like Cromwell, kept his cavalry firmly in hand, and Antiochus III, who anticipated the part of Prince Rupert. In discussing the use of elephants in the later Greek battles, Kromayer repeats the common mistake that the Indian beasts were more powerful than the African ones; but he makes an interesting point in showing that the device of forming an advanced battle-front out of the elephant corps was an approximation to the characteristic Roman device of engaging battle in several successive relays. In his account of Greek strategy Kromayer enters on some highly debatable ground. He invites controversy in describing the retreat from Thermopylae as premeditated; he should gain more assent for his view that in 479 the Greeks made a mistake in opening their counter-attack on land rather than on sea. On the strategy of the Peloponnesian War he takes a strong and probably impregnable line in approving of Pericles' policy of exhaustion; as he points out, it was by borrowing this policy that Lysander won the war for Sparta. Kromayer also aptly emphasises Alexander's cautiousness in securing solid bases for his tear-away offensives, and the peculiar interest of the campaigns of the Diadochi with their multiple fronts. The situation of Antigonos in 303-1 B.C. invites comparison with that of the Central Powers in 1916-18 A.D.

Incidentally, Kromayer takes up a hopeless rearguard position in accepting Aristotle's 'Constitution of Draco' as genuine (pp. 44-5).

In the chapter on Greek navies Köster makes a valuable contribution to the vexed problem of the motive power of the warships. He concludes that in triremes the rowers sat in superimposed tiers, but that in larger vessels teams of four or more tugged at one enormous oar. But this is detail: his most important point is that the whole development of oar-power in the Greek warship was based on the invention of the outrigger. But he hardly proves that this device was a Greek discovery: the mere absence of outriggers on the pictures of Phoenician galleys in Sanherib's palace (c. 700 B.C.) is insufficient evidence. Köster does not throw any light on the much-disputed question of the speed of triremes. On the other hand, he satisfactorily explains the failure of several ancient admirals to reap the fruits of an initial success by the defectiveness of their signal service. The indecisive character of the Battle of Jutland in 1916 lends force to this remark.

In the chapter on siege-craft Schramm naturally gives most of his attention to the Hellenistic artillery, which he describes in detail and with a great wealth of illustration. He warns us that the range of Greek ordnance in practical warfare would fall short of the theoretical estimates, and that in any case its rôle in siege-work always remained subordinate to that of the ram. He also points out that the 'Flammenwerfer' and the 'Very light' are Greek inventions; but he does not mention the 'poison gas' used at the siege of Ambracia in 189 B.C.

Altogether, this is the most comprehensive and competent treatise on the subject of Greek warfare. It should remain standard for many years to come.

M. C.

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**Staat und Handel im antiken Griechenland.** By J. HASEBROEK. Pp. 200.  
 Tübingen: Mohr, 1928. 10.50 M.

The main object of this book is to correct the theory, of which Ed. Meyer and Beloch are the chief exponents, that Greek commercial development was comparable with that of modern times. Against this opinion Hasebroek declares that economically the Greek city state lagged behind the more progressive mediæval communities, and that its policy was

never swayed by merchant-nobilities like those of the Hansa towns. The typical ἔμπορος, he contends, was a petty adventurer with no personal capital, no organisation, perhaps even no knowledge of writing. As a rule he was a metic, and as often as not a barbarian; in any case his political influence was negligible. The citizens, *demos* and nobles alike, derived their living from land-work, from rents, or from usury. Hence the Greek colonial movement was predominantly agrarian, and the grand object of Greek socialism was γῆς ἀναδασμός. Such interest as the πόλις took in commerce was merely directed to the collection of tolls and tribute, and to the importation of necessities, such as grain. Its tariffs were purely fiscal, its coins a source of petty revenue rather than an aid to traders; its war objects (even at Corinth) were the perquisites of empire, and not fresh outlets for merchandise.

In view of the general paucity of our information about Greek commerce the above views may appear to have been stated without sufficient reserve. Yet they are supported by a considerable body of evidence (mainly from the private speeches of the Attic orators, and from the *Economics* of the pseudo-Aristotle), which Hasebroek marshals with much skill. At the lowest they are less misleading than current talk of 'Greek capitalism,' 'colonial wars,' 'international finance,' and so on.

Unfortunately Hasebroek does not stop short here. He proceeds to affirm that the city state was not merely on occasion but in its very essence a parasite and a robber. This thesis derives a certain amount of support from the vagaries of Greek imperialism and from the power-and-revenue complex of Thucydides. But in order to enlarge this somewhat narrow basis, Hasebroek is driven to prop it up with arguments that carry little weight. He assumes rather than proves that commercial treaties between city-states made no serious inroads into the primitive practice of reprisals; that the 'Aufklärungsphilosophie' (presumably of the Sophists) was frankly immoral. The customs dues at Greek ports, which on his own showing seldom exceeded five per cent., he describes as 'unscrupulous.' The remark of Xenophon, that 'some' persons at Athens condoned the unjust exploitation of dependents, is taken as evidence that this attitude was general and 'absolut feststehend.' The anti-Persian chauvinism of Isocrates is mentioned, but not his pan-Hellenic pacifism, which surely was his real 'King Charles' head.'

Thus Hasebroek has finished by overshooting the mark. Yet his book contains a large and solid nucleus of sound reasoning and deserves to be welcomed as a distinct contribution to Greek economic history.

M. C.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Denmark 3 = Copenhagen, National Museum 3.** By CHR. BLINKENBERG and K. FRIIS JOHANSEN. Paris: Champion, 1928; London: Humphrey Milford. 17s. 6d.

The Danish section of the *Corpus* is undoubtedly one of the best. The collection, formed with discrimination, is a fine and various one, the descriptions, photographs, collotypes are good, and the scale of reproduction adequate. The new part contains the Chalcidian, the Attic black-figure, and half the Attic red-figure.

Pl. 98, 2: Rumpf has pointed out in his *Chalkidische Vasen* that it was Prof. Friis Johansen who made the pretty discovery that this class of *lekanides* was Chalcidian. Pl. 99, 23, Corinthian. Pl. 100, 1, not Laconian, nor laconising, but pure Attic. Pl. 102: tailless satyrs are so common that their taillessness cannot be due to a painter's error—the fact is that the painter feels himself free to omit the tail (see *Gnomon*, 1926, p. 463, and compare C.F. B.M. III. He, Pl. 29). Pl. 107, 1, by the Menon painter. Pl. 112, 2, by the Diosphos painter. Pl. 114, 2: there is a replica, by the same hand, in Hamburg, 1908, 255. Pl. 117, 5: for the inscription cf. the Northwick cup mentioned *Vases in Poland*, p. 4, where the eleventh letter may be a rho. Pl. 118, 7-9, Ionian, not Attic. Pl. 119, 8: Cerberus is unlikely, since the corresponding figure on the kotyle in Athens, Graef, Pl. 75, is female; see also *A.Z.* 1885, Pl. 7, 2. Pl. 119, 9: the authors state that although this kotyle was bought in Rome and said to have come from Isola del Liri, they believe it to be identical with the well-known vase which was in the Herry collection at Antwerp: a comparison of

the drawing in *Monumenti* (I, Pl. 47) shows that this can hardly be so; replicas are common in this fabric of kotylai (e.g. *Délos*, X, 597-8). Pl. 123, 5, a bull at a laver? Pl. 125: this fine and unique vase is not, I suppose, certainly Attic: the satyrs recall a bronze in Oxford which may be Italiote (published in *Röm. Mitt.* II, p. 276. fig. 28, but wrongly set, the satyr is reclining). Pl. 126, 1, *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 106 (Chairippos painter). Pl. 128, and Pl. 132, sponge *plus* aryballos. Pls. 133 and 134, the attributions are not, as the text implies, Hoppin's. Pl. 133: compare the disputed Epiktetos pelike in Berlin. Pl. 139, 1, in spite of the different proportions, reminds one strongly of the Salting painter. Pl. 139, 2, the attribution made, or first published, by Klein. Pl. 141, 2: this is one of the few vases which are treated rather niggardly in the plates: the pictures of the exterior are too small, and the interior is marred by the coarse modern nostril of the boy. The attribution to the Brygos painter was first made, or first published, by Hartwig. Pl. 144, 1, by the Pan painter. Pl. 144, 3, also *Att. Vas.* p. 36, No. 7. Pl. 144, 4, and 5, see my article in the present number of the *Journal*.

J. D. B.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Italy 4 = Lecce 1.** By P. ROMANELLI. Milan and Rome: Bestetti and Tumminelli, 1928.

The first Lecce fascicule contains, besides much native Apulian. Attic r.f., Italiote, a little Attic b.f. One is glad to see that Italiote is distinguished from Attic, not jumbled up with it as in other sections of the *Corpus*. The only place where Dr. Romanelli appears to go astray is in the four vases III. 1c, Pls. 7 and 9: these are rightly grouped with Attic in the plates, but in the text they are called Italiote and ascribed to Attic artists working in Italy. As a matter of fact they are pure Attic, made in Athens. Pl. 7, 3 is by the painter of the Naples Hephaistos, Pl. 9, 3 by the Orchard painter; Pl. 7, 1 I think by the Orpheus painter. Vases by all three painters have been found in Greece: by the Orchard painter in Eleusis, by the Hephaistos painter at Camiros as well as in the Crimea, by the Orpheus painter in Athens (column-krater, Athens 1167) and in Phocis (pelike, Athens 1418). Italiote red-figure was not exported to Greece or South Russia. There are some Italiote vases in the Athens Museum (e.g. 1422, Amykos group)—but not from Greek sites. The only other error of classification is IV. G r, Pl. 1, which is ordinary Apulian of the period just before the Darius vase.

IV Dr.: of the Italiote vases, I have dealt with Pl. 1 in *Vases in Poland*, p. 73: it belongs to the Sisyphos group; and so do Pl. 3, 1, Pl. 4, and Pl. 5, 1, which are by an imitator, or imitators, of the Sisyphos painter. Pl. 5, 3 belongs to the group called (a) in *J.H.S.* 48, p. 271; Pls. 6-7, and Pl. 8, 1, to the group there called (b). Pl. 8, 3, and Pl. 3, 3, are later.

Not all men with beards are *recchi*, nor with lyres *aedi*. III. He Pl. 1, 3-4, a replica, Graef, Pl. 77, 1335: Pl. 3, 4, the maenad is handling a pair of castanets, is she not, nothing more daring? III. 1c: Pl. 3, 1, the foot of the vase is alien; the musical instrument has eyes on it, but is not in the shape of a human head; the thing between is a pair of castanets: the ascriptions of this and Pl. 5, 3, are not Hoppin's as the text would suggest. Pl. 7, 2, the middle figure is female.

The photographs must have been good, but the collotypes suffer from grave lack of register, so that the lines often come out double.

J. D. B.

**Greek Vases in Poland.** By J. D. BEAZLEY. Pp. xvi + 87, 32 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928. £2 2s.

The purpose of this book appears to be two-fold—to make known by adequate publication the finest vases in Polish collections, and to contribute further to the classification and comparison of Greek vases on the lines already familiar in Professor Beazley's work.

The chief collection of vases in Poland is that of Prince Czartoryski at Goluchow, which was formerly in the Hôtel Lambert at Paris, and was inadequately published in a

catalogue by De Witte; there are also two smaller collections at Cracow, in the Czartoryski Museum and in the University.

The illustrations in Professor Beazley's book are partly direct photographs, in some cases taken from two different points of view so as to compensate to some extent for the distortion inevitable in photographing from a convex surface. These are valuable as giving trustworthy and exact evidence as to drawing and style. In the case of some of the finest vases, they are supplemented by outline drawings; but such drawings, however accurately made, cannot give the true effect without a black background, as the outlines of the figures must be of a different quality from those on the vase; and a careful comparison of the drawings and the photographs shows that this difficulty has not in every case been overcome.

The scenes on the vases are fully discussed, and a sympathetic description is given of scenes that at first sight may seem merely commonplace. But the most characteristic part of the book is to be found in the notes, which give very full lists of other vases attributed by the author to the same artist or school. It would be impossible to criticise those lists in detail without a knowledge of vases equal to Professor Beazley's; but they clearly offer a valuable supplement to his previous work upon the subject.

E. A. G.

**Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography.** By DUANE REED STUART. Pp. vii + 270. Berkeley, California: University of California Press. 1928. 16s. 6d.

This book is the outcome of lectures on the subject delivered in the University of California; hence, as the author says, the aim is not to present a continuous history of Greek and Roman biography, but rather to deal with certain problems which have presented themselves in the course of a prolonged study of the subject. This explains some obvious gaps; for example, the very scanty space assigned to Plutarch. The work is in fact primarily a study of biographical purpose and the commemorative spirit amongst the Greeks and Romans. As such it will be found to contain much that is suggestive and valuable. In particular it is shown that the antecedents of formal Greek biography, usually associated in its earliest efforts with the names of Isocrates and Xenophon, can be found in Homer and Greek dirges, and more directly with the rather shadowy figure of Ion of Chios. Another interesting feature is the stress laid on the parallelism between Greek and Roman portrait sculpture and Greek and Roman biography. Professor Stuart treats thoroughly and with ample documentary evidence such questions as the claim of Isocrates in his *Evagoras* to have been a pioneer in encomiastic biography, the contributions to biography of Aristoxenus and the Peripatetics, and the proportions of genuine Roman tradition and of Greek influence to be found in such a work as the *Agricola* of Tacitus. He introduces many points of comparison between ancient and modern biography, and points out that few features that are really novel can be claimed by the moderns. What really strikes the reader of modern biography is, it may be safely said, its greater precision as regards dates and use of evidence. Herein, as in much else, the modern mind is more scientific than the ancient. Professor Stuart's book is one that can be heartily recommended to the student of ancient biography.

**Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland.** By R. REITZENSTEIN and H. H. SCHAEFER. [*Stud. d. Bibl. Warburg*, herausgegeben von FR. SAXL. Bd. VII.] Pp. 355, with 4 plates. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1926. 18 M. unbound, 20 M. bound.

In a series of important works Reitzenstein has developed the thesis that we must recognise Iranian influences in Graeco-Roman syncretism. In his part of these *Studien* he goes further and urges that such influences must be recognised in classical Greece. He starts from Pliny's statement that Eudoxus praised Zoroaster's philosophy as the most famous and most useful, and reckoned Zoroaster's date as 6000 years before Plato's, and from Jaeger's attractive idea that Plato may through Eudoxus have learnt some Persian ideas,

and asks how Eudoxus came to consider Plato as the continuer or restorer of Zoroaster's teaching. He answers his question by pointing to Goetze's contention, endorsed by Ilberg, that the pseudo-Hippocratean *De hebdomadibus*, a work probably of the latter part of the fifth century B.C., is substantially indebted to the Dāmdād-Nask, a part of the Avesta of which excerpts survive in a later compilation, and therefore proves the latter's antiquity. He then produces from a Pahlavi text a summary of the cosmogonic portion of the D., shows its similarity to the cosmogony of *Corpus Hermeticum* I., and urges that it is in the main the latter's source.<sup>1</sup> He concludes that Eudoxus could find in a Persian work 'a world of ideas (the immaterial), an origin of man's soul from God, and a return to its source' as in Plato.

The question about Eudoxus which R. thus puts and thus answers seems to me hardly justified. An interval of 6000 years might suggest that Plato was a promised saviour or at least a leading figure in a line from Zoroaster, though, in fact, it does not exactly agree with Persian theories as we know them,<sup>2</sup> but it is not necessary to suppose that Eudoxus was thinking of any similarity of doctrine between Plato and Zoroaster. Eudoxus, as R. suggests, probably chose '6000 years before Plato' as a substitute for the '6000 years before Ostanēs' of Xanthus, and his choice is easily explained by the admiration which he felt for both Plato and Zoroaster. (At the same time, it is quite thinkable that Plato was in his later years influenced by Iranian thought, and the impulse which Jaeger and Reitzenstein have given to study in this direction deserves to be followed up; Colotes mocked at Plato's supposed borrowings.)<sup>3</sup>

R.'s thesis about *Corp. Herm.* I. deserves very careful consideration. The basis of the cosmogony there presented may well be Iranian. It begins with light spreading everywhere; after a time darkness appears in a part. Now this is not Greek (a Greek cosmogony would start with formless chaos, as does the *Kore Kosmon*, or with darkness, as Cornutus 17, or with nothing) and not Jewish (there also we start with darkness as in *Corp. Herm.* III. and in the cosmogonic poem in P. Argent. 481), and not apparently Egyptian, at least not what the Greeks knew as Egyptian.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, when R. suggests an Iranian origin, and draws attention to the Iranian story that at first light alone existed and darkness came into being because Ohrmazd inquired, 'What is my opposite?' we seem to be on solid ground. It must indeed be remembered that this is only *one* Iranian view; the Greeks commonly speak of the Persians either as believing that light and darkness both originally existed or as holding that there was an original 'place' or 'time' out of which they were separated.<sup>5</sup> But in effect we start here with light and darkness, postulating only that light is prior. The darkness passes into moisture, which is 'indescribably disturbed' (which implies wind), gives forth smoke as from fire, and produces a confused groaning. This suggests the five bad elements of the Manichee system, *fumus tenebras ignem aquam ventum*, which may well come from Iranian speculation.<sup>6</sup> When we go further, we find the primal *Anthropos*, for whose Iranian provenance there is much to be said, and the seven bisexual men created after him were plausibly compared by Bousset with the seven pairs of men proceeding from a first pair (itself sprung from the seed of the slain *Urmensch*) in the Iranian tale, where they fit the Iranian division of the world into seven parts; we find also a doctrine of cosmic periods (*Corpus Herm.* I. 17), indicated but not subsequently used. R. has, moreover, produced Persian analogies for the form of the revelation as well as for its content.

There is then a case for an ultimate Iranian basis; I fear that we cannot with R. go further and say that *Corpus Herm.* I. is substantially based on the Dāmdād-Nask. The

<sup>1</sup> He supplements his exegesis in *Gnomon*, 1927, p. 266 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Weber, *Der Prophet und sein Gott*, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> *Ap. Procl.* in *R.P.* II. 109 Kroll.

Note also the legend discussed by Th. Sisko, *Eos*, XXX. 109, of the visit of the Magi to Plato to learn from him, and the tale in Seneca, *Ep.* 58. 31, of their accidental presence in Athens at the time of his death.

<sup>4</sup> Damascius, *De primis principiis*, 12; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, II. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Reitzenstein, 15, 81; Scott, *Hermetica*, II. 20 f.

<sup>6</sup> This is not certain (cf. Schaeder, *Verbr. Warburg*, 1924-5, 125 ff.): actual Manichee influence is almost out of the question on chronological grounds.

general sequence of creation was much the same, as we know from the summary of the latter. But the D. culminates in a corporate resurrection, the natural Zoroastrian climax. There is no resurrection in *Corpus Herm.* I. For its disciple the climax is the individual soul's ascent through the seven planetary spheres, at each of which it drops a vice, to the ogdoad, where it passes into the heavenly powers and is at last absorbed in God. No such ascent figures in the Persian document. A fragment indeed speaks of the consciousness passing after death 'to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then out to the moon, and then out to the sun';<sup>7</sup> a table of contents mentions the Cinvat bridge, which took the soul to heaven or to hell, but in connexion with the resurrection; and the portion edited by Goetze speaks of the soul being judged after death.<sup>8</sup> We know from other sources of Persian belief in the soul's passage through three rooms to the room of endless light, but with one very late exception the number is three, not seven.<sup>9</sup> In any case, the basic conception is quite different from that of *Corpus Herm.* I., which is a distinctive idea known in several manifestations.

There are, in fact, two fundamental differences of outlook. First, Hermetic dualism treats the body as essentially bad, and Iranian (like Jewish) does not, in spite of ethical pessimism.<sup>10</sup> In this Hermetism draws probably on a Greek tradition, traceable to the Orphic movement, which, while not running to self-maceration, regards the body as a living tomb (σῶμα-σῆμα); this tradition colours Philo, in spite of his Jewish background, and colours the *Oracula Chaldaica*. The Hermetist, therefore, if he has used Persian dualism, has bent it to his use by making the human body proceed from the darkness (§ 20).<sup>10a</sup> To any Greek the notion of a resurrection of the flesh was alien, and condemnation of the body made it more unwelcome, for freedom from the body came to be one of the things hoped for at death.<sup>11</sup> Secondly, Hermetism has individualised redemption.

The Hermetic text lacks the purposefulness of the Persian scheme in which existence is 'constructed for descending into the conflict with the destroyer, and accomplishing the associated necessity for the end and circumvention of destructiveness,' and the world-process is a sequence of creation, interlude and consummation, in which, again, as in Manichaeism, the divine *hypostases* are created in order to help in the battle against evil, and there is a corporate redemption catastrophically effected by a redeemer. In *Corpus Herm.* I. there is no such world process, no cosmic struggle, and no redemption save that of the individual by saving truths. The *Anthropos* falls from love of φῦσις, but it is not said that he raises us or rises in us; he is a mere explanation of human sin and misery, itself caused by love.<sup>12</sup> We are redeemed one by one and must bring others to the truth; and as in Pythagoreanism there are cosmic antitheses and not a cosmic conflict.

If this analysis is correct, we have in *Corpus Herm.* I. an Iranian myth, but with a varnish of Judaism, and rehandled in the Greek spirit; the actual redactor was quite possibly a Jew, as R. suggests, and as the Semitised and so far as I know unique form of the *Genesis* text (αὐξάνεσθε ἐν αὐξήσει καὶ πληθύνεσθε ἐν πλήθει) indicates.<sup>13</sup> In support of the possibility

<sup>7</sup> Great caution is here required in view of the complexity of men's ideas about the soul and its parts; cf. J. H. Moulton, *Enc. Rel. Eth.*, VI. 117, and Reitzenstein, *Gnomon*, 1927, 272 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Zeitschr. f. Indologie und Iranistik*, II. 67, § 116.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the material given by W. Bousset, *Arch. f. Rel.*, IV. 155 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Soderblom, *Enc. Rel. Eth.*, II. 105 f., for Persian prohibitions of asceticism and Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, 50. 3 ff., 224, 227 ff., for Mandaean sneers at Christian asceticism (with E. Peterson's comments, *Zeit. neut. Wiss.*, 1928, 70 f.). Both Persians and Mandaeans praise 'fasting from sin'. The disparagement of the body in *Sup. Sal.* 9. 15 is borrowed from Plato. Cf. in general J. Kroll, *Lehren des Hermes*, 269 ff.

<sup>10a</sup> So also Manichaeism.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Sallustius, *περί θεῶν*, xxi.

<sup>12</sup> In § 18 this thought is curiously set side by side with the Jewish 'Increase and multiply'; the wise man will know the truth and find freedom. Contrast II. 17 with its praise of procreation.

<sup>13</sup> It may be due to some lost apocryphon about Adam or Noah. To look for Iranian colour in the end of *Corpus Herm.* I., the legitimisation of missionary work, is precarious;



of such an acquaintance with Iranian myth it may be well to remind the reader that Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*, II, § 74 (II. 456 Mangey), speaks of the Persian doctrine of the Gathas or virtues of God as though it were something familiar, and Dion of Prusa in his *Borysthenitica* (XXXVI. 40 ff.) quotes a Persian account of God's chariot, giving what he calls a βαρβαρικὸν ἔσσμα; though the repeated world-catastrophes of his account look more Greek than Persian, he has the Persian concept of the struggle in which ancillary powers are involved (§ 52). He is following a source which claimed to be Persian, perhaps with very good reason: for it is not unlikely that the small communities of μάγοι who lingered in odd places in Asia Minor adapted their doctrine to kindred elements in Greek thought: and Persia cannot have been entirely cut off from the influence of Greek speculation. The writer of *Corpus Herm.* I. thought he had a new revelation to give to the world: his μυστήριον (§ 16), like the Christian μυστήριον, was to be an open secret. In his Hellenisation of Iranian eschatology we have a parallel in the funerary monument of Antiochus I of Commagene. A. says that he combined Persiau and Greek ideas, and describes his tomb: ἐν ᾧ μακαριστὸν ἄχρι γήρως ὑπάρξαν σῶμα μορφῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς οὐρανίους Διὸς Ὡρομάσδου θρόνους θεοφιλῇ ψυχῇ προπέμψαν εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα κοιμήσεται<sup>14</sup>; here also the idea of the resurrection of the body has disappeared.

The second chapter of *Studien* gives a revised text of a short Greek apocalyptic text professing to be translated from the Egyptian, and known commonly as the 'Potter's Oracle.' R. suggests that this and the prophecy in [Apul.] *Ascl.* 24-6 are based on a Persian apocalypse: the first shows, he argues, Jewish elements and may be assigned to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. In support of the thesis of an Iranian origin for the Potter's Oracle, R. emphasises the description of Egypt's foes as ζωνοφόροι, which he compares with the description of Persia's foes in the Bahman-Yast as demons wearing leather girdles. 3. may, however, be simply a circumlocution for soldiers: ξώνη, ξώνυυσθαι are typical military terms, and W. Struve, *Raccolta Lombroso*, 276 ff., quotes an Egyptian instance of girdle-wearing being spoken of as characteristic of invaders from the East. The connexion of this text with the other known fragments of Egyptian prophecy is clear; in it, as in the prophecy of the lamb to Bocchoris, and the prophecy of Amenophis (in Josephus), we hear of the restoration of sacred images from captivity, and in all three the prophet dies after delivering his message. I see nothing in the 'Potter's Oracle' which points to an Iranian source; it seems to represent the revival in hard times of an old native form, voicing Egyptian feeling against foreign invaders and rulers. The Jewish element is also uncertain; ψυγμ[ός] ἀλγίων ἔσται recalls Ezekiel 26. 5 in the Septuagint, but the word ψυγμός is regular in Egypt,<sup>15</sup> which explains its use in both texts, and the general similarity of the picture of the destruction of the hated city with passages of the O.T. need not imply any borrowing from it, in view of the commonplace nature of the picture and of the indications which point to an indebtedness of Jewish apocalyptic to Egyptian.<sup>16</sup> The prophecy in the *Asclepius* perhaps represents a revival of this type, coloured by Greek philosophy.<sup>17</sup>

Many readers of the *Journal* will find of special interest the suggestion (p. 57 ff.) that Hesiod's tale of the Five Ages is based on the same Iranian prophecy. Certainly the insertions of the Heroic Age in the sequence of metals suggests that the poet has borrowed a scheme, but modified it because the popular memory of the Heroic age excludes belief in continuous degeneration. The Orphic version,<sup>18</sup> like Ovid, has four ages, not five, and a Zoroastrian certainly postulated four ages, and it is possible that ideas, like art-motives, came to Greece from the East in Hesiod's time. But there is not in Hesiod's disillusioned picture the

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παρέδωκας αὐτῷ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν in § 32 is quite normal Greek, and need not have anything to do with *hanc*. We may remark in passing that the cosmogony proper is handled with haste in § 11: this is no proper cosmogony, like the Dāmdād-Nask, but an explanation of the problem of man.

<sup>14</sup> Dittenberger, *Oriëntis graeci inser. sel.*, 383. 29 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, II. 773.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. C. C. McCown's excellent study, *Harr. Theol. Rev.*, XVIII. 357 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps called forth by the situation suggested by Scott, I. 61 ff. It should be noted that the repeated world catastrophes of the *Ascl.* are Greek rather than Iranian.

<sup>18</sup> No doubt subsequent to Hesiod.

purposefulness of the Iranian view of history; and it may be that this idea of continuous degeneration through four ages is an earlier idea which formed part of the heritage common to Greece, India and Persia.<sup>19</sup>

R. proceeds to examine *Orphica* fr. 21a and 168 Kern (Ζεύς πρῶτος γένητο κτλ.) and traces the central thought to the East; his handling of the text is an advance on Kern, and R. draws a useful distinction between this pantheism and Stoic pantheism,<sup>20</sup> and reopens the question of the date of such Orphic texts. In the fourth chapter R. returns to the document in Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, professing to give the beliefs of the Naassenes, and repeats his contention that the N.T. quotations are all secondary, while admitting that the O.T. quotations cannot all be deleted; he therefore regards the text as a Christian rehandling of something written by a Jew or Judaeiser under Hellenistic influence. The literary thesis I regard as questionable. Some of the N.T. quotations may be later additions, but many seem clearly to fit their context, and the logical connexion is as close as is to be expected of allegorical interpretation under the Empire; moreover, the whole represents a comprehensible hypothesis, that the Attis whom the community in question has known is in effect Christ, and that the new blended religion is latent everywhere; and this hypothesis probably comes from an independent thinker whose activity is not altogether unlike that of the contemporary apologists who sought to show that Christianity was the philosophy of all intelligent men. It is a religious experiment. At the same time, as Wendland showed, a comparison with the allegorisation of the Attis story by Iamblichus (known to us from Julian and Sallustius) shows that the essential interpretation is pagan in origin, and R.'s thesis of a substantial Stoic element is not to be denied. The author of the Naassene document was a man who started with a local religious tradition and found a sort of Christianity, and reconciled as best he could the resulting antinomies by Greek methods. This is, after all, the view suggested by the description by Hippolytus of the heresiarchs as 'having sewn together the errors of the ancients to suit their tastes.'<sup>21</sup>

R. dates the document (to be precise, the original which he postulates) about the beginning of the second century A.D. It is clearly posterior to the hymn to Attis (ἐπε Κρόνου γένος κτλ.) which it quotes, and of which it gives an allegorical exegesis, and which in one point it misinterprets geographically<sup>22</sup>; and this hymn, which is a learned παίγνιον, not a cult-hymn,<sup>23</sup> is on stylistic grounds assigned by Wilamowitz to the Hadrianic period; Hippolytus affords a *terminus ante quem* between 222-3 and 236, and we may put the text between these points.

R. proceeds to discuss the general macrocosm-microcosm idea and Plato's *Timaeus*, and concludes his part of the volume with an instructive reply to the late K. Holl's *Urchristentum und Religionsgeschichte*. Schaeder's part of *Studien* must be left to the judgment of Orientalists. He gives us in a welcome way texts (with translation) bearing on the Heavenly Man, discusses Manichee cosmogonies, and argues that the prologue to the Fourth Gospel is a Christianised version of an Aramaic hymn concerning Enos, the expected divine envoy.<sup>24</sup>

To sum up, there is much in this book which is instructive and which should stimulate others to further inquiry. It is clear that Persia had something to give to humanity; we find Persian religious influence in Asia Minor and in Turkestan under the Roman Empire, and Persian linguistic influence in Egypt,<sup>25</sup> not to mention Persian influence on Judaism and Persia's possible importance as a source of folk-tales<sup>26</sup> and a source or channel of

<sup>19</sup> So P. Mazon, *Hésiode ; les travaux et les jours* (1914), 89. This idea is not due to the analogy of the four seasons; their number was not so fixed at an early time.

<sup>20</sup> It is to be feared that κούδεν τούτων ὅτι μὴ Ζεύς would have been called Stoic by some one but for its date.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. in general R. P. Casey, *J.T.S.*, XXVII, 374 ff.; on the last point cf. Tertull. *De ieiuniis* 15, *apud Iouem hodiernum de Pythagora haereticum*.

<sup>22</sup> *Cl. Qu.*, 1926, 41 f.

<sup>23</sup> Hippolyt. V. 9. 7 speaks of it as produced in theatres.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *contra* M. Dibelius, *Theol. Lit.-Zeit.*, 1928, 197.

<sup>25</sup> Sethe, *Nachr. Gott. Ges.*, 1916, 112 ff. Note Berossus, fr. 16 (*F.H.G.*, II, 508) for the institution of the worship of Anahita at Sardis by Artaxerxes Ochus.

<sup>26</sup> W. R. Halliday, *Greek and Roman Folklore*, 109 f.

legal ideas.<sup>27</sup> We have, moreover, in Mithraism under the Empire an admirable example of the way in which Persian material was susceptible of transformation. We may well be prepared to recognise Persian influence in Greece. The inquiry is greatly complicated by the paucity of early material, the possibility of convergent development, and the uncertainty of the mode of cultural connexions; but we must not be hasty in limiting our conception of the possible. Reitzenstein and Schaeder have put us very much in their debt by this handsome volume.

A. D. Nock.

**Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg.** Edited by FRITZ SANL. Vorträge, 1924-5 and 1925-6. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1927: Pp. viii + 371, with 35 plates, 18 M.; and 1928: pp. viii + 217, with 57 plates, 12 M., respectively.

The first of these volumes opens with two lectures by Reitzenstein, setting forth in an attractive manner the results attained in the *Studien* just reviewed; specialists may find it really helpful to read these lectures before reading *Studien*, and scholars in general should find them interesting and provocative. They are followed by Schaeder's brilliant and well-documented essay on the original form and later developments of Manichaeism (this is a significant contribution to the study of the impact of Greek thought on Oriental belief), A. Doren's study of Utopias, K. L. Schmidt's treatment of St. Paul's relations to Graeco-Roman culture, which corrects some misconceptions, F. Dornseiff's brief and good *Literarische Verwendungen des Beispiels* (on the use of similes and analogies in poetry, magic, and liturgy<sup>1</sup>), E. Frankel's attractive lecture on the influence of Lucan in the Middle Ages, and two well-illustrated papers, E. Panofsky, *Die Perspektive als 'Symbolische Form,'* and R. Kautzsch, *Werdende Gotik und Antike in der burgundischen Baukunst des 12 Jahrhunderts*. The succeeding volume contains a very able lecture by Lietzmann summarising his views on the beginnings of Christian liturgy and discussing the mosaics of the early Christian Basilica at Aquileia, a full and interesting study by Noack of the history of the triumphal arch, and other matters of interest to students of antiquity and of its later life in the minds of men.

These two volumes fully maintain the high standard set by earlier volumes of *Vorträge*, and it is a pleasant duty once more to express gratitude to the wise liberality of Professor Warburg for the publications in which it has borne fruit.

A. D. N.

**Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.** By FELIX JACOBY. Part II. Erste Lieferung. Theopompos und die Alexanderhistoriker, Zweite Lieferung. Kommentar Zu Nr. 106-153. Pp. 509-828 and 341-542. Berlin: Weidmann, 1927.

Jacoby's great enterprise goes steadily ahead, and in these parts includes much which one had formerly to seek in the Didot Arrian. As before, it is the privilege and pleasure of a reviewer to offer to the editor the heartiest congratulations on his work and the most sincere wishes for its speedy completion.

A. D. N.

<sup>27</sup> L. Wenger, *Arch. f. Pap.*, IX. 114 (summarising San Nicolò).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. a prayer sometimes ascribed to St. Ambrose (*Journ. theol. stud.*, XXX. 37 in a text edited by M. Frost).

**Catalogue des Manuscrits alchimiques grecs**, publié sous la direction de BIDEZ, F. CUMONT, A. DELATTE, O. LAGERCRANTZ, et J. RUSKA. Vol. V. 1. Les manuscrits d'Espagne décrits par C. O. ZURETTI. 2. Les manuscrits d'Athènes décrits par A. SEVEREYNS. Vol. VI. Michel Psellus, *Épître sur la Chrysopée*: Opuscules et extraits sur la météorologie et la démonologie publiés par JOSEPH BIDEZ. En appendice Proclus sur l'art hiératique; Psellus. Choix de dissertations inédites. Pp. v + 175 and xiv + 246. Brussels: Lamartin, 1928.

These additional volumes of this now well-known catalogue deserve special acknowledgment. The first continues the series of descriptions of the content of the libraries, while the second is of exceptional interest as containing the text of a work of Proclus hitherto known only in a Latin translation, and a number of unpublished works and fresh evidence for the text of some known works of Psellus. His work on alchemy is significant as illustrating again the intimate connexion of that art with Neoplatonic philosophy after the close of antiquity. Among the minor *inedita* is an interesting passage in which Psellus quotes *Corpus Hermeticum* XI., apparently from memory; while of the known works on which new light is thrown, the *De operatione daemonum* may be specially mentioned. The work of Bidez on these texts is masterly. Incidentally, it shows how necessary is the publication of other Psellian *inedita*; there is always a chance of others of equal interest being found.

It is a pleasure to welcome J. Ruska as a new member of the editorial committee: his knowledge of the relevant Arabic literature makes him a valuable addition. The Greek alchemists are indeed fortunate in being handled by the distinguished scholars who have been editing this catalogue.

A. D. N.

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**Hesiodos Erga** erklärt von ULRICH VON WILMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF. Pp. 166. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1928.

This is the first proper edition of the Ἔργα that has appeared with a commentary in the German language. The *Works and Days* suffered much from the dissection-mania of certain scholars of the last century, and it is refreshing to find that W.-M. has shaken himself free of it in this edition. There is much, too much, of the poem that he considers spurious, but about the general unity and genuineness of the whole he has no doubts whatever.

The general arrangement of the book is as follows: a brief introduction, text with short critical notes and omitting entirely the *Days*, notes or 'Erklärung des Einzelnen,' and finally an essay on 'Das Ganze.' The introduction is intended for the man in a hurry. No one, probably not even the editor himself, would pretend that ten pages are sufficient in which to discuss manuscripts, Textüberlieferung, Scholia, Papyri and other matters. But no doubt he intended to focus our attention as soon as possible on the poem itself. Thus the only part of the Introduction that need detain us here is that concerned with the end of the poem. W.-M. argues that the last three lines, 826-828, are a mere *Verbindungsglied* between the Ἔργα, which is referred to in ἐργάζηται, and the Ὀρνιθομαντεία, which is foreshadowed in ὄρνιθας, and which Proclus said followed here in some MSS. He compares the last line of the *Iliad*:

ὥς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζών

(but this, it should be observed, is not a MS. reading at all). Similarly, and more convincingly, the last two lines of the *Theogony* introduce a Catalogue of Women. Hence ll. 826-828 of the *Erga* are omitted from the text in this edition. The editor takes a graver responsibility when he refuses to print ll. 765-825 and allows only ten lines in which to explain his procedure. He regards the *Days* as an addition, older, it is true, than the Ὀρνιθομαντεία, perhaps the end of the seventh century, but certainly not by Hesiod. For their omission he gives three reasons in three lines. (1) There is no trace of them before Hellenistic times. This, if relevant at all, would not help his theory of a *seventh-century*

addition. Moreover, it is a very misleading statement. It does not take into account that in ancient as in modern times the short title Ἔργα was used for Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι. Pausanias uses both within a few lines of each other (ix. 31), and the practice may well have been older. Indeed the very fact that the Ἡμέραι are not often mentioned seems to show that they were part and parcel of the whole poem. Further, though we have only Plutarch's word for it (*Amillius*, 138A), Heraclitus knew and disapproved of Hesiod's superstitious regard for days. (2) Their language shows their *Unechtheit*—another ill-considered statement for which no support is given. (3) The editor did not feel competent to write a commentary. This is delightfully honest, yet we would gladly have heard his comments on these curious lines. Instead he sends us to Nilsson (the reference should read *A.R.W.*, xiv. S. 439 *anm.*), who also, however, gives us more condemnation than commentary. As a matter of convenience, if for nothing else, ll. 765-825 ought to have appeared somewhere in the book. They have far more right to appear than, say, 168*a-e*.

On opening the text we are first struck by l. 22. The first foot is a trochee. The note simply tells us that we must expect that kind of thing, and we certainly get it. *e.g.* ll. 132, 270, 372, 555 and 655 (not 650, as the index says). W.-M. appears to have three degrees of spuriousness: (*a*) lines not printed. *e.g.* 120 and 765-828; (*b*) those only printed at the foot of the page: of these there are 56, but this includes the fragmentary and irrelevant 168*a-e* as well as 724-759; (*c*) those remaining in the text but bracketed [*l.* ll. 69-82, and eight others, 21 in all. In addition to being included in category (*b*), ll. 757-759 are also enclosed in brackets. They must be 'spuriouser and spuriouser.' The result is a somewhat disordered and not always convincing text. But the transposition of 606-608 to follow 601 is distinctly good. It means that the advice on 602 'to get a serving-man without a house' (which is the only possible translation) now appears as a general piece of advice and not intended for the end of the harvesting season, when extra labour would not be required. The testimony of MSS. other than CDE (Rzach) is usually regarded lightly. For it he uses the siglum Byz = Byzantinorum lectiones et coniecturae. But the use of the siglum is haphazard and misleading. One would expect it to denote the reading of a majority of MSS. other than CDE, which it evidently does at ll. 199 ἴτον, 240 ἐπαυρεῖ, 274 ἐνι. But in 434 ἔτερον ἑξῆς *Byz.* means one MS. only. But more than that, *Byz.* sometimes includes any or all of the chief MSS. CDE. *e.g.* l. 20 ἀπόλαμνον is read by C and D and many other MSS., and ἐβασίλευεν at l. 111. Rzach's great work deserves better usage than this. There are other mistakes in the critical notes. Why is γυιοκόπους, l. 66, called a variant reading of Proclus? It was an emendation of Ruhnken (*Epist. Crit.*, I, 1749 A.D.), though afterwards found in one MS. And if the whole passage in Proclus be read it seems certain that he read γυιοκόπους. One valuable feature of the critical notes is a collation of Ox. Pap. 2091, which contains most of ll. 292-335 and some fragments of 366-380. One mistake should be corrected. The note (l. 329) αλοχῶ Ox. 2. *supra* ον does not make it clear which is written above, and ον is incorrect. The papyrus acc. to Hunt, *O.P.* xvii., p. 122, has αλοχου with ω above.

The notes are marred by frequent refusals to face the real difficulties. For example, in the famous Pandora passage ll. 69-82 are bracketed, admittedly not for the first time. The usual objections to 69-80, which the reviewer (and Carl Robert, *Hermes*, XLIX, p. 27 ff.) do not find so serious, are given: ὥς ἔφαθ' after indirectly reported speech, which of course is no objection at all (cp. *Il.* xxiii. 149; *Od.* viii. 570), the lack of correspondence between the orders as given and as executed (for which see C. Robert, *l.c.*). And so the lines are rejected, but no attempt is made to explain how such an extraordinary interpolation took place or why. And do the inconsistencies between 60-68 and 69-80 become any more explicable when you say they were written by an interpolator? The 'interpolator' must have had 60-68 before him. Still less satisfactory is the treatment of ll. 80-82, which are rejected along with the previous lines. The name Πανδώρα is not used again. In l. 94 she is simply called γυνή. The editor mentions an Oxford vase, referring to C. Robert, *l.c.* But the significance of this and of other monuments<sup>1</sup> showing Pandora as an earth-goddess he fails to grasp. He tells us that it is not right to say that the painter of this vase had W.D. 80-82 in mind. So, he says, the only allowable conclusion is that the author

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* The Basle cup in the British Museum, *J.H.S.*, xi. p. 278 ff.

of 69–82 knew Pandora as the wife of Epimetheus. Allowable conclusion from what? From the vase, which he has just told us has nothing to do with the case? Hesiod, he says, did not know Pandora as the wife of Epimetheus (did he not?), und von ihm können die Verse nicht stammen: sie sind zwar in dem Gedichte festgewachsen aber brauchen gar nicht alter als die Vase zu sein. Thus the note ends, leaving the reader uncertain what the editor is really driving at. Why did he mention the Oxford Vase at all if he did not mean to discuss the real problem—which is not evaded by rejecting the lines—namely, did the author of these lines know of Pandora = Earth-goddess, All-giver, and if so why did he suppress his knowledge and invent a fanciful explanation of the name? In finding an answer to this question—which, of course, cannot be attempted here—the Oxford Vase is not irrelevant, because while on the one hand it shows features foreign to our present passage—Pandora's rising from the earth, Epimetheus' hammer—yet it also shows a winged figure bringing golden ornaments (cf. *W.D.* 73–74) and Zeus sending Hermes to the scene (though Hermes is carrying a flower). So there can be no doubt about one point, that the Pandora of our present story and Pandora the giver of all were the same, at least in the vase-painter's eyes, and, while he was not simply depicting the events of the present passage, he did know of a 'Making of Pandora.'

l. 427 ff. Too great a readiness to believe whatever Proclus has written detracts greatly from the value of the note on the Hesiodic plough. He begins by accepting Proclus' explanation of ἔλυμα, which he calls 'ein Holz das etwas umschliesst,' and proceeds to try to make everything fit that. So the ἔλυμα is said to contain the ploughshare, while the share itself is omitted entirely because it was made of iron or bronze. Not only is this statement extremely hazardous, but the explanation of the omission of the ploughshare unconvincing. Had he but left Proclus alone, he might have seen daylight. Surely ἔλυμα is the ploughshare.

Through the difficult passage 467–469 W.-M. sails with enviable complacency. The words ἔνδρυνον and μέσαβα are explained, but ἔνδρυνον ἐλκόντων μεσάρων wants translation. The reading ὄρηπηκα is retained (ὄρηπηκι (Brunek) is not even mentioned), but as to what it means and how it is to be construed, we are left to infer that from a loose paraphrase which seems to imply that ὄρηπηκα is a mere repetition of ἄκρον ἐχέτης (which is quite intelligible without it), and that ἐπὶ νῶτον ἵκηαι means 'You reach the backs of the oxen,' and is done by pressing on the plough handle and so tilting the pole.<sup>1</sup>

l. 492. A new explanation of ἕαρ πολίον, 'cloudy Spring.' Cp. Apoll. Rhod. III. 275, ἄηρ πολίος, 'grey mist.' The ὥριος ὄμβρος of the same line also belongs to grey Spring.

l. 504. A good note on Ληναίων. We cannot reject the whole description of winter because Hesiod does not elsewhere name months and because this name is Ionic. We must simply suppose that Hesiod did know of the name and did use it. But W.-M. goes perhaps a little too far in assuming that all Hesiod's hearers would also know it. He makes it plain by the words which follow what time of year he means. The naming of months must have been a novelty. Nilsson, 'Die Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griechischen Kalenders,' might have been referred to, but W.-M. does not often refer to any modern authority.

There follows a note on βούδορα (thus accented). The traditional rendering 'ox-flaying' is rejected. The cold does not flay oxen more than other animals, and even if we say (with Schol. on *Il.* xvii. 550) that by oxen he means animals generally, still we miss a reference to men. The traditional interpretation will hardly fall before such flimsy arguments, yet W.-M.'s alternative rendering is interesting if not convincing. Το βου- he gives an intensive force as in βούπαις, βούλιμος and the like, and to δέπειν by extension the meaning 'buffet, knock about,' adducing in support the name of the promontory Βούδορον, which *knocks* boats *about* terribly. Moreover, he says, βούδορα is thus accented in the MSS. But against this it may be argued, (1) that βούπαις, βούβρωστις and all other compounds with βου- in this sense are nouns, not adjectives; (2) that Βούδορον may equally as well have got its name from a wind which blew around it.

By far the best part of the book is the final chapter on the whole. It is a brilliant piece of literary criticism, brief, clear and to the point. Admittedly the poem falls naturally into parts, but they are not disconnected. The much-attacked prologue is unquestionably

<sup>1</sup> Since this was printed I find that in *Hermes*, LXIII (1928), W.-M. withdraws this and adopts Brunek's emendation.

genuine; how could the poem have begun with οὐκ ἄρα μούνον ἔην Ἐπίδων γένος;? For the rest, we must not forget that the poem was not written at a writing desk. The composition was begun when Hesiod was occupied with the quarrel with Perses; that was the concrete instance that first roused him and set him thinking on the insoluble problem of Evil. But it was not the *subject* of the poem, he was not telling the story of the quarrel. If he were, he would have told us how it ended. W.-M. thinks we may safely infer that Perses came round and that the matter was amicably settled as Hesiod wished. For not only does the poet proceed to help his brother with practical advice, but he retains his faith in the Justice of Zeus. However that may be, it is clear that as time went on Hesiod's thought continued to develop into something like a system of ethical philosophy.

But Hesiod was an αἰσιδός, and long before the poem was finished he may well have been called upon to exercise his art. Often he may not have used original compositions, often he made the Gods his theme—the *Theogony*; but often also he would narrate myths or history which had a bearing on the problems of life. Hence the narrative element in the *Erga*. The whole result is a curious mixture of story and teaching. Naturally the language of the narrative has a more 'Epic' flavour than that of the proverbial philosophy or the Farmer's Year. That is no evidence for divided authorship.

T. A. S.

**Platon der Grunder.** By KURT SINGER. Pp. 266. Munich: Beck, 1927. 12.50 M.

The purpose of this treatise is to give a general picture of the life and works of Plato, and to show that for the proper comprehension of them we require 'a spirit which is as alien to the life of our time as it is needful to it' (p. 259). The author insists that the chief aim of Plato's philosophy was not knowledge of the world, nor yet liberation from the world, but the shaping of a life of beauty. Winckelmann regarded Platonism as the destruction of the old Greek spirit, but, says Dr. Singer, 'the philosophy of Plato, his theory of Ideas as well as his political constructions, can only be understood as an attempt to revert from the condition of the world in his day to that spirit in which the Greek gods were born and had their being!'. 'His politics are the effort to obtain for the threatened divinity in mankind a place which secures it against the hostile power of the ego and of matter.' It will be seen that Dr. Singer is concerned rather to expound Platonism from a particular point of view than to make any original contribution to our knowledge of it. The ethical and political interest is predominant in his book, but the logical, mathematical and aesthetic aspects of Plato's philosophy are discussed with appropriate learning and due reference to recent German literature on the subject. The sections on Plato's journeys are interesting. Dr. Singer thinks that Plato was naturally no traveller or sightseer; it was always some special interest in persons which led him on his journeys. The supposed visit to Egypt is dismissed as mythical. Is it an accident that Plato's references to Egypt occur after Eudoxus, who could have provided the necessary information, joined the Academy? (p. 165).

In a brief notice it is impossible to refer to the many well-informed and valuable discussions which the book contains. But one general criticism we feel impelled to make, though perhaps a foreigner has little business to make it. We believe that to an Englishman the book may appear to contain an undue amount of rhetorical and verbose writing, which often does not help on the argument. To a foreigner, at least, Dr. Singer's drift would have been clearer if expressed more concisely.

J. H. S.

**Cambridge Ancient History: Volume of Plates II.** Pp. 120. Cambridge University Press, 1928. 9s.

It must be confessed that the first volume of plates was a more valuable book. Some of the plates here shown are from incredibly bad blocks (*e.g.* pp. 44 *a-c*, 62 *b*, 66 *a*), and some from extremely poor photographs (*e.g.* 72 *b*, a view of the Parthenon at least twenty years old, and a similar view of the Propylaea, 74 *a*, while 74 *b* is the worst architectural photo-

graph I have ever seen in or out of a book). The pernicious practice of painting round a photograph of a sculpture is still followed (pp. 14 *c, d*, and 102 *a*), and the backgrounds of sculpture photographs vary from a smudged grey (44 *b*) to deep black (96 *b*). After the criticisms made on the first volume of plates this repetition of old faults is unpardonable.

In the sculpture section no less than 16 photographs (in a slim volume) are from casts where good photographs of the originals can easily be taken. One (38 *b*), for no reason explained in the accompanying text, shows the back of an archaic bust and not the face. A perfectly preserved head (34 *b, c*) is curiously called a 'fragment of a marble statue.' Nowhere in the descriptive text of the sculpture are we given more than four lines of description, while the usual ratio is two; but in the section on architecture we get as much as fifteen.

In detail there are some queries. Where is the important Corinthian capital from Epidauros (p. 114)? What evidence is there to show that the great moat or trench at Euryalus (p. 14 *b*) was once underground and covered? Why are we not given the doubts of Blumel about the authenticity of the Hermes of Praxiteles (p. 82)? How can an Athenian tetradrachm (p. 4 *e*) of so archaic a style be dated as late as 496? is not this coin simply an early fifth-century forgery? Is it not rash to attribute so certainly to Crenides the gold coin of the 'Thasians of the Mainland' (p. 61)?

Undoubtedly Mr. Seltman's section on coinage is by far the most valuable section in the book and the most carefully compiled. For the other sections I get the impression of haste and boredom, as of unwilling contributors grubbing among their photographic oddments for something with which to satisfy a voracious and insistent editor.

S. C.

**A Working Bibliography of Greek Law.** By GEORGE M. CALHOUN and CATHERINE DELAMERE. With an introduction by ROSCOE POUND. Pp. xix — 144. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1927. 18s. net.

Every student of Greek law owes a debt of gratitude to the authors of this bibliography and to those helpers whose assistance they so generously acknowledge. The book, it appears, originated in notes made by Professor Calhoun for his own use, which he and Miss Delamere were, through Professor Pound's interest, enabled to work up and publish as the first of the Harvard series of Legal Bibliographies, under the general editorship of Professor Eldon R. James. Clear type and good spacing make it comparatively easy to use, although there is no index, and the arrangement is according to the alphabetical order of the authors cited, the individual works of each author being also arranged alphabetically. As Professor Calhoun explains in the Preface, and as one might have expected from his published work, the main emphasis is laid on the law of the classical period. So far as we can judge, a very considerable measure of completeness has, in fact, been attained, with respect to public as well as private law in this department, but it must be noted that, although the book was published in 1927, the Preface is dated March 1925, and a good deal of important literature has been published since that date. So far as Hellenistic and late Greek law is concerned, 'although all titles that came to hand have been included, there has been no special effort at completeness, as the field is well covered by systematic reports of research in inscriptions and papyri.' Byzantine law is very sparsely represented, and it is difficult to tell in some cases, where works primarily on Roman law are concerned, why one has been included and another left out. Thus Mommsen's *Römisches Strafrecht* is mentioned, though it contains no more than occasional references to Greek law, whereas we miss Partsch's *Schriftformel im römischen Provinzialprozeß* (1905), which contains some very important discussion of Greek international arbitration. Labour and expense would perhaps have been better spent if the authors had confined themselves to the classical period entirely, and given us something in the nature of a subject index or short indication of the contents of the works cited, but this is a matter of principle which was no doubt carefully considered, and the book as it stands is of great value.

H. F. J.



**Eduard Zellers Grundriss der Geschichte der Griechischen Philosophie.**

In neuer Bearbeitung von Dr. WILHELM NESTLE. Dreizehnte Auflage. Pp. xi + 392. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1928. 14 M.

The work of Zeller does not need either commendation or criticism at this date; but his shorter History of Philosophy, being intended for students, naturally needs periodical revision by a competent hand, and this is the second time that Dr. Nestle has undertaken the task. According to his own figures (p. vii), 37 out of the 95 sections have been wholly rewritten by him, and this, together with smaller revisions and rearrangements, makes some 60 per cent. of the whole practically a new book. As such, then, it is fair to criticise it.

That it is readable, substantially accurate, and well arranged goes without saying. Apart from the reviser's own extensive studies of the subject, he had an excellent model in the work of his predecessor. It is therefore to be regretted that he has left or introduced sundry shortcomings which ought not to be found in a text-book of international circulation.

First must be noted the extremely defective bibliographies. These, of course, were never intended to be complete, but simply to contain the principal works to which the student may sooner or later refer with profit. They ought, therefore, to include the chief writings in any language which bear on Greek philosophy, and to exclude those of less value or extent, or intended wholly for the advanced specialist. In both these respects the work has been ill done. The principal German works are indeed duly listed; but along with them appear a number of very minor German publications, and the work of scholars outside the editor's own country has been almost entirely neglected. A work on Greek philosophy, even a short one, which never mentions either Taylor or Stewart in dealing with Plato, discusses Aristotle without a reference to Hicks, Joachim, Ross, or, in dealing with the *Poetics*, either Butcher or Bywater; which says nothing of Arnold in speaking of Stoicism, or of Bailey in treating of Epicureanism, ending by keeping silence regarding Nock in connexion with the latest developments of Neoplatonism (incidentally omitting to state that Reitzenstein's *Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen* has been revised and enlarged since 1910), and which mentions scarcely any French or Italian names, is simply not fulfilling its function. It is a poor compliment to Zeller to imply that only German and Austrian students, and not the best linguists among those, will use his book.

The revision is not quite complete; for example, on p. 148, Sokrates' doctrine is spoken of without qualification as intellectualist determinism. This section is by Nestle; but on pp. 123-24 he had sounded a note of warning against using such a description too absolutely. Apart from such inconsistencies, there are some rather wild statements, as (p. 17) that the 'Inspirationismantik' of Delphoi was the result of Dionysiac influence; that the Pythagorean prescriptions (p. 39) are generally explained 'als Reste eines primitiven Tabuglaubens (what may a "belief in tabus" be?) oder symbolisch.' Is there really anyone to-day who finds symbolism in the σύμβολα? On p. 54 also, the misleading reference to Livy xxiii, 39, 3 should be omitted. The *Heraklitus cui Scotino cognomen erat* of that passage is not the philosopher, and the last four words have often and justly been suspected of being an insertion. In any case, this is not the 'erste Spur' of Herakleitos' reputation for obscurity; see Lucretius I. 639 and Munro's note there. It is to be hoped that the next revision will see an end made of such madequacies as these.

H. J. R.

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**Greek Philosophy before Plato.** By ROBERT SCOGN. Pp. viii + 345. Princeton: University Press, and London: Humphrey Milford. 16s. net.

The author of this work is an American whose training has been partly at Oxford, under Prof. Joachim. It is perhaps owing to this fact that his work has something of the flavour of a good 'Greats' essay. He has carefully studied the original documents, tried to arrive at his own interpretations, and collected his results by taking throughout the epistemological standpoint. He first reviews the doctrines of the various philosophers from Thales down, and then writes five chapters of interpretation, ending with two appendices, one on the genuineness of the fragments ascribed to Philolaos, which he accepts, the other on the development of Pythagoreanism. It might have made for clearness if he had put his

interpretative chapters first, assuming rather more knowledge on the part of his readers than he seems to do, and reserving a good deal of the discussion of particular points for further appendices.

His work has merit; the reviewer would instance his good analysis of the early philosophical reasonings (p. 71 foll.), his remarks on the tendency to confuse qualities and things (p. 99), and his summary of results (p. 251), also a sudden flash of humour on p. 152, 'Common sense, in whose name many serene stupidities are perpetrated.' But the defects are neither few nor trifling. There are too many crudities and naïvetés scattered up and down the book for a serious work; a longer period of gestation might have removed them. There are loose uses of technical terms, notably of the much-perverted word 'mystical.' While fully recognising that the interaction of religion and philosophy is of great importance for the period under discussion, the author does not show an adequate knowledge of Greek religion, which he now and then confuses with mythology. His account of the Sophists is almost pre-Grotian in its tone. There are also many particular interpretations which seem to the reviewer highly doubtful, but to discuss them would take an undue amount of space.

**The Age of the Gods.** A study of the origins of culture in Prehistoric Europe and the Ancient East. By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. Pp. 446, with 4 pl. and 10 maps. London: John Murray, 1928. 18s.

A misleading title disguises an admirable book. The book belongs to a type that has recently returned to popularity, being a history (if one may use the word) of the early stages of civilisation founded on archaeological evidence; the conclusions are stated but the evidence is abridged or suppressed.

To write such a history is no easy task, particularly if the period described extends from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age, and the area includes, not only Europe but parts of Asia and Africa as well. There is no question that Mr. Dawson has succeeded: the results of his labours will be useful to many, and, in particular, to the specialist who wishes to learn something about departments outside his own. For instance, the Greek Prehistorian can obtain a working knowledge of the later Palaeolithic peoples or the Beaker Culture, and an excellent bibliography as well.

The chief drawback of books of this kind is that they tend to state each side only of controversial questions: here, for instance, it is assumed that all goddesses in Crete were aspects of the Mother Goddess, and that the megalithic culture was a world movement.

In the section on religion we occasionally suspect that modern parallels are strained to explain primitive beliefs (*e.g.* the North American Indians and the Palaeolithic hunters); the author's interest in ethnology may have led him too far, just as it has made him digress about the Mother Goddess in India and the Cult of the Bear.

When so much ground is covered, a reviewer always finds points to query: the following occur to us:—

P. 55. The author should have made it clear that the Black Earth was formed by the blowing of the wind over the Steppes *after* the Painted Pottery culture had come to an end.

P. 56. The first period in the Ukraine has incised, not painted, pottery.

P. 56. Are not the 'ploshchadki' due to the burning and collapse of the walls of a house made of lath, wattle and daub?

P. 57. The bevelled celt is characteristic of Thessaly but not peculiar to it, since it occurs in the Painted Pottery culture in Poland.

P. 181. Is it accurate to say that the Minoan civilisation only reached its full development in the 'Late Minoan Period'? Middle Minoan III would seem to be the high-water mark.

P. 190. What exactly is meant by the Minyan culture coming from the north?

P. 216. 'In late neolithic and early mesolithic times' should, presumably, read 'in Late mesolithic and Early neolithic.'

P. 270. Is not Dawson wrong in following Childe with regard to the Nordic pots from

Gordensmühl being typical Dolmen ware? They are more like the pottery from Nosswitz, the type-site of the following period.

P. 348. 'During the fifteenth century Mycenae was ruled by a dynasty which buried its dead in large stone-built vaulted tombs. Unfortunately these have all been robbed, so we know little about the culture of their occupants.' Even if there were no chamber-tombs of the fifteenth century—and there are many—enough remains have been found in the stone-built, vaulted tombs to tell us a good deal about the civilisation.

One final criticism: it is, of course, inevitable that a certain economy of illustration should be imposed by the publisher. But the value of the book would be doubled if a few extra pictures could be added, especially views of the vases on which our knowledge of neolithic civilisation mainly depends.

W. L. R. W. H.

**Papyri graecae magicae.** Die griechischen Zauberpapyri. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von KARL PREISENDANZ, unter Mitarbeit von † A. ABT, S. EITREM, L. FAHZ, † G. MÖLLER, † R. WUNSCH. I. Pp. xii + 200 and 3 plates. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1928. 18 M.

We have here the first instalment of a work long promised and much needed. Wessely's transcripts of magical papyri have rendered and render great service to students, but a new edition was needed to record the fresh progress made in deciphering and emending, to include the texts published elsewhere and indexed but not reprinted by Wessely and others which have come to light since the appearance of Wessely's works, and to put the whole in a convenient form suitable for those who have occasion to look into these texts but no need to acquire special knowledge of them. This new edition rests on repeated re-reading of the originals, on a painstaking survey of the literature of the subject, and on the expenditure of a great deal of hard thought. It represents a great advance, and should serve as an excellent basis for further study of these texts and help to draw to them the measure of attention which is their due. On some of the problems which it raises I hope to speak at length soon in *Journ. Eg. Arch.*: but I should like here to congratulate Dr. Preisendanz on his achievement and to urge all people interested in the subject to buy this volume and so ensure the financial possibility of the publication of the succeeding two.

A. D. N.

**Sibyls and Seers.** A survey of some ancient theories of revelation and inspiration. By EDWYN BEVAN. Pp. 189. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1928. 7s. 6d. net.

Dr. Bevan's new work first sketches ideas held in antiquity on the existence and nature of a spirit-world and on possibilities of contact between it and our world, bringing out the implications both of these ideas and of modern attitudes towards them. Thereafter it turns to the analysis of Greek, Jewish, and early Christian ideas of the modes of such contact, in particular the visit of a living man to the spirit-world and his telling of the tale on his return, and epiphanies, voices or letters from heaven, and again prophetic ecstasy and dream. These forms of contact are illustrated by a good selection from the abundant material available, and discussed in a penetrating and charming way. The result is a real contribution to a sympathetic understanding of an important aspect of ancient belief.

A. D. N.

**A Handbook of Greek Mythology.** By H. J. ROSE. Pp. ix + 361. London: Methuen & Co., 1928. 16s. net.

A handy work on mythology has been needed for some time. Professor Rose has met this need with a very adequate book which sets forth an excellent selection of the material in a form suited to the wide public which wishes to understand the allusions encountered in reading the classics or Milton. It should enable students to form a picture of Greek

mythology as a whole, a thing in which they are commonly and excusably deficient. At the same time the notes at the end of each chapter will facilitate more detailed study and should be thoroughly serviceable both to beginners and to specialists. It is not to be required of a handbook that it should advance knowledge; but this *Handbook* contains a number of things which to me at least are new, as, for instance, à propos of the Gorgon head (p. 29 f.), of Hades-Pluton and Persephone-Kore (99, note 56), and of Hypsipyle's story (191). It is, moreover, thoroughly stimulating throughout: the survey, for instance, of folk-tale in relation to Greek mythology is most welcome.

The one thing which one misses is what we may perhaps look to Professor Rose to give us elsewhere, a fuller discussion of the general evolution of Greek mythology, of the influence exercised by particular poets on that evolution, and of the relation of mythology to belief. Mythology is the response of man's imagination to the numinous; in its essence, as Pfister has remarked, it does not require belief in personal divine beings and it can be found in societies which have not that way of thinking. This imaginative response takes a variety of forms, and on the one hand it gives us the *ἱερὸς λόγος*, the tale which is part of a mystery, as, for instance, the tale of Demeter at Eleusis. On the other hand, it produces stories which represent the more free and secularised play of the fancy, as, for instance, the tale of the theft by Hermes of Apollo's cattle. This Hermes bears little enough relation to the Hermes who meant what he did to the Athenians in 415, identity of name apart; but he is akin to the Hermes types of Arcadian art of the sixth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> Such iconographic and mythological types have an existence independent of old cult idols and cult-objects; they may displace the latter in cultus, and be again displaced by a wave of religious conservatism. Myth and mythological attributes remain a domain where the individual has much freedom: and it may be that the young god on a coin struck by L. Julius Bursio circa 87 B.C. with attributes of Apollo, Mercury, and Neptune (Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, 63, Pl. VIII. 10) represents a free use of familiar symbols rather than actual identification of deities: such an occurrence would be the more comprehensible at Rome, where the mythology was something alien and acquired, not native and inherited.<sup>2</sup>

*Hoc erat in votis*: the immediate and pleasant duty of a reviewer is to commend this book as warmly as he can.

A. D. N.

### The Greek Questions of Plutarch, with a new translation and a commentary.

By W. R. HALLIDAY. Pp. 234. Oxford University Press and Humphrey Milford, 1928. 15s. net.

This work of Plutarch's is a collection of notes perhaps not prepared for formal publication though cast in a form which was used for popular works produced to satisfy the demand for general information in Hellenistic and Imperial times. Plutarch has written down a number of questions relating to local survivals in language or custom and given for each an answer. It may well be that, as Dr. Halliday maintains, the substantial source of the whole is Aristotle's *Πολιτεία*; for some of the *Questions* this is quite clear. We may perhaps the more readily generalise in view of a fact which has possibly escaped attention. In the *Roman Questions* Plutarch is constantly giving a variety of rival explanations (so in more than 80 instances out of 113); in the *Greek Questions* this is much rarer (4 instances out of 59: in No. 42 he gives a postscript from a second source): such a Question as 36 or 39 is like many of the *Roman Questions* and unlike most of its companions. This suggests, what is on the face of it a little paradoxical, that Plutarch has shown less independence and drawn less constantly on a variety of sources in this work than in the other. It must indeed not be forgotten that Juba or Verrius may often have supplied the variants (as in 97; cf. Rose, *Quest. of Plut.*, 43); but we have a clear indication of lack of independence here in the way in which Q. G. 2 goes on to relate a further constitutional point which is really irrelevant after giving the explanation required.

<sup>1</sup> Discussed by W. Lamb, *B.S.A.*, XXVII, p. 134 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This was a large issue of coins (Grueber, *B.M.C. Rom. Rep.*, I, p. 324 ff. records 119 specimens); it is difficult to believe that it has a recondite meaning.

The actual facts which Plutarch sets out to explain are for the most part of interest, and his explanations include further facts of interest; but as explanations they are commonly very futile. In this respect most certainly *la sauce vaut mieux que le poisson*. Dr. Halliday gives us a short introduction on the character of the *Questions*, a text with some new emendations, and a translation of each Question followed by an exegetical essay. The translation is accurate, and the essays are admirable for their common-sense, penetration, and suggestiveness; while containing a mine of learning, they are thoroughly readable, and it would be hard to imagine a book more suitable to put in the hands of anyone who wished to get to grips with the problems of Greek history and religion: its value to professional students should be, I think, no less. In the new edition which it deserves 'HN. 34' (p. 162) should be corrected to 'HN 348,' and 'Polwka' (p. 205) to 'Polivka,' while Apollodorus and Aristotle should figure in the index.

A. D. N.

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**Coptica consilio et impensis Institutii Rask-Oerstediani edita. IV. Die Achmîmische Version der zwölf kleinen Propheten** (Codex Rainerianus, Wien). herausgegeben von WALTER TILL. Pp. xxxii + 151. Hauniae: Gyldendalske Boghandel-Nordisk Forlag, 1927.

There can be few scholars who are competent to criticise this work, but its author's name and the fact that W. E. Crum has helped in it guarantee its trustworthiness. Of general interest are the peculiarities of its text, which is frequently nearer to the Massoretic text and the Vulgate than to the Septuagint, and the Greek and other loan-words used in it, and conveniently indexed, p. 145 ff.

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**The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume VII: The Hellenistic Kingdoms and the Rise of Rome.** Edited by S. A. COOK, F. E. ADCOCK, and M. P. CHARLESWORTH. Pp. xxxi + 987. Cambridge University Press, 1928. 37s. 6d.

The *Cambridge Ancient History* advances apace and has now reached that great divide where the course of history begins to turn definitely to the West. The treatment of this period provides a severe test for the historian. In the East, where Greek history merges with that of the peoples surrounding her, he has to hold the thread of history through a tangle of complicated happenings and find the meanings that emerge from a welter of politics, philosophies and creeds. In the West he has still to follow the twilight paths that lie between history and pre-history and depend very largely on the guidance of the archaeologist. Finally, he has to show how East and West are gradually drawn into permanently intimate relationships with one another. Because these difficulties have been boldly faced and encountered here, this volume may at once be acclaimed as a success, even more than for the careful and documented examination of difficulties of detail, which we have now learned to expect of it.

In an introductory chapter, Professor Ferguson defines the main tendencies of the Hellenistic age, not neglecting the obvious, but finding space for some less obvious, such as the development of the voluntary association or club. Mr. Navarro's chapter on the Celts, based almost entirely on archaeological evidence, comes in rather curiously here; but no doubt it is the Gallic invasion of Greece and Asia that made this drawing in advance on the history of the West appear desirable. The Successor Kingdoms and Greece are divided by Professor Rostovtzeff and Mr. Tarn between them. Each of these writers displays his characteristic excellences: Professor Rostovtzeff his wide range of observation and his mastery of every class of evidence; Mr. Tarn his reconstructive insight and his keen interest in personalities. Chapters on philosophy at Athens, literature at Alexandria, science and mathematics at Alexandria and in Sicily fill in the background of the picture. The contribution of the age to science may surprise many readers by its impressive quality and mass, and raise the question, whether Greece was very far away from the great physical discoveries which have distinguished the nineteenth century.

The early history of Rome is handled by Principal Stuart Jones and Mr. Last with a judicious blend of caution and adventure. The weak points of tradition, the gaps in the evidence, are carefully exposed, but the aid of archaeology is invoked to fill in the picture, and even from the regal period some residuum of history is recovered. The more hazardously ingenious of modern speculations, such as those of Beloch about the dictatorship, or the date of Spurius Cassius, are rightly left aside; they are at least too conjectural as yet for a general history. It would be an exaggeration to say that the account here given is entirely satisfactory. It is not: there are still far too many undecided or half-decided issues, far too much uncertainty on matters that are not superficial. But it is a question whether, after we have blamed our sources for this, we have any blame left for our writers. The problem is largely one of assigning the right value to our available evidence—and it can be a thorny one. A small example will illustrate the point. The reverse of the Roman denarius, two horsemen, with stars above their heads, charging *r.*, with spears in rest, is usually taken as evidence that the epiphany of Castor and Pollux at Lake Regillus was already known in the third century B.C. Mr. Last (p. 489) will have none of this: the warriors are the Penates *Populi Romani* and have nothing to do with fifth-century history. Well, the warriors undoubtedly are, or may be, the Penates of Rome, but they are, none the less for that, Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri. And, as a moneyer of c. 100 B.C., A. Albinus used types that cannot be dissociated from the first denarius type with undoubted reference to Lake Regillus, it is perhaps rather up to Mr. Last to indicate at what point the tradition, if not original, came in. In any case, this is a good instance of the curious difficulties which the evidence presents.

An admirable chapter by Professor Homo convinces us of the importance of the Gallic invasions for all later Italian history. Professor Adcock writes with impressive firmness and grip of the conquest of Central Italy, while Professor Tenney Frank carries on the story over Pyrrhus and the first Punic War towards Hannibal. Professor Frank writes with his familiar zest and enthusiasm and, if we allow for a certain bias in favour of some general views of his own on Roman foreign policy, with very sound judgment: his views on foreign policy, too, may prove to be correct, but they do not always follow directly, or even easily, from our authorities and depend for their ultimate justification on a wide general survey.

Among these later chapters on Rome are interwoven chapters on Agathocles by Dr. Cary, in which the Syracusan tyrant is convincingly represented rather as a portent of a tragic age than as a personality of true greatness; chapters on the rivalry of Syria and Egypt and on Macedon and the Greek leagues by Mr. Tarn; on the Carthaginians in Spain by Professor Schulten, and on the Romans in Illyria by M. Holleaux. Mr. Tarn's appreciation of the character of Arsinoë II and description of the campaign of Raphia will not readily be forgotten; and he writes of the sorry tangles of the Greek leagues and cities as if he loved them, not, as many do, in only too apparent boredom. The great authority of Professor Schulten adds to the inherent interest of his conclusions about the early empire of Tartessus and the first, pre-Barcide, Punic occupation of Spain. M. Holleaux makes it plain to us exactly how Rome came to be entangled in the politics of Greece. And at this point the volume reaches a fitting end.

The value of this attractive volume is enhanced by the usual handsome allowance of indexes, lists and maps. The mass of material does not grow less as the History proceeds, nor can the editorial task of controlling a team of a dozen specialists grow much easier. But the editors, as well as the writers of this volume, may be congratulated on their share in its success.

H. M.

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**Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft** (Müller-Otto). *Palaeographie*. Erster Teil: *Griechische Palaeographie*. By W. SCHUBART. Pp. viii + 184, with 120 facsimiles. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1925.

Ever since its appearance in 1899 Sir Frederic Kenyon's *Palaeography of Greek Papyri* has been indispensable to papyrologists. Unfortunately, works on any branch of papyrology

very quickly fall out of date, and though it still retains its utility, Kenyon's work has long been in need of revision. The section devoted to papyri in Sir E. Maunde Thompson's *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (1912) is more recent, but naturally a general work on palaeography cannot give as much space to the papyri as a volume concerned solely with them. That under review, by one of the leading papyrologists of the day, who has won distinction as an editor both of literary texts and documents, is therefore very welcome. It is not indeed, strictly speaking, a monograph on papyri, since it covers the whole field of Greek palaeography, but Schubart, who modestly explains in his preface that he does not feel himself quite at home with the mediaeval vellum and paper MSS., has given by far the greater part of his space to the papyrus period, and in the treatment of the later MSS. confines himself to an examination, without facsimiles, of those represented in Cavalieri and Lietzmann's *Specimina Codicum Graecorum Vaticanorum*. That is an excellent selection from the rich stores of the Vatican library, but it can hardly be regarded as furnishing a complete conspectus of the mediaeval script, and it would have been better, if the author felt it unsafe to venture too far afield, either to omit the later period altogether or to entrust it to some other hand.

In the whole field of papyri, alike in the earliest and the latest developments, in the literary papyri no less than in the documents, Schubart is an expert, and this, by far the larger, part of his work is masterly. It has the special merit of treating the subject in a somewhat original way. Schubart, as he explains at the outset, makes little attempt to follow the development of single letters; his effort—and it must be said at once that it is crowned with a large measure of success—is to trace the history of style in writing. This is a thing less exactly definable, and therefore more determined by subjective impressions, than the actual forms of letters, and there is room for differences of opinion in regard to not a few of Schubart's views; but in the main his judgments are as trustworthy as his treatment is stimulating and suggestive. In regard to one broad question of nomenclature Schubart makes an innovation which seems to the present reviewer undesirable. The old term 'uncials' for the book-hand of papyri was certainly ill-chosen, though it is appropriate enough at a later age, to differentiate the type of hand in question from the minuscule of vellum MSS.; but Schubart replaces the more suitable term 'book-hand' (*Buchschrift*) by 'calligraphic hand' (*Schönschrift*), while designating the cursive hand (*Geschäftsschrift*). He points out that the book-hand was at times used for documents, the documentary hand for books, which is true enough; but the use of the term 'book-hand' need not imply either that it was used only for literary MSS. or that no other hand is found so employed. *Schönschrift* is definitely misleading, and in two directions: some literary hands, which are quite unmistakably different from cursive, that of the Herodas papyrus for example, are far from 'schön,' and many documentary hands can truly be called calligraphic. It is therefore to be hoped that the older terms 'book-hand' and 'cursive' will be retained. Another innovation, which Schubart proposed in his *Einführung*, namely, to substitute for the older chronological classification into Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine hands a more minute and elaborate division, he has now (p. 21 f.) abandoned; rightly, for if the older classification is rough and a little inexact, it is sufficiently accurate for convenient use, and the later one was open to criticism in several respects.

The many and excellent facsimiles are a valuable feature of the work. Naturally, a large number of these represent Berlin papyri, since not only was it more convenient to obtain photographs of them, but the author had the advantage of studying the originals, an important point in palaeography. The Berlin collection is so rich that it can furnish specimens of a very great variety of hands; but in certain cases one feels that Schubart might have illustrated a particular type of script more adequately had he chosen his examples of it from some other collection. One general criticism must be made of his facsimiles. Under each is placed merely its number in the series; and the transcript, relegated to a foot-note, is printed with no indication of the division of lines. This procedure appears to be due to a certain confusion in the author's mind as to the purpose of the book. In a work intended for seminar practice, like his *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, it is no doubt an advantage to separate the apparatus from the examples, thus allowing the student to form his own conclusions as to date and to copy the text without the help of a transcript. But such a volume as the present is hardly one for palaeographical exercises; it is, firstly, a text-book

for the student, to whose advantage it is that the mechanical difficulties in acquiring the information it gives should be reduced to a minimum, and, secondly, a work of reference for the expert, who does not wish to waste time in hunting for the date, place of publication, etc. of facsimiles with which he is, it may be, comparing an undated papyrus. It is greatly to be hoped that when a second edition is called for, Schubart will place below each plate at least the date and the reference number of the papyrus represented, and that in his transcripts he will indicate the division of lines, so facilitating reference from transcript to plate.

The second part, as already said, is hardly adequate to its subject, but Schubart, despite his modest disclaimer, shows himself an extremely acute observer, and his sketch of the minuscule, brief as it is, will be found very stimulating.

With a view to a second edition, a few notes and suggestions on points of detail are added. The bibliography on p. 4 omits among 'Handschriften des Mittelalters' Tsereteli and Sobolevski's two useful series of *Exempla Codicum Graecorum* (1911, 1913 minuscule, 1913 uncial). An excellent feature of Schubart's treatment of the subject is his distinction of the class of 'persönliche Handschrift' (see p. 20 f., etc.); as he says, a regular study of such individual hands (contrasted with the 'school' hands of chancery officials, notaries, and professional scribes) might be very useful. He describes the Berlin narrative of the siege of Rhodes (Plate 92) as, at present, the only example of an author's autograph MS.; but the papyrus from the Zenon archive containing two epitaphs on a hound (New Pal. Soc. II, 116) is surely another, and though Dioseorus of Aphroditos was not a literary luminary of great brilliance, his compositions might also be cited. On p. 61 Schubart doubtfully suggests that the chancery hand was perhaps an innovation of the Augustan age. The type of hand usually so called, with its lateral compression and exaggerated conventions, may be, but it is difficult to believe that the Apollonius letters of the Zenon archive do not furnish examples of the type of hand used in the chanceries of the third century B.C., and one of those noble hands (e.g. the letter published by the reviewer in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 1927, of which a facsimile will be given in the New Pal. Soc.'s next part) should be illustrated in a second edition. Apparently by an oversight, no transcript is given of the particularly difficult papyrus shown in facsimile 24, p. 48. On p. 87 Schubart truly remarks that in the fourth century 'die Kanzleischrift gesiegt hat.' It may, however, be pointed out that the hands of the period present considerably more variety than his specimens would suggest, and not all of them show chancery influences. Facs. 56 is not altogether happily chosen to show the influence of the chancery hand on the ordinary cursive, for it is itself, in a way, an example of that type of hand, being from a high official to a military officer. The illustration of the latest period of papyri is not quite adequate, for no example of the full minuscule is given, though facs. 61 approaches it. A convenient facsimile exists in, e.g., New Pal. Soc. I, 152. In the section devoted to the book-hand (*Schönschrift*) the 'Biblical' hand is not sufficiently illustrated. Of this style earlier specimens than any given could have been obtained from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri: a good example is P. Oxy. 661 (IV, Pl. v).

The foregoing criticisms are made merely from a sense of the importance and singular merits of Schubart's book, which can be cordially recommended to all students of the subject.

H. I. B.

‘Ο Μητροπολίτης Σμύρνης Χρυσόστομος. By SPYRIDON LOVERDOS. Pp. 221. Athens: Sakellarios, 1929. 35 dr.

This beautifully printed volume by a scholarly banker is a portion of the monument which is to be erected to the martyred Metropolitan of Smyrna. In the circumstances it is naturally a panegyric, but contains a biography of this patriotic divine not to be found elsewhere. Born at Triglia in Bithynia in 1867, the son of a lawyer named Kalaphates, Chrysostom was archdeacon of Mytilene and Ephesus, first secretary of the (Ecumenical) Patriarch, Constantine V (in which capacity he presided over the mixed Anglo-Greek Committee to prepare the union of the Anglican and Orthodox Churches), and successively Metropolitan of Drama and Smyrna at the periods of the Macedonian troubles and the Asia Minor catastrophe. A fighting prelate, he did not know what fear was, but his national zeal sometimes outran his discretion, and Sir Edward Grey—for Drama was the British



*secteur* under the Murzsteg programme—demanded his recall on the charge of his anti-Bulgarian propaganda. His copy-letter-book fell into Turkish hands, and he was ordered to go to Triglia. The leading champion of Smyrniote Hellenism, he incurred the enmity of the Turkish authorities, and on August 27, 1922, was arrested as chief of the 'Asia Minor Defence.' His biographer can find no authentic eye-witness of his death, but he was probably murdered on the same day by the mob. Despite his militant life, he found time to write several books—to disprove the genuineness of the Virgin's tomb near Ephesus, on 'The Hellenism of Asia Minor and Young Turkey,' on 'The Persecutions of the Christians' by the Turks (these two in French), and (anonymously) an 'Ecclesiastical Programme' of reforms. A muscular Christian, he encouraged athletics. The book contains his portrait by K. Parthénos. Two English names (pp. 47, 48) are misprinted.

W. M.

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**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.** Great Britain 5 = British Museum 4. By H. B. WALTERS. London: Humphrey Milford, 1929.

The latest London part of the *Corpus* is equal to its predecessors. Photography and reproduction are admirable. The text is sound, but once more, if one may express an opinion, almost too brief. For most of the vases, though by no means all, it can refer to the Catalogue; but the restorations at least should be given, especially as they are not always noted in the Catalogue. The 'bibliography' might be arranged chronologically.

The contents are Attic b.f. amphorae, Attic r.f. kotylai and kantharoi, and Attic plastic vases.

B.f.:—Pl. 49, 1, the second part of the inscription is not fragmentary but complete, reads AOIH>N and not :OIH>N, cannot be meant for ΕΡΟΙΕ>ΕΝ: nor can the vase be by the Amasis painter. The amphora with ΔΜΔ>Ο> is published better in *Phil. Mus. Journal*, 6, pp. 91–2. Amasis in both vases is doubtless, as Loeschke suggested, the name of the negro. Pl. 57, 3, in *J.H.S.* xlvii. I attributed this to the Menon painter, not the Antimenes painter as stated here. Pl. 64, text and plate clash: for 1a and 1b in the text read 3a and 3b; for 2a and 2b, 1a and 1b; for 3a and 3b, 2a and 2b. Page 13 (cf. the previous London fascicule): such shape-outlines, traced from photographs, are otiose and inaccurate, careful scale-drawings would be more worthy of the undertaking and of the excellent draughtsman.

R.f.: Pl. 26, 1: The ascription was first made not by me but by Pottier. Pls. 26–7, not 'ripe archaic' in the accepted sense of the word, but early classical. Pl. 28, 1, the restorations of the Epictetos kotyle are serious. Pl. 28, 2, published by Buschor in *F.R.* Pl. 161. Pl. 29, 7, I did not assign it 'doubtfully to the Lewis painter,' but described it confidently as 'in his manner' (*Att. V.* p. 151). Pl. 30, 3, I did not assign it 'to the Lewis painter,' but described it as 'in his manner' (*ibid.*). Pl. 33, 2, published, with important comments, by Buschor in *F.R.* Pl. 163, 2. The reader might infer from the text, as punctuated, that I had attributed it to the Eretria painter: I attributed it to the Amymone painter, an artist of the previous generation. Pl. 37, 4, also published in *F.R.* iii. p. 93. Pl. 44, 1 and 2, not 'amphorae'—made so by the restorer. Pl. 44, text and plate clash: interchange 3 and 4 in the text headings.

J. D. B.

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**Geschichte der Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften im Alterthum.** By J. L. HEIBERG. Pp. 127. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1925. 10 M.

Science truly so called did not exist, Professor Heiberg thinks, before Greek times. Even with this restricted view of antiquity, it is something of a feat to have written the history of ancient science in 118 pages. But it is a greater feat to have written it in a style so readable that the chief, if not the only fault a reader is likely to find will be that there is not a great deal more of it. As it will be clear from this remark that the book is no mere catalogue of names and list of references, it will be well to add that anyone going to it for such things will find what he wants. It may give some idea of the book's character to state the pro-

portion of space allotted to the subjects discussed. Of the 118 pages, 27 are devoted to an interesting account of ancient Medicine, 17 to Astronomy, 9 to Geography and *beschreibende Naturwissenschaft* (which takes into consideration such works as Aristotle on Animals and Theophrastus on Stones), 6 to Mechanics, 6 to Optics, and 2 to Music, while no less than 48 are taken up with Mathematics. It must, of course, be understood that under this last heading comes a good deal that might have found a place under others; indeed as the author himself observes, almost every great Greek mathematician was to some extent also an astronomer. Still, one leaves off with an impression that astronomy proper and perhaps geography have scarcely had their full share of attention, and one is inclined to suspect that, after the golden age of mathematics in the second century B.C. had been described, the author's own interest in the subject began to decline. It is impossible to think that full justice has been done to Ptolemy, although Heiberg recognises the absurdity of calling him, as Oswald Spengler does, a mere compiler.

On one or two minor points the author's judgment may perhaps be questioned. He displays a wise caution about attributing the first advocacy of the earth's rotation to Heraclides Ponticus, but is surely rash in identifying Theon the astronomical observer with Theon of Smyrna the astronomical writer. And can the Sosigenes from whom Simplicius borrowed some most interesting information have been the same person as the Sosigenes who is said to have assisted in preparing the Julian calendar?

E. J. W.

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**A Glimpse of Greece.** By EDWARD HUTTON. Pp. 324; pl. 43 + 1 map. London: The Medici Society, 1928. 18s.

I have long believed that strangers make the best chroniclers: the man to whom Greece is unfamiliar should notice and delight in countless things that are taken for granted by those who know the country well. Since reading Mr. Hutton's book I have changed my mind.

The object of his journey, one would gather, is to get a suitable background for the writings of the Greek authors, and this object is an admirable one, for only thus can the classics be kept alive. Unfortunately, he has eyes for two things only, the scenery and his book. It is odd that he should be so indifferent to the life of the country, which has been less affected than one would expect by the many changes of race and culture. The little he sees of it does not please him: no doubt if he had been put down in the Athens of Aristophanes or the Sparta of Leonidas he would have been equally displeased. And is it not still more odd that one who really loves good Greek prose can scarcely write a page of English without asterisks and purple patches, the marks of the journalism of a past generation?

In his attitude towards archaeologists, Mr. Hutton is equally prejudiced. When he accuses them of hostility to legend and tradition, he betrays his ignorance of modern method. His choice of Mycenae as the place for his tirade is particularly unfortunate, for here, especially, tradition was studied and justified by the recent excavators.

A good account of Greece is yet to be written, and its author, be he stranger or resident, must have something of the explorer as well as the scholar in his make-up. Yet, within the last four years, we have been given the impression of at least three persons who depend on Ghiolman and Cook for their travelling facilities, who know little or nothing of the language, and who appear to enjoy the country most from a car. That such books find a market is a touching proof of the enthusiasm of the general public for all things Greek.

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**Bronzes Antiques du Canton de Neuchatel.** By GEORGES MÉAUTIS. Pp. 55; pl. ix + 5 figs. Neuchatel: The University, 1928.

The contents of this book are a curious mixture. Four-fifths of it are devoted to a couple of essays, one on Satyrical Drama, the other on those reliefs which some scholars have attributed to Alexandria. The reliefs are the pretext for a disquisition on Alexandrian art and culture which makes very pleasant reading: the author has a charming style, good judgment and a store of learning which make one regret that he is reviewing the work of others rather than creating himself. The essay on Satyrical Drama, less appropriate, is also less well conceived.

The bronzes of the Canton of Neuchâtel, which give the book its name, are only ten in number. Some belong to the museum, others to private collections: two were discovered locally. In publishing them, Professor Méautis has set an admirable example: the task is one which many scholars would have hesitated to undertake, owing to the oddity of several of the specimens, such as the rhyton on Pl. I. The most interesting piece is the janiform kantharos on Pl. IX, said to have been dug up near Landeron. If it is genuine—and the circumstances of its finding, if correctly reported, would prove that it is—a profile view ought to have been given as well as the two faces.

The reconstruction of a vase on Fig. 3 is incorrect. It has been taken from Schreiber's *Alexandrinische Toreutik*, but do many bronze originals of that particular two-handled shape exist? Do any exist which have not been 'made up' in comparatively modern times? The object on Pl. IV *a* and the fore-part of a horse on Pl. II *A*, cannot, surely, be Greek. With regard to Pl. II *A*, the author should beware of reconstructing the shape from a drawing in Panofka's *die Griechische Trinkhörner*, Pl. I. 1 (1850): look at the drawing and you will see why.

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**Il Castello Eurialo nella storia e nell' Arte.** By L. MAUCERI. Pp. 58. Rome: Bittner, 1928.

Besides a brief historical introduction and a general description of the remains of the great fortress of Syracuse, this book provides an interesting account of the exploration of it which has at different times taken place, and a synopsis of the various opinions which have been published about it. The discussion of the modifications of construction is not without interest. There are numerous photographs of the ruins, and some clear plans.

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**Ancient Sicyon, with a Prosopographia Sicyonia.** By C. H. SCALET. Pp. 223. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. 11s. 6d.

The most interesting chapters of this monograph are those which deal with the art of Sicyon; for neither the present remains on the site nor most of Sicyon's political history are of much note—though what is known of them is here well set forth. The author also discusses the numerous ancient cults of Sicyon and adds a note on the Sicyonian treasures at Olympia and Delphi. He has collected a 'Prosopographia' of some four hundred names.

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**Chrestomathia Graeca.** By E. DIEHL. Pp. 166. Riga: Valters et Rapa, 1928.

This book is primarily intended for the improvement of Greek teaching in the schools of Latvia; but the first part of the book might with advantage be employed for any preliminary exploration of the Greek language—this part consists of groups of sentences and examples collected from ancient literature and inscriptions, progressively illustrating the accident and syntax of Greek. The rest of the book contains similar Lettish sentences to turn back into Greek, and Greco-Lettish vocabularies. The author's boast, 'meum erat fundamenta ponere,' is not unjustified, and his suggestion deserves fulfilment—domum quisque ipse struat.

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**Aeschines II; Contre Ctésiphon—Lettres.** By V. MARTIN and G. DE BUDÉ. Pp. xxxix + 120.

**Aristophanes. IV. Les Thesmophories—Les Grenouilles.** By V. COULON and H. VAN DAELE. Pp. 157.

Paris: Association Guillaume Budé, 1928.

Two further additions to the Budé series. Besides the translations and brief introductions both volumes are provided with short explanatory notes and critical apparatus. They keep worthily to the standard of merit which this series has established for itself.

**Continued Explorations in Eastern Triphylia.** By N. SVENSSON VALMIN. Pp. 54. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1928.

In this paper of the Lund Société Royale des Lettres the author describes his own excavations in the north-west of Messenia and the neighbourhood in 1928. He is chiefly concerned with a series of tholos-tombs built up in the plain, apparently Late Helladic, though not of the latest type. One he considers to have been a 'hero's tomb'—a temple rather than a tomb; and another contained an unusual burial bench and showed evidence of cremation. Dr. Valmin also investigated an unusual Helladic house and a pre-Mycenaean house below it occupying the so-called Malthi acropolis. Besides the interesting accounts of excavation, there is some inconclusive discussion of the connexions and identity of the site in ancient times.

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**The Agamemnon of Aeschylus: an English version.** By SIR HENRY SHARP. Pp. 73. Oxford University Press, 1928. 2s. 6d.

'Agamemnon' in English verse again: there is very little typically Aeschylean in this easy, almost conversational blank-verse and these pleasant Victorian rhymed lyrics; but, on the other hand, there is no 'tushery.' This will no doubt make an admirable acting version, as the author desires.

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**Jephthah.** By JOHN CHRISTOPHERSON; edited and translated by F. H. FOBES. Pp. 157. Delaware University Press, 1928. \$2.

Study of the humanists is fashionable in America, and from there comes this first edition of a Greek play by John Christopherson, Master of Trinity and Bishop of Chichester under Mary Tudor, and a persecutor of Protestants. The play of *Jephthah*, which is here printed with a very readable verse translation, is not without merits of its own, but is of much greater interest as a document for the history of Hellenic study in Renaissance England. Christopherson naturally knew nothing of lyric metre, and he had not a very sure mastery of iambic, nor did he attempt purity of dialect; but he is an intelligent imitator of Euripides. The scene, for instance, of Jephthah meeting with his daughter is handled in the Greek way and with real feeling.

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W. R. L.

**Lusus Homeric.** By A. SHEWAN. Pp. 53. Oxford: Blackwell, 1928. 2s. 6d.

A collection mostly of 'leviora,' nearly half being passages reprinted from the author's entertaining 'Homeric Games at an ancient St. Andrews.' The author, with a predilection for the Homeric style, sometimes translates in it where it is no equivalent for his English model. The Homeric 'crossword' may be recommended for scholars addicted to the vice.

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**Yale Classical Studies. I.** Edited by A. M. HARMON. Pp. 252. Yale University Press, 1928. 11s. 6d.

The first volume of the Yale Classical Studies brings together ten papers of varying length and diverse matter, more remarkable for the extent of learning which they exhibit than for any important novelty of criticism or opinion. The first paper is an interesting and detailed account of the devices which Lucian employs to make his dialogues dramatic while intended for recitation by a single speaker. The other longer papers are an investigation, of considerable erudition, of the 'political philosophy of Hellenistic kingship,' which stresses the influence of Persia and Egypt and the importance of Pythagorean theories of kingship in the Hellenistic age; a learned account of village administration in the Roman

province of Syria; and a discussion of the evidence of 'Indic speech and religion in Western Asia.'

A unique early Christian lamp with an unfamiliar representation of David and Goliath is also published; and there is a brief paper on Jewish apologetic and Jewish political allegiance under the Ptolemies.

W. R. L.

**The Works of Aristotle**, translated into English under the editorship of W. D. Ross. Vol. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928. 15s.

One more volume brings nearer the completion of the Oxford translation of Aristotle. Here are contained the *Categoriæ* and *De Interpretatione*, the *Analytica Priora* and *Posteriora*, the *Topica* and the *De Sophisticis Elenchis*; translated from the text of Bekker. There is a full index for the *Topica* and the *De Sophisticis Elenchis*; and a shorter for the other treatises together. The *Analytica Posteriora* alone is provided with brief explanatory notes.

**The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks**. By GISELA M. A. RICHTER. Pp. xxxi + 242, with 4 colour-plates and 767 half-tone figures. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. 83s.

The latest result of Miss Richter's investigations into ancient technique is this elaborate and costly work on ancient sculpture. It is divided into two parts: the first deals with the development of motifs, with composition, with technique, with Roman copies and modern forgeries, and other archaeological topics; the second consists of brief summaries of our knowledge of Greek sculptors, in which an attempt is made to disengage undisputed fact from the morass of conjecture in which it is embedded. There is also a most useful chronological table of the more important monuments.

In her first section Miss Richter dismembers the body on the Morellian system: this yields interesting results, but the total effect is somewhat confusing, as the same object is considered in its different parts and from its various aspects in so many places. The illustrations, moreover, occur in bunches at intervals through the book and the text to which they refer is hardly ever contiguous with them.

The second part of the book is almost excessively cautious and non-committal: Miss Richter, anxious to avoid unsubstantiated theorising *à la* Furtwangler, refuses to relax her grasp on her original fragments for a second. It is wise to reject the breezy hypotheses of Schrader and Walston, and it is perhaps safe to disagree with Schröder when he assigns the Prokne and Itys fragments from the Akropolis to Alkamenēs; but is it quite reasonable when speaking of Bryaxis to say no word of the Sarapis because no certain copies have survived? It is possible to be too self-denying; and anyhow Miss Richter is not quite consistent in this respect. The New York bronze horse *may* be in the manner of Kalamis; Timarchos *may* be the originator of the Menander type; the Ephesos drum 1206 *may* reflect the style of Skopas. But these are conjectures neither more nor less probable than others which Miss Richter rejects as undemonstrable.

A book almost entirely composed of detail can only be criticised in detail; and that would need more space than is here available. One can take a few points only and discuss them as typical of the rest. First as regards chronology: the early archaic pieces are placed in accordance with Payne's classification, to be embodied in his forthcoming *Necrocorinthia*, and their relations appear to be secure. In the sixth century, however, there are some disputable dates: Miss Richter's dating of the new Berlin lion is much too late—it is claimed as an immediate predecessor of the beast on the Olympia metope; Wiegand's date (early sixth century) is much more probable. The B.M. bronze fallen giant (Inv. 1925. 7-14. 1) is put c. 450; actually it is Etruscan, not Greek at all, and hardly earlier than 400. And is Miss Richter right in following Sieveking and Bulle and placing the nude bronze girl from Beroia in Munich within the fifth century? The shoulders are pronouncedly askew. And, once again, how can the Chios head in Boston be a fourth-century original? The

sugary surface, which Caskey pronounces to be untouched (*Boston Catalogue*, p. 74), can only be Hellenistic. It is even more surprising to find the serpentine mastiff in the Conservatori called a fourth-century work. However, Miss Richter's seven arguments in favour of the late dating of the Olympian Zeus, her late dating (c. 424) of the Nike of Paionios, her championship of the Phidian origin of the Bologna-Dresden Athena (against Walston-Alkamenes and Jenkins-Myron) and many other such decisions are persuasive. Her formal refutation of Blümel's theory about the Hermes of Praxiteles is deferred to an imminent number of *A.J.A.* But it is impossible to be always *à la page*; thus her apportioning of the Mausoleum frieze has been already upset by Pfuhl in the last *Jahrbuch*.

We cannot do justice here to the skill with which Miss Richter has detected and tabulated the earliest appearance of this and that type or motif; nor comment on her admirable parallels between Greek originals and Roman copies and her discriminating remarks on the shortcomings of forgeries; nor retail innumerable pieces of useful documentation and sound criticism. We will simply end by observing that a certain universal provider in our midst has not yet been knighted and that he is not the owner of the collections in the noble mansion he inhabits.

**Les Celtes dans les arts mineurs gréco-romains.** By P. BIEŃKOWSKI. Pp. 254, with 336 text-figures. Cracow: Université des Jagellons, 1928.

This posthumous work of the late Prof. Bieńkowski covers a wider field than its title might suggest. Though immediately concerned with representations of Celts in small bronzes, lamps, terracottas, etc., it actually embodies the final results of his lifelong study of the treatment of barbarians in ancient art. In particular he has traced the original composition of the Attalid dedications on the Acropolis through a large number of later variants and imitations, complete or partial: notably on a peytrel at Brescia, on fragments of a similar piece at Kolozsvár, and in five isolated figures found near Starigrad in Dalmatia and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. The best replica of the general on horseback Bieńkowski considers to be the B.M. bronze S39; this is not Commodus, and is not brandishing a lance but delivering an harangue. He restores to their correct horizontal posture figures in the Louvre and Turin usually misinterpreted as dancing barbarians. In speaking of the Dresden bronze (from Velletri?) he notes the similarity of the pose to that of the barbarian on the Belgrade cameo, but gives no reference to Rodenwaldt's article (*Jahrbuch*, 1922, 17 ff.), where other parallels are cited.

Chapter II deals with terracotta appliques to large decorative vases; Chapter III with the terracotta frieze from Pompeii, supplementing and correcting von Rohden; Chapter IV treats of terracottas which are evidently derived from sculptured originals but whose prototypes cannot be recognised; Chapter V discusses representations of Galatians fighting elephants; then follows an appendix on the Celts as sculptured by themselves. The last section of the book consists of four studies dealing respectively with the frieze of the Monument of Aemilius Paulus at Delphi, with the type of the barbarian wearing a *rhénon* (originally a Celtic and later a German costume), with representations of the Bastarnae in Trajanic and Hadrianic art, and with certain heads wearing the *cirrus*.

The book is formless and cannot be called readable; but such defects are excusable in posthumous works, especially when the material of which they are composed is of the first importance.

**50 Meisterwerke der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I.** Edited by JOHANNES SIEVEKING and CARL WEICKERT. 53 plates. Munich: J. B. Obernetter, 1928.

This handsome volume of plates is a *Festschrift* in honour of the seventieth birthday of Paul Wolters. The compilers have had the happy idea of offering their colleague not a miscellaneous and perfunctory array of archaeological paralipomena—the usual tribute on such an occasion—but an album of fine reproductions of masterpieces in the collection

over which he has long presided. The album is particularly welcome, since the Munich Glyptothek has no adequately illustrated catalogue; here are admirable photographs of the 'Apollo of Tenca' (in profile as well as full face), the other archaic ephebe, the Aegina sculptures, the dark stone head of Orpheus copied from the votive statue of Mikythos at Olympia, the graceful girl's torso with swinging draperies, the 'Ilioneus,' the 'Metec,' several stelae—including the interesting fragment from Rhodes of a veiled woman, a very fine detail of the head of the Barberini Satyr, the relief from Tarentum with scenes from the underworld, the so-called 'Sulla,' an excellent Republican portrait, the Julia Domna, and the bronze Constantius Chlorus, and of course the well-known Roman copies like the Eirene and Ploutos, the 'Apollo Barberini,' etc. The photographs we have mentioned are particularly successful; but all are good.

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**Sammlung Baurat Schiller.** By R. ZAHN.  $11\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$  ins. Pp. 136, and 65 plates. Berlin: Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, 1929.

This sale-catalogue has a more permanent interest than such productions usually possess. The descriptions are by Prof. Zahn of the Berlin Museum, the plates are excellent, and the objects themselves are in many cases of considerable importance. The collection consists mainly of ancient glass and jewellery, with a few terracottas and vases. Among the more notable pieces are the ribbed *millefiori* bowl, formerly in the von Gans collection and closely resembling the bowl from Radnage acquired by the British Museum in 1923. another remarkable bowl with a vigorous cross pattern, two polygonal repoussé gold crowns described as Phoenician work of the eighth-seventh centuries B.C., a fine gold fibula from Campania (?) of about the fourth century B.C., several armlets and earrings, and a striking gold buckle with a rectangular plate on which is a profile head in a medallion. With the exception of a b.f. amphora and a stamnos ascribed to the Alkimachos painter, the vases, like the terracottas, are of minor importance. The collection was exhibited in the Antiquarium of the Berlin Museums for more than a year, and was disposed of on March 19 and 20 last.

R. H.

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**Πινδάρου Ἐπινίκια: Pindar's Odes of Victory.** The Olympian and Pythian Odes, with an introduction and a translation into English verse by C. J. BILLSON; embellished with wood-engravings by JOHN FARLEIGH. Pp. xxii + 297. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1928. 73s. 6d.

Yet another text of Pindar and yet another verse-translation must have special qualifications if they would be regarded as something more than a luxury. This new edition of the Olympian and Pythian odes, conspicuously bound in orange and black, printed in large and important type on thick handmade paper, interspersed with wood-engravings which may be described as 'after' vase-paintings, is a piece of bookmaking. The text is just a text; the version is careful, but tepid; and the illustrations are hardly more inspiring. The production is, in fact, a luxury.

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**Meisterwerke der Türkischen Museen zu Konstantinopel: Band I.** By MARTIN SCHEDE. Pp. 50, with 50 plates. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1928. 180 M.

The only defect of Mendel's admirable catalogue of the Ottoman Museum was that it lacked photographic illustrations; this want is now to a certain extent supplied by this fine volume of plates prepared by Dr. Martin Schede, with a short introductory text in German and Turkish, the first of a series of four to be devoted to the masterpieces in the national collections in Constantinople. Among the less familiar subjects are two sixth-century chariot-racing reliefs from Kyzikos; a late archaic horse's head; a sarcophagus

from Gaza (cf. B.M. Egyptian inv. 120150); a side-view of the statue with transparent drapery from Magnesia on the Meander; the relief of a Muse found near Miletopolis and used by Hauser to support his theory of the Pergamene origin of the Neo-Attic style; the statue of Claudia, wearing a Flavian honeycomb headdress, from Aptera in Crete; the colossal Hadrian with his foot on the neck of a crouching barbarian; decorative fragments from the Thermae at Aphrodisias similar to those acquired by the British Museum in 1922; a late Antonine garland-sarcophagus with a high-pitched cover from Tripolis in Syria; an enlarged detail from the Sidamaria sarcophagus; and a selection of the late fourth-century portrait-statues from Aphrodisias.

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Über Stilleben aus Pompeji und Herculaneum. By H. G. BEYEN. Pp. viii + 99, with 12 plates. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1928. 10 gulden.

This is a doctorate thesis, elaborately documented but inadequately illustrated. Dr. Beyen has chosen a good subject and has worked it out in careful detail. His preliminary observations call attention to the late appearance of still-life as an independent genre, to its utility in the painter's education, and to the contrast between the ancient and the modern attitude to the art. He remarks that still-life interests us by reason of its quality alone, not its subject; in antiquity, however, the object represented retains its importance and we do not find insignificant objects depicted merely for the sake of their natural beauty. The subjects of still-life, moreover, are very often religious in their associations: witness the preference for Dionysiac attributes like masks and the nebris and the pine-wreath. Other still-life themes are evidently votive in origin.

In the second and third Pompeian styles still-life elements are incorporated as part of the general decorative system; in the fourth, however, they are generally concentrated within a frame like panel-pictures.

The plates are well executed, though somewhat restricted in scope; and some are reproduced from drawings which convey but an imperfect impression of the style and handling of the original.

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The *Hippias Major* attributed to Plato. Edited with Introductory Essay and Commentary by DOROTHY TARRANT. Pp. lxxxiv + 104. Cambridge University Press. 1928. 12s. 6d

An investigation of Plato's earlier metaphysical theory aroused Miss Tarrant's interest in the *Hippias Major*, and to this fortunate circumstance we are indebted for an excellent edition of a dialogue which has for various reasons been neglected. The text (Burnet's) and notes are uniformly good; Miss Tarrant has contrived to give an immense amount of information, all relevant, with the admirable lucidity which is characteristic of the whole book.

But welcome as an annotated edition of the *Hippias Major* must be to all who are interested in the development of Platonic thought, the Introductory Essay is perhaps the most illuminating part of Miss Tarrant's book. She does not believe that the dialogue is Plato's own work, and she brings forward much evidence to support her view of its authorship and date. But the introduction contains much more than this. Those who feel inclined to skip it, on the grounds that it is a matter of small importance whether Plato himself or one of his disciples wrote the dialogue, will make a great mistake; for in order to establish the date and authorship of the *Hippias Major*, Miss Tarrant gives an extremely clear and able account first of the probable chronological order of the early dialogues, and secondly of the development of Plato's earlier metaphysical theory; and in a later section she also discusses Plato's theory of pleasure as being another point of comparison between the *Hippias Major* and genuine Platonic dialogues.

With regard to the *Hippias Major*, the general results of the investigation are, first, that chronologically it comes later than the *Phaedo* (the last of the early group), with which it shares, though in a debased form, the less usual and more difficult aspect of the theory



of Ideas' (p. lx), and to which, moreover, it bears some verbal resemblances, and earlier than the *Parmenides*, which 'seems designed to combat a too concrete interpretation of the εἶδος—exactly the sort of absurdity found in the *Hippias Major*' (p. lxxv). The same result is obtained by considering the theory of pleasure; here again the *Hippias Major* seems to be influenced by the *Phaedo*, but earlier than the *Philbus*, where the theory is improved and developed. In the second place, it is shown that if the relative position assigned to the dialogue is accepted, Platonic authorship becomes improbable: 'it is a work slighter in bulk and in style than any of the dialogues of Plato's maturity' (p. xv). Professor Taylor and others who defend its authenticity avoid this difficulty by placing the dialogue not among the works of Plato's maturity, but among the early 'Socratic' dialogues; but, as Miss Tarrant implies, this is not likely, because the *Hippias Major* shows too much interest in metaphysics and presupposes the theory of Ideas. Peculiarities of style and vocabulary (carefully tabulated) also tell against the authenticity of the *Hippias Major*, and Miss Tarrant seems to have good cause to maintain that it was probably written by a student of the Academy to whom the *Republic* and the *Phaedo* were the latest known works of the Master.

R. M. R.

Ἡ νεολιθικὴ ἐποχὴ ἐν Ἑλλάδι. By G. E. MYLONAS. Pp. xiv + 174; 86 illustrations. Athens; Hestia, 1928.

This work is naturally intended primarily for the author's compatriots and aims at making accessible to them in their own tongue the results of archaeological exploration, published largely in English or German, in so far as these bear on the earliest prehistoric period of the country. Inevitably it is largely a compilation. To a clear and well-balanced summary of the well-known Thessalian and Cretan material are added extensive sections on Macedonia (including the chalcolithic age) and on the American results in Corinthia, the Peloponnese and at Eutresis in Euboea. The last-named sections, though based on an actual examination of the sherds, will doubtless need revision when the material is fully published, as will the denial of a 'stone age' on Aegina. In his use of the foreign comparative material the author displays good judgment and the proper caution (*e.g.* in the case of Frankfort). He is particularly to be commended on his efforts to raise the study of the non-ceramic material (hitherto scandalously neglected) to something like modern standards.

V. G. C.

Forschungen in Salona. Vol. I: pp. vii + 152, with 4 colour-plates and 259 text-figures. Vol. II: pp. vi + 118, with 64 text-figures. Vienna: Alfred Holder, 1917; and Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1926.

A systematic exploration of the site of Salona began in 1875, and since then has been conducted by Bulić, Gerber, Egger, Reisch, and others on behalf of the Austrian Archaeological Institute and the Yugoslav Government; while independent excavations have been carried out by a Danish expedition under Brøndsted and Dyggve, who have published the first volume of their results under the title of *Recherches à Salone I* (Copenhagen, 1928). Vol. I of the Austrian excavations is devoted to the buildings in the N.W. part of the new town—the cruciform basilica, the *Basilica episcopalis urbana* and its dependencies, a fourth-century apsidal basilica below the cruciform structure, secular buildings to the N. of the *Basilica urbana*, including a cemetery, the main thermae, a bathing establishment in a private house and the aqueduct that fed it, the Porta Caesarea, and the main water-supply of the town. At the end are three coloured plates of mosaic floors in the *Basilica urbana*: one has a striking design of stags drinking from a vase, with the text *sicut cervus* . . . while another has a figure of Sappho in a medallion with nine radiating compartments containing figures of the Muses. Vol. II deals with the early Christian cemetery of Manastirine: the buildings in their present state, the sarcophagi and tomb-chambers, and the inscriptions. The main church is shown to date from the

early years of the fifth century, with the exception of the narthex and choir, which belong to the middle of the sixth. The cemetery was destroyed twice before the final downfall of Salona at the beginning of the seventh century: after July, 395, and after 602.

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Plato: the *Epinomis*. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by J. HARWARD. Pp. 146. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928. 5s.

The two recent translators of the *Epinomis* disagree as to its authenticity. Mr. Lamb, in the Loeb translation, asserts rather than argues that the dialogue is manifestly spurious, while Mr. Harward in his introduction puts forward a reasoned and plausible case for Platonic authorship. He exposes the slenderness of the arguments of those who have assigned the *Epinomis* to Philippos of Opus, and claims that on grounds of style, structure and matter alike it may reasonably be considered the work (perhaps unrevised) of Plato in old age. The style is so similar to that of the *Laws*, of which the authenticity is now undisputed, that it is intrinsically more probable that Plato himself wrote the dialogue than that an 'inferior' imitator should have had the skill or patience to copy its peculiarities. In addition to this discussion, the introduction contains an analysis of the dialogue, a consideration of Plato's conception of wisdom and an interesting account of the work of the Academy in Mathematics and Astronomy.

Mr. Harward's translation is not always elegant—but neither is the original; and considering the difficulty of turning such a book into readable English his work is remarkably satisfactory. There are a few inaccuracies. At 982 *c*, 'by the fact that they *continue* to carry out . . .' does scant justice to διὰ τὸ . . . πράττειν θαυμαστόν τινα χρόνον ὅσον, and at 983 *a* the important word αἰ is ignored in the phrase τὸν αὐτὸν αἰ χρόνον ὅσον καὶ νῦν. A more serious misrepresentation is to be found at 975 *b*, where the translator fails to make it clear that χώρας ξυμπάσης γεωργία, like ξύμπασα οἰκοδομία and ξυμπάντων ὀργάνων παρασκευή below, is a general following up a particular expression; 'cultivation of land in general' would give the required sense, which is not given by 'cultivation of all land.' But on the whole the translation is good and is supported by notes which, if sometimes overloaded, are always useful and instructive. Mr. Harward states in his preface that he owes much to Professor A. E. Taylor, whose interpretation and translation of the mathematical passage (990 *e*–991 *b*) he accepts.

R. M. R.

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# Hellenic Society

## Candidates for Election by Committee

~~Rev Canon~~

Liddon, Rev Canon, Ch. Ch. Oxford

Magrath, Rev J. R. Provost of Queens Coll. Ox.

~~W. Little~~

Little, W. Esq. Fellow & Tutor of Corpus Chr. Coll. Ox.

Sidgwick, Arthur Esq.

" " " " " "

Sandys, J. E. Esq. Public Orator at Cambridge.

Donaldson, S. James High School, Edinburgh

~~John Richard Green~~

Green, John Richard 50 Welbeck St. W.

Historian

Dill, S. Esq. Head Master of Gram Sch. in Chelsea

Macmillan, Alexander, Publisher

Shuckburgh, E. S. Master at Eton

late Fell. of Emmanuel Coll. Camb.

Welldon, J. E. C. Fell. & Lecturer of Kings Coll. "

Parker, R. J. Scholar " "

Rawley, E. J. 1 Eton Terrace, Harrogate

Macmillan, M. C. Master at St. Paul's Sch.

Jeans, Rev G. E. Master at Haileybury,

Fellow of Hertford Coll.

Spring Rice, S. E. Treasury, & late Scholar of Trin. Coll. Camb.

Cotterill, H. B. late Master at Harrow & Camb. University Extension Lecturer

Ellis, Prof. Robinson Oxford

Mr S. Thompson

# AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF THE HELLENIC SOCIETY

*[The first part of this history was written twenty-five years ago by Mr. George Maemillan then the Society's Honorary Secretary as part of the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations.*

*Now for their fiftieth anniversary the Council have asked him to record the events of the last twenty-five years.*

*The two parts together as here printed make the complete history of the Society since its foundation to the present day.]*

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## PART I.—1879-1904

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### INTRODUCTORY

#### THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY

TWENTY-FIVE years is not a very long period in the life of a Society, but the conclusion of the first quarter of a century since its foundation seems nevertheless to mark a point from which it is convenient to look back and as it were to take stock of the work that has been accomplished, and perhaps to draw some general conclusions which may serve as a guide for future development. And if, as is happily the case with our Society, there has been steady progress both in numbers and efficiency, it is interesting and encouraging to mark the stages of that progress, and it is well to record, in the first instance, how the Society came into existence. In tracing the preliminary steps, historical accuracy compels me to adopt a somewhat personal tone, but I will tell this part of the story as briefly as possible.

In the spring of 1877 I made my first visit to Greece, in company with Professor Mahaffy and two other friends, having to some extent prepared myself by reading and by visits to the British Museum, where I became acquainted with Mr. Newton, then Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

This memorable journey laid the foundation of my keen interest in Greek archaeology. After my return I made the acquaintance of Mr. John Gennadius, then Chargé d'Affaires, and afterwards Minister, for Greece in this country. It was from him that I first heard of the French *Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques*, of which I became a life member. The idea naturally arose, and was constantly discussed between us, that a similar society might with advantage be founded in England. I had however at that time but a limited acquaintance with English scholars, and though I never lost sight of the idea I did not see my way to carry it out. In the autumn of 1878 I paid a visit to Professor Mahaffy in Dublin, and there made the acquaintance of Professor Sayce. He had then already visited Greece more than once, and when I broached to him the idea of founding an English Hellenic Society he took it up with enthusiasm. During the next few months we met frequently in Oxford and in London, and gradually got the scheme into something like working order. We ultimately drew up a series of objects which the Society should set itself to carry out, and though these were modified later on, as other counsellors were called in, it may be of interest to put these first rough ideas on record. The objects were these :

- '(1) To afford means of publishing copies and photographs of Greek inscriptions and monuments of all kinds.
- (2) To be a medium for the publication of Memoirs on all things Greek, both ancient and modern.
- (3) To promote the study of the ancient and modern Greek language and literature.
- (4) To be *en rapport* with the Archaeological Society of Athens, the "Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France," and other similar Societies throughout Europe and America.
- (5) To establish an agency at Athens through which members may obtain photographs of Greek sites and monuments, and all necessary guidance and information when travelling in Greece.'

Having drawn up this sufficiently comprehensive scheme the next question was to obtain supporters, and as it seemed likely to commend itself specially to those who had actually visited Greece we determined to make as complete a list as possible of such persons, and to approach them in the first instance. I still possess a copy of the list from which we worked, and find that it contains about 120 names. In the spring of 1879 I visited Professor Sayce at Oxford, and we then divided the list between us and shortly afterwards wrote, with a copy of the 'objects,' to everyone on the list, inviting them to join the proposed Society. It was stated that 'the Society is to consist originally only of those who have been in Greece, but when it is once constituted, the Committee will have power to elect such other persons as are interested in its objects, no limit being placed to the number' of members. The subscription suggested was one guinea per annum.

The first letters were sent out towards the end of March, and by the end of April the number of acceptances, in most cases enthusiastic, had put the success of the venture beyond a doubt. Indeed the welcome given to the proposal was all but unanimous. Among the first accessions may be mentioned Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Newton, Professor Jebb, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. James Bryce, Dr. Butler of Harrow, Dean Church, the Earl of Morley, Mr. Penrose, Mr. E. A. Freeman, Mr. Percy Gardner, Sir John Lubbock (now Lord Avebury), Mr. D. B. Monro (now Provost of Oriel), Dean Stanley, Dr. Thompson (Master of Trinity), Dr. Wordsworth (Bishop of Lincoln), Dr. Ridding (now Bishop of Southwell), Rev. Professor Fowler (now President of Corpus), Mr. Sidney Colvin, Professor Blackie, Mr. W. J. Stillman, Professor A. W. Ward (now Master of Peterhouse), Dean Liddell, the Duke of Argyll, Sir Henry Thompson, Dr. Schliemann, Mr. J. T. Wood, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Gennadius, Professor Mahaffy, Professor Rolleston, Mr. Ernest Myers, Mr. H. F. Tozer, and Mr. (now Sir) Edgar Vincent.

In the course of May various conferences took place in which Mr. Newton, Professor Jebb, Professor Sayce, Mr. Colvin, Mr. Gennadius, Mr. Percy Gardner and others took an active part, and eventually arrangements were made for an Inaugural Meeting, which was held at Freemasons' Tavern on June 16th. Mr. Newton presided, and his opening address on 'Hellenic Studies' was afterwards printed in the first number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. The Resolution constituting the Society was proposed by Lord Morley and seconded by Dr. William Smith. Other Resolutions were spoken to, and speeches made on various branches of work which lay open to the Society, by the Master of Trinity, Professor Jebb, Professor Sayce, Professor Colvin, Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, Mr. W. C. Perry, Mr. Penrose, Mr. Pandeli Ralli, Mr. R. W. Macan, Mr. Percy Gardner, Mr. Gennadius, and Mr. E. A. Freeman. Among others present at the meeting were Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. G. W. Balfour, Dr. T. Lauder Brunton, the Hon. J. Abercromby, Mr. R. Hamilton Lang, Rev. E. M. Geldart, Mr. Alexander Macmillan, and Mr. F. W. Percival. Before this meeting 112 members had joined the Society, and have since been distinguished in the list of members by an asterisk as original members. Only twenty-seven of these now survive. At the meeting fifty more members were elected, and a Committee was appointed with powers to admit further members; to draw up Rules for the management of the Society, to be submitted to members at a subsequent meeting; and also to prepare a scheme of work to be undertaken by the Society.

This Committee, and its sections, held frequent meetings in the course of the ensuing autumn and winter; and finally another general meeting of members was held in the rooms of the Royal Literary Fund in Adelphi Terrace on January 22nd, 1880. Mr. Newton, who had presided at all the meetings of Committee, was again in the Chair. The Rules drawn up by the Committee were approved. The officers and Council were duly appointed, and it seems fitting to record here the names of the first governing body of the Society.

## PRESIDENT.

The Right Rev. The Bishop of Durham.

## VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The Earl of Morley.	The Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.
Mr. Justice Bowen.	Prof. Sidney Colvin.
Very Rev. The Dean of St. Paul's.	Prof. T. K. Ingram.
Mr. Gennadius.	Prof. R. C. Jebb, LL.D.
Mr. C. T. Newton, C.B.	Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce.
Mr. E. M. Thompson.	Rev. H. F. Tozer.

## COUNCIL.

Right Rev. The Bishop of Lincoln.	Mr. Oscar Browning.
Very Rev. The Dean of Westminster.	Mr. Ingram Bywater.
Very Rev. The Dean of Christchurch.	Rev. W. W. Capes.
The Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.	Mr. H. O. Coxe.
Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P.	Mr. Chenery.
Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., <i>Treasurer</i> .	Mr. E. A. Freeman, D.C.L.
Professor Bryce, D.C.L., M.P.	Mr. George A. Macmillan, <i>Hon. Sec.</i>
Professor Percy Gardner.	Mr. D. B. Monro.
Rev. Professor Hort, D.D.	Mr. J. Cotter Morison.
Rev. Professor Kennedy, D.D.	Mr. Ernest Myers.
Professor Mahaffy.	Mr. H. F. Pelham.
Professor Bonamy Price.	Mr. F. C. Penrose.
Professor H. J. S. Smith.	Mr. Walter Perry.
Professor Tyrrell.	Mr. J. A. Symonds.
Mr. A. J. Balfour, M.P.	Mr. Oscar Wilde.

The objects of the Society were defined in the words which still stand at the head of the Rules.

It had been the general wish of the Committee that Mr. Newton, who had taken so prominent a part in forming the Society and settling its line of action, should allow himself to be nominated as the first President. As however he declined to take the office, the appointment at his suggestion of so eminent a scholar as Bishop Lightfoot gave general satisfaction. The minutes of the Society shew nevertheless that for the first five or six years Sir Charles Newton almost invariably presided both at meetings of Council and at general meetings of the Society, and I think it would be impossible to exaggerate the debt which the Society owes to his constant interest, his sound judgment, and his wide experience.

It was from the first intended that the Society should as soon as possible have its organ, for the publication of memoirs in the various branches of Hellenic research, and at the meeting on January 22nd, 1880, some hope was held out that a start might be made before the end of that year. One of the first tasks therefore to which the Council, and the standing Committee<sup>1</sup> which was in the first instance appointed for

<sup>1</sup> This standing Committee consisted of the Bishop of Durham (President), Sir John Lubbock (Treasurer), Mr. Newton, Mr. Gennadius, Mr. E. M. Thompson, Mr. Colvin, Prof. Sayce, Mr. D. B. Monro, Mr. J. Cotter Morison, Mr. Ernest Myers, Prof. Percy Gardner, and Mr. Macmillan (Hon. Sec.).

After rather more than a year's trial it was considered more convenient that the ordinary business of the Society should be transacted by the Council, and the last meeting of this standing Committee was held on April 12th, 1881. It was formally dissolved in 1882.

executive business, now set themselves, was to make arrangements for the conduct of the proposed *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. In the end an Editorial Committee was appointed consisting of Professor Hort, Professor Jebb, Mr. (afterwards Professor) Bywater, and Professor Percy Gardner. The first number of the *Journal*, which consisted of a complete volume in 8vo. with a Portfolio of Plates, was issued in 1880. It was arranged that thereafter two half-yearly Parts should be issued, and this practice has, with rare exceptions, been maintained to the present day. In his opening address, which was reprinted in this first volume of the *Journal*, Mr. Newton expressed the hope that 'if such a *Journal* were once begun it will be vigorously maintained and nourished, and not allowed to dwindle away into atrophy, as has been the fate of so many learned periodicals in this country, though undertaken under promising auspices.' Looking back over the quarter of a century which has elapsed since this warning was uttered, the Society may fairly congratulate itself on the successive appearance of twenty-three volumes of the *Journal*, and of four supplementary Papers, which in the abundance of the valuable contributions they contain to all departments of Hellenic study and in the number and quality of the illustrations which have accompanied the letter-press, may safely challenge comparison with the publications of any other learned society in the world.

Another matter which early engaged the attention of the Council was the selection of rooms where both the Council and the general body of members could hold meetings. The choice fell upon the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society at 22, Albemarle Street, and by June, 1880, arrangements had been made whereby the general meetings of the Society could be held in these rooms, while the Society was also to have the partial use of a small room as a library. Steps were then immediately taken to purchase complete sets of some of the leading archaeological periodicals and other books of reference, and as soon as the Society's *Journal* appeared an exchange was arranged between it and other periodicals of the kind, so that members might have the advantage of seeing the current numbers. By February, 1881, a bookcase was procured, and Mr. Ernest Myers provisionally undertook the office of Librarian, but it was not until November, 1881, that a Library Committee was formed and the first Rules drawn up for the use of the Library by members. Mr. Vaux, the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, was then appointed Librarian.

The first General Meeting of the Society was held on February 24th, 1881, and the first Annual Meeting on June 16th, the anniversary of the Inaugural Meeting of the previous year.

Having thus traced the origin of the Society and the steps taken to establish it on a working basis, it seems convenient to record its subsequent action under heads corresponding to the main departments of its work. The following suggest themselves, viz. Administration including Finance, Publications, Excavation and Exploration, The Library and Photographic Collections, General Meetings, Honorary Members, Relations with other Societies and Public Bodies.



## ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

The names of the first Council and Officers have already been given. Naturally, changes have taken place in this body year by year, as members have been lost by death or from inability to attend the meetings of the Council, which have as a rule been held about once a month. The Society has been fortunate in securing on its governing body from time to time the services of most of the leading Greek scholars and archaeologists in the country, and has thus been able to keep in touch with, and to take a leading part in promoting, the development of research in all departments of Hellenic Study. As already indicated, the main direction of the Society has remained in the hands of its Council, but special departments have been entrusted to such standing Committees as those which control the publication of the *Journal*, and the Library and Photographic Collection, while Committees have from time to time been appointed to report upon or to carry out particular schemes which have been laid before the Council.

Of the important work done by the Editorial and Library Committees an account will be given later on.

The first President of the Society, Bishop Lightfoot, held office until his death in 1890, though he was only once able to preside at an Annual Meeting. Sir Charles Newton acted as President until the Annual Meeting of that year, but as he was still unwilling to take the post permanently, Professor (now Sir Richard) Jebb was then appointed, and still happily holds office. His admirable addresses on the literary and archaeological events of the year have been a striking feature at the Annual Meetings.

In 1888 the first Treasurer, Sir John Lubbock, being unable to take an active part in the management of the finances of the Society, resigned and was succeeded by Mr. J. B. Martin, who held office to the great advantage of the Society until his death in 1897, when he was succeeded by Mr. Douglas Freshfield, the present Hon. Treasurer.

The post of Hon. Secretary has been occupied by Mr. George Macmillan since the foundation of the Society, and Mr. William Riseley acted as Assistant Secretary from 1880 until his death in the autumn of 1903. Within the last few months the present Librarian of the Society, Mr. John Penoyre, has also been appointed its Secretary at a salary of £80 a year, Mr. Macmillan still retaining the office of Hon. Secretary.

## FINANCE

The policy of the Society has been to treat its Life Subscriptions (which were in the first instance fixed at £10 10s. and a few years later raised to £15 15s.) as capital, and up to this date £1263 have been invested. Of late years the increasing claims made upon the resources of the Society have made it difficult to pursue this policy consistently, but in view of the fact that considerable sums have been spent on publications which belong to the Society, and on the purchase of books for the Library, so that in either case

there is a substantial asset to shew for the outlay, the financial position of the Society may be regarded as satisfactory. Moreover, the death of a good many life members has relieved the Society of further obligations in their case. Its revenue has risen, as the membership has increased, from about £700 in 1880 to £1350 in the year just ended, but its expenditure has risen in proportion, the policy of the Council having always been to devote all available funds to the objects which the Society was founded to promote.

## PUBLICATIONS

Reference has already been made to the establishment of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. This, as the regular organ of the Society, has always been regarded as one of its principal objects, and its successive volumes represent a large part, though not the whole, of what the Society has done to promote Hellenic research. The constant references to its pages which occur in all modern works on classical archaeology, whether English or foreign, are sufficient evidence of the part it has played in that field, while in literature and history also notable contributions have appeared. It seems needless to attempt any summary of the contents of a periodical so well known, but a few papers may be mentioned as typical, and I have chosen them from the earlier volumes because they will be less familiar to the present body of members. Thus, in glancing through the Index to the first eight volumes one is reminded of Dr. Schliemann's account of the exploration of the Boeotian Orchomenus, Mr. Colvin's papers on Centaurs in Greek Vase-painting and on the Amazon Sarcophagus of Corneto, with its beautiful reproductions of Greek paintings, the Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias contributed by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer and Prof. Percy Gardner, Prof. Jebb's article on Delos, in connexion with the French excavations, and his Essay on Pindar, numerous papers by Prof. W. M. Ramsay resulting from his work in Asia Minor, Dr. Farnell's series of papers on the Pergamene Frieze, in its relation to Literature and Tradition, Mr. George Dennis' paper on two Archaic Greek Sarcophagi, Prof. Bury's two papers on the Lombards and Venetians in Euboea, Dr. Verrall's on the Ionic elements in Attic Tragedy, Dr. Waldstein's treatise on Pythagoras of Rhegion and the Early Athlete Statues, Prof. Michaelis' supplementary account of Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, Mr. Arthur Evans' paper on Tarentine Terracottas, besides numerous contributions from Dr. A. S. Murray, Mr. Cecil Smith, Mr. A. H. Smith, Miss Harrison, Prof. Ernest Gardner, and others who have remained steady supporters of the *Journal*. In the later volumes will be found many articles resulting from the work of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, the British School at Athens, the Cyprus Exploration Fund, and more recently the Cretan Exploration Fund, besides reports from many other explorers, such as Mr. Bent, Mr. W. R. Paton, and Mr. Hogarth, to whom grants have been made. Meanwhile new vases and other works of art in the British Museum or elsewhere have been constantly published, and new problems in Greek art and literature and history have been dealt with by the writers already named,

and by others such as Prof. Ridgeway, Mr. G. B. Grundy, Mr. Stuart Jones, Mrs. Strong, Mr. F. B. Jevons, Canon E. L. Hicks, Mr. Penrose, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, etc. It is noticeable too that, besides those already named, contributions have been received also from other foreign scholars, such as J. Six, A. Furtwängler, Carl Robert, George Karo, P. Perdrizet, and P. Cavvadias, the last of whom kindly sent an early account, with photographs, of the bronze and other figures recovered from the sea off the island of Cythera. An Index to the contents of Volumes IX.—XVI. was issued in 1896.

After this brief reference to the contents of the *Journal* it seems proper to put on record the arrangements which have from time to time been made for its conduct. The names of the first Editors have already been given. Of these Mr. Gardner, then at the British Museum, was the working Editor, his three colleagues at Oxford and Cambridge being consulted when necessary. In view of the importance of the illustrations Mr. Colvin and Mr. E. M. Thompson were shortly afterwards appointed to assist Mr. Gardner in this department. This arrangement held good until 1892, when Mr. Gardner, who was now resident in Oxford as Professor of Archaeology, proposed the appointment of two colleagues resident in London and prepared to take an active part in the conduct of the *Journal*. The proposal was approved, and Mr. Walter Leaf and Mr. A. H. Smith were associated with Mr. Gardner as the Editorial Committee, the former members of the Editorial and Illustrations Committee (including the Director of the British School at Athens, who had been appointed *ex officio*) constituting a Consultative Committee in case of need. This arrangement has worked very well, and in principle still remains in effect though changes have been made in *personnel*. Thus in 1897 Prof. Percy Gardner, whose services had been devoted and invaluable for seventeen years, resigned the Editorship and was succeeded by Prof. Ernest Gardner. About a year later Mr. Leaf and Mr. A. H. Smith also resigned, owing to the pressure of other engagements, and Mr. F. G. Kenyon and Mr. G. F. Hill joined Prof. Ernest Gardner on the Committee. It was at the same time decided to pay a salary of £50 a year (or £25 for each part of the *Journal*) to Mr. Hill on the understanding that he would assume the heaviest part of the Editorial duties. This arrangement is still in force, and members do not need to be reminded of their obligations to the present Editorial Committee. It should be added that when Messrs. Percy Gardner, Walter Leaf, and A. H. Smith resigned their Editorial functions the Council thought it right to make them Life Members of the Society *honoris causâ* as an acknowledgment of their great services to the Society.

Before leaving the subject of the *Journal*, something should be said of certain changes which have been made in its form. In the first instance the text was issued in demy 8vo, while the larger Plates appeared in a separate Portfolio. This arrangement undoubtedly gave scope for fine illustrations on a large scale, but it was found inconvenient by librarians and others who wished to bind the *Journal* for reference, and at the close of the eighth volume it was decided to abolish the separate Portfolio, and to increase the

size of the *Journal* to imperial 8vo so that all Plates could be bound up with the text. It was decided at the same time to introduce a bibliographical supplement, with a record of the progress of discovery in Greek lands, and such a supplement appeared in Volumes IX., X., and XI., but so much difficulty was found in securing contributors, even at a moderate remuneration, that the supplement was dropped. It has recently been revived (with Volume XXIII.), and it is hoped that this feature, which is undoubtedly useful in calling the attention of members to the most important publications in scholarship and archaeology, may remain a permanent part of the *Journal*.

In 1892 the Editors had to consider the publication of the results of very important excavations undertaken by the members of the British School at Athens on the site of Megalopolis. The amount of matter was sufficient to fill a volume of the *Journal*, but some of the Plates were of such a character that it was found necessary to adopt a larger size, and it was accordingly decided to suspend the publication of the *Journal* for a year, and to issue the report on Megalopolis to members as the first of a series of Supplementary Papers, and some notes on certain Byzantine Churches in Asia Minor by the Rev. A. C. Headlam were published in the same year as the second in the series. In order to preserve continuity, the volume of the *Journal* which appeared in 1893 was described as covering the two years 1892-3. In 1898, after the death of Professor J. H. Middleton his widow offered to the Society for publication some drawings and notes which he had made of Monuments on the Acropolis at Athens. It was decided to issue these as Supplementary Papers No. III. The volume was edited by Prof. Ernest Gardner, and the drawings were revised and brought up to date by Mr. T. D. Atkinson, who was then in Athens as architectural student of the British School. Mrs. Middleton contributed the sum of £40 to the cost of publication. On this occasion a volume of the *Journal* (Vol. XX.) was issued to members in the same year, but it was equal in size and cost only to a single part.

In October 1899 the question of publishing the results of the important excavations by members of the British School at Athens on the site of Phylakopi in the island of Melos was considered by the Council, and, in the first instance, it was decided to follow the precedent in the case of Megalopolis and to issue a Supplementary Paper to members in lieu of a volume of the *Journal*. Objections, however, were urged to this course on the ground of the inconvenience of suspending the publication of the *Journal* and thus postponing the issue of important papers. It was felt also that the Society was hardly justified in assuming the whole cost of such extra publications out of its ordinary revenue. The matter was referred to a special Committee, which recommended that the ordinary issue of the *Journal* should not be interfered with, but that the Report on Phylakopi should be issued to members at about cost price, a higher price being charged to the general public. The volume has recently been issued at 20s. to members and at 30s. to non-members, and the result of the experiment is of great importance to the future action of the Society. Such cases are certain to recur, and if by the sale of the volume to members and others the Society can recover the greater part of its outlay

(amounting in the present instance to about £450) it need not hesitate to incur a similar obligation in the future. Otherwise it may find itself obliged to decline the publication of such memoirs, to the serious disadvantage of archaeological research in this country.

Besides the *Journal* and the Supplementary Papers, the Society has made two important contributions to palaeography by publishing to subscribers Facsimiles of the Laurentian Codex of Sophocles and the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes. The publication of the Sophocles was proposed to the Council in 1882 by Professor Jebb and Mr. E. Maunde Thompson. After full consideration subscribers were invited at the rate of £6, and the response being favourable the work was put in hand and the Facsimile appeared in 1885, with introductions by Professor Jebb and Mr. Thompson. A hundred copies were issued and within a few years the whole issue was exhausted, leaving a small balance in the hands of the Society.

Eighteen years later, in 1900, the Society was approached by Professor J. W. White, President of the Archaeological Institute of America, with a view to a Facsimile of the Codex Ravennas of Aristophanes being produced at the joint cost of the two bodies. The idea of such co-operation was heartily welcomed by the Council, and a Committee was appointed to consider the matter. On the representation of certain scholars it was decided to take the Codex Venetus for reproduction rather than the Ravennas, of which the Scholia were already accessible in an English edition. A Joint Committee, on which Professor White represented the American Institute, and Sir Richard Jebb, Dr. Kenyon, and Mr. Macmillan the Hellenic Society, was appointed to carry out the scheme, and the necessary permission having been obtained from the authorities of the Marcian Library at Venice, subscribers were invited at £6 and the work was put in hand. The Facsimile, with a Palaeographical Introduction by Mr. T. W. Allen, and a Prefatory Note by Professor White, was issued in 1903. Two hundred copies were issued, of which about seventy remain.

In July 1897 Professor Lewis Campbell brought before the Council a project for preparing a new Platonic Lexicon, and a special Committee was appointed to consider the proposal. It was ultimately decided to make an annual grant of £50 for three years towards the cost of production. The publication of the Lexicon was undertaken by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

## EXPLORATION AND EXCAVATION

### THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

Among the first objects which the Society had in view were the assistance and guidance of English travellers or students in Greece, and the encouragement of exploration and excavation in Greek lands. The first step taken in pursuance of the former object was to establish relations with the Parnassos Society in Athens. Negotiations took place with this Society towards the end of 1880, and an arrangement was made whereby members of

the Hellenic Society visiting Greece were to have the benefit of advice from the Parnassos Society. In the course of 1881 the authorities of the French School at Athens were approached on the question of admitting British Students as members of the School. The overtures were received in a friendly spirit, and M. Waddington and other French scholars were of opinion that the matter might be arranged, but in the end it was decided not to proceed further, on the ground that such an arrangement might be prejudicial to the establishment of a British School in Athens. In the course of 1882 enquiries were made as to the possibility of forming a reference library at the British Legation in Athens, but this also came to nothing as no room was available. At about the same time the question of establishing a British School was brought before the Council by Professor (now Sir Richard) Jebb, who had already propounded the scheme in the *Contemporary Review* for November, 1878. But the Council was not then disposed to take action. In May 1883 the *Fortnightly Review* published an article entitled 'A Plea for a British Institute at Athens' by Professor Jebb, who soon afterwards informed the Council that there was a prospect of steps being taken to give effect to the proposal. On June 25, 1883, the Prince of Wales presided over a meeting at Marlborough House, to which upwards of forty statesmen and scholars were invited, including Mr. Gladstone (then Prime Minister), Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Dufferin, Sir Frederic Leighton, and Mr. Matthew Arnold. It was there resolved to establish a British School of Archaeological and Classical Studies at Athens, and a General Committee was constituted. This body presently appointed an Executive Committee, of which Professor Jebb was the first honorary secretary, and on which the Hellenic Society was also represented by Mr. Newton and Mr. Macmillan (afterwards honorary secretary). In June 1885 an application, bearing the signatures of the Bishop of Durham, Mr. Newton, and Professor Jebb, was made to the Council for help towards the endowment of the School. It was decided that as soon as the School was in working order the sum of £100 should be granted annually for a term of three years "provided that a total income of at least £300 be assured to the School during the period from other sources." By the time the School was opened in October 1886 this condition had been more than fulfilled, and the first payment was made in February 1887. The grant has been renewed for similar periods until now, and I think it will be generally admitted that no more satisfactory use has been made of the Society's funds. The connexion between the School and the Society has been in every sense of value to both; and the Society has in virtue of its grant had from the outset a representative (Mr. Colvin) on the Managing Committee of the School. It has also published in its *Journal* many articles resulting from the work of the School, while the successive Directors of the School have served on the Council and have from time to time addressed the Society upon the details of its work. Moreover, the successive Hon. Secretaries of the School, Professor Jebb, Mr. Macmillan, and Mr. Loring, have been members of the Council, and the present Secretary, Mr. Baker-Penoyre, is also Secretary to the Society.

I may add that when in 1895 a memorial to the Treasury in favour of a grant of £500 being made to the School was signed by the leading scholars and learned bodies of the country, the Society joined in the appeal. The petition was successful, and the grant was made for a period of five years and afterwards renewed for a second term. The grant was publicly announced at a meeting on behalf of the School which was called at St. James's Palace by the Prince of Wales in July 1895, and which resulted in further subscriptions and donations to a substantial amount. It was naturally a great satisfaction to members of the Society that an undertaking in which they had from the outset taken so much interest should thus be put upon a sounder financial basis. One recent development of the work of the School, the publication of an *Annual* with archaeological articles by its members and associates, was at first viewed with some apprehension on the ground that it might interfere with the due supply of matter for the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Happily these fears have not been realised, for although the *Annual* has steadily grown in size and importance, the recent volumes of the *Journal* have in no way suffered, and it is a clear gain to classical archaeology that two such periodicals should flourish in this country. In the interests of the School it is no less evident that the existence of an organ under its own control, and supplied to its subscribers, is of the highest importance.

In regard to exploration, the Council was approached in July 1881 by Mr. W. M. Ramsay, of Exeter College, Oxford, for support in aid of a journey which he proposed to make for archaeological purposes in Asia Minor. In the end a special fund of £150 was raised to meet the expenses of a draughtsman to accompany Mr. Ramsay in his expedition. Mr. A. C. Blunt was selected, and the expedition into Phrygia took place in the course of the autumn. The results were published in the form of a paper by Mr. Ramsay, which, under the title 'Studies in Asia Minor,' with numerous illustrations from Mr. Blunt's drawings, appeared in Vol. III. of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. The value of the paper justified the Council in contributing to Mr. Ramsay's own expenses by making him a special grant of £50 for his services to archaeology. In the course of 1882 Mr. Ramsay was appointed to a research Fellowship at Exeter College on the understanding that he would continue his work, and to enable him to do so a special fund, 'the Asia Minor Exploration Fund,' was instituted. This fund was administered by a small Committee of Subscribers, and has continued its operations at intervals to the present day. The Society authorised an appeal on behalf of the Fund in 1883 and made a grant of £50 to it in March 1884. Other grants amounting in the aggregate to £200 have been made in subsequent years, and the results of the successive expeditions have from time to time been published in the Society's *Journal*, in the form of articles contributed by Professor Ramsay and his colleagues Mr. A. H. Smith, Mr. Hogarth, Mr. J. A. R. Monro, Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, Mr. Cronin, and Mr. J. L. Myres. It is interesting to record that early in 1882 it was

proposed by the President of the Evangelical School in Smyrna, supported by two merchants of that city, that the Society should endeavour to procure a firman from the Ottoman Porte to excavate the site of Colophon. The money was to be found by the proposers, but the Society was to have the credit of the excavation, and the right of publishing the results, on the understanding that any important objects found should be given to the Museum of the Evangelical School. The question was carefully considered by a special Committee, but in the end it was decided not to entertain the proposal, on the ground that the funds guaranteed were insufficient, and that it would be difficult for the Society to exercise adequate control over the excavation.

Early in 1885 the Council was approached by the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund for a grant in aid of excavations on the site of Naucratis, on the ground that it was a Greek site. A grant of £50 was made in the first year, when the excavations were under the charge of Professor Flinders Petrie, and in the following year when Mr. Ernest Gardner was in charge a further grant of £100 was made. A grant of £50 was also made in 1885 to Mr. Theodore Bent for excavations in the island of Samos. A terracotta mask found in the course of these excavations was presented by Mr. Bent to the British Museum.

In 1886 a grant of £50 was made to Mr. Theodore Bent for excavations in the island of Thasos. In the same year, the Society was approached by Sir Henry Bulwer, the High Commissioner of Cyprus, and by Mr. Edward Bond, Principal Librarian of the British Museum, on the subject of undertaking systematic excavations in Cyprus. An appeal for funds was issued in the name of the Society, and a special Committee was appointed by the Society to carry out the scheme. In the end the Cyprus Exploration Fund was established under the management of a Committee appointed by the subscribers, and carried on successful campaigns for several years. The first Hon. Sec. was Mr. Macmillan, who was afterwards succeeded by Mr. H. B. Smith. Arrangements were made through the High Commissioner for obtaining the necessary authority both to excavate and to export the objects found. The most important of these went to the British Museum, and the remainder to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and other local museums. The Society made a grant of £150 to the Fund, and the results of the first year's excavations, under the control of Messrs. Ernest Gardner, D. G. Hogarth, and M. R. James, appeared in Vol. IX. of the *Journal*. Other articles resulting from the operations of the Fund appeared in subsequent volumes.

In 1892 the Society made a grant of £25 to Mr. Penrose for his work in investigating the orientation of Greek temples, and supported a successful application to the Royal Society for a grant of £100 towards the same object.

In 1894 grants were made of £50 to the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, of £25 to Mr. Paton for explorations in Caria, and of £100 towards excavations to be undertaken on the site of Alexandria by Mr. Hogarth, under the



auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund. The results at Alexandria were very disappointing, and part of the Society's grant was returned, but by arrangement with the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund copies of Mr. Hogarth's Report were distributed to members.

Towards the end of 1895 a grant of £50 was made to Mr. Paton for excavations near Budrum, but on his failing to secure the necessary permission from the Turkish authorities the money was used for explorations in Caria. In 1896, when the Delegates of the Clarendon Press had undertaken to publish the results of a journey in Aetolia by Mr. W. J. Woodhouse, a student of the British School at Athens, the Society made a grant of £30 towards the illustrations.

In June 1899 it was announced that, in view of the facilities offered for excavation in Crete under the new Government of Prince George, a 'Cretan Exploration Fund' was to be established under the Direction of Mr. Arthur Evans, Mr. Hogarth, and Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, Director of the British School at Athens, with Mr. J. L. Myres as Hon. Sec. and Mr. Macmillan as Hon. Treasurer. A grant of £50 was made by the Society in the first and second years, and in each successive season, as the remarkable discoveries at Knossos and elsewhere have thrown constant fresh light upon the early history of civilisation in the Levant, the Society has made a grant of £100. Mr. Evans has more than once addressed special meetings of the Society on the details of the work, in which members have shown the keenest interest. In 1902 a separate excavation was undertaken by members of the British School, at Athens, at Palaikastro, near Sitia, in Eastern Crete, where also remarkable discoveries have been made.

In 1902 the Council decided to make an annual grant of £25 for a period of three years to the newly-founded School at Rome. The grant seemed to be justified by the intimate relations between the Schools at Rome and Athens, and by the fact that Greek art might profitably be studied in Roman and other Italian Museums.

In 1903 a grant of £25 was made to Mr. Hogarth for explorations which he intended to make of Greek sites in the Egyptian Delta. The results were communicated to the Society at a Meeting, and afterwards published in the *Journal*.

#### LIBRARY AND PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION

The first modest beginning of the Library was made in 1880, as already stated.

On the death of Mr. Vaux in 1885, Mr. Wayte succeeded to the office of Hon. Librarian, and Miss Gales, who had helped Mr. Vaux, was appointed Assistant Librarian at a small salary. In 1891 Miss Gales resigned and was succeeded by Miss Hughes, and on Mr. Wayte giving up the control of the Library in 1894 Dr. Holden, who had been an active member of the Library Committee, became Hon. Librarian and held the office until 1896, when he resigned, and Mr. A. H. Smith was appointed. Rules for the Library were

drawn up in 1882 and facilities were then for the first time given to members to borrow books. In these earlier years, when the funds of the Society were limited and largely required for the *Journal* and for grants to explorers, comparatively little was spent on the purchase of books. As time went on, however, and especially when the Society came into possession of a separate room, occasional grants were made, and since the room now in use was acquired in 1893, it has been felt worth while to develop this department. The rent paid by the Society, which up to that time had risen from £30 to £50, was at this point raised to £80 a year, and to meet the extra expense it was found necessary to impose an entrance fee of one guinea on all members elected after January 1st, 1894. Grants of £50 were made to the Library in 1893 and 1894 and 1896. In March 1896 Mr. A. H. Smith became Hon. Librarian, and happily still holds office. Under his able and devoted administration the Library has grown steadily in efficiency, and since 1897 an annual grant of £75 has been made to its service. In May 1896 Miss F. Johnson was appointed Assistant Librarian at a salary of £30, which as the work increased was raised to £40 a year. She did good service to the Society until her resignation in December 1902, when it was decided on the recommendation of the Library Committee to look out for a competent archaeologist at a somewhat higher salary. The post was advertised at the Universities and Ladies' Colleges, and out of several good candidates who presented themselves, a member of the Society, Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre, who had formerly been a student of the British School at Athens, and was an occasional lecturer on archaeology, was appointed at a salary of £60 a year. Mr. Penoyre has amply justified his appointment, and his knowledge of the literature and of the use of the lantern slides (which as will be seen later on now form an important department in the Library) has proved of the utmost advantage to members. Before leaving this part of the subject I must not omit to mention that besides the books purchased or received in exchange for the *Journal*, the Library has from time to time been enriched by valuable gifts. In particular the Trustees of the British Museum have presented the illustrated Catalogues of the Vases, Sculpture, etc., in their collection, and other important gifts have been made by the Universities, publishers, and private donors. Only recently on the death of Dr. A. S. Murray, Mrs. Murray presented to the Society about seventy volumes and tracts from her husband's Library. The Library now contains about 2600 volumes, and a complete Catalogue was printed last year, at considerable expense, but to the great advantage of members. It seems probable that it is now one of the best Libraries of its kind in this country from which books can be borrowed by members.

It may be added that in 1896 a proposal to move the Society's Library to University College, Gower Street (where accommodation was to be provided free of charge, and access given also, under a mutual arrangement, to books belonging to the College), was carefully considered by the Council, but declined on the ground (1) that the independence of the Society might to some extent be affected, and (2) that the change to Gower Street from so

central a position as Albemarle Street would be inconvenient to a majority of members.

#### THE PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION

The collection of 'drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains' has from the first been stated as one of the primary objects of the Society. Two facsimiles of important Greek MSS. have, as already mentioned, been published by the Society. The more important of the drawings and plans prepared for the illustration of papers in the *Journal* have year by year been deposited in the Library. In regard to photographs, the first nucleus of a collection was formed as long ago as 1886, when Mr. W. J. Stillman presented to the Society the negatives of an admirable series taken by himself on and about the Acropolis at Athens. Twenty-five of the finest subjects were enlarged by the Autotype Co., and are sold to members at cost price, and at a somewhat higher price to the general public. In 1889 a number of negatives taken in Greece were presented to the Society by various members, and arrangements were made for supplying prints to members. In later years many additions have accrued mainly by gift, and partly by purchase, and the collection now contains as many as 6000 prints, which have been carefully classified by the present Librarian, under the able direction of Mr. J. L. Myres, who in 1901 assumed the office of Hon. Keeper of the Photographic collections. In 1891 twenty more photographs were enlarged by the Autotype Co., and issued on the same terms as previously arranged for Mr. Stillman's Athenian photographs. In 1890, at the suggestion of Mr. Leaf, a collection of lantern slides was begun, and arrangements made for their hire on moderate terms to members for lecture purposes. The scheme has since been greatly developed, the slides have been carefully classified, and this department now offers one of the greatest privileges of membership, as it has certainly been of the utmost benefit to the study of classical archaeology in this country. And although a considerable sum has been spent on the manufacture or purchase of slides the return from the hire has been such as to place the collection practically on a self-supporting basis. Catalogues both of the photographs and lantern slides belonging to the Society have from time to time been issued for the convenience of members.

#### GENERAL MEETINGS

As a rule the General Meetings of the Society have been held four times a year, though extra meetings have been called for any special occasion. At the Annual Meeting in June the Council has presented a report of the work done during the year. These meetings have played no small part in the work of the Society, but in the nature of things there must be many country and foreign members who have never been able to attend, and the average attendance has never been large. In most cases the papers read have afterwards appeared in the Society's *Journal*, but from time to time important

discussions have taken place on problems of current interest which only find record in the Proceedings. The most notable of such discussions was that which took place in 1886 on the subject of Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Tiryns. Certain communications had appeared in the *Times*, from the pen of Mr. W. J. Stillman, which threw doubt on the antiquity of some of the buildings discovered on that famous site. The question was of such importance that the Council decided to invite Dr. Schliemann and his architect, Dr. Dörpfeld, to attend a Special Meeting of the Society, at which the matter might be fully debated, a similar invitation being given to Mr. Stillman. The two German archaeologists readily accepted the invitation, and the meeting was held on July 2, by permission, in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, the then President of that Society, Mr. John Evans, occupying the chair. Mr. Stillman was unfortunately prevented from attending, but his view of the case was presented by Mr. Penrose, who had also, after a visit to the spot, concluded that some of the walls discovered were not prehistoric, but either Byzantine or mediaeval. The proceedings were opened by papers from Dr. Schliemann, Dr. Dörpfeld, and Mr. Penrose, and then followed a most interesting discussion in which Prof. Middleton and Mr. H. F. Pelham took part, and detailed replies on the questions raised were given by the two explorers. A full report of the debate will be found in Vol. VII. of the *Journal*. At its close Dr. Dörpfeld expressed his view that on the spot he should have no difficulty in convincing any competent observer of the accuracy of his conclusions. Mr. Penrose declared his satisfaction that such an instructive discussion should have taken place, and the gratitude which all must feel to the explorers for their most interesting discoveries. The meeting was of marked advantage to the Society in the general attention which it excited among scholars. I have referred at some length to this meeting as of special importance, but it may be of interest to mention also some other papers or addresses delivered before the Society but not published in its *Journal*, and some subjects which, though afterwards treated in the *Journal*, led at the time to animated debate. I will take them in chronological order.

In 1882 Mr. J. Reddie Anderson exhibited a series of terracottas from Tarentum, illustrating the development from Phoenician to Greek art.

In 1883 Mr. Cecil Smith read a paper, illustrated by photographs, on the remarkable frieze found at Gjölbashi in Lycia by the Austrian expedition under Prof. Benndorf. At two meetings of this year statements were made in regard to the project for establishing a British School at Athens. At the Annual Meeting Mr. Newton, who presided, called attention to Prof. Gustav Hirschfeld's recent journey in Paphlagonia, and exhibited photographs of the monuments found, which showed remarkable analogies to those discovered by Prof. Ramsay in Phrygia.

In 1884 Bishop Lightfoot, as President, delivered an address to the Society at the Annual Meeting in which, after referring with satisfaction to the progress of the Society, to the foundation of the British School at Athens, and to Prof. Ramsay's explorations in Asia Minor, he mentioned two projects

which the Society might take in hand: (1) the investigation by competent scholars of monastic and other libraries in the East, (2) the mapping out of subjects to be worked upon by competent young scholars. This was the only occasion on which Bishop Lightfoot was able to address the Society. At the same meeting Mr. Newton referred at some length both to the work of the Society and to the general progress of archaeological research during the year. He particularly expressed the hope, which has since been abundantly fulfilled, that young men were then being trained at our Universities who would be in time competent to carry out the work of exploration. He added that in the case of France and Germany such young scholars came home from their missions to occupy chairs of Archaeology at the different Universities. Such a supply of men, and such means of steady promotion, we might one day hope to see in England.

In 1885 Prof. Ramsay read a paper on the Archaic Pottery of the Coast of Northern Ionia and Southern Aeolis, which led to an interesting discussion. At the Annual Meeting Mr. Newton presided, and spoke of the recent excavations at Naucratis and of Mr. J. T. Wood's work at Ephesus. Mr. Stuart Poole also spoke about Naucratis, and Mr. Theodore Bent of a recent visit to Carpathos.

In 1886 Mr. Newton, in presiding at the Annual Meeting, gave a very interesting account of the principal archaeological discoveries of the year, referring particularly to the remarkable series of archaic statues found on the Acropolis at Athens, of which photographs were exhibited by Dr. Waldstein; to recent excavations at Eleusis and Pergamon; to explorations in Asia Minor by Dr. Sterrett and Prof. Ramsay, and to the discovery of new MSS. in the monasteries in the Levant, and of papyri in the Fayum. Mr. Ernest Gardner described the season's work at Naucratis. The special meeting on Tiryns in July has already been mentioned.

In 1887 Mr. Colvin presided at the Annual Meeting, and referred to the recent foundation of the *Classical Review*, to the work of the British School at Athens, to the discoveries made by the Athenian Archaeological Society in Athens and at Eleusis, to explorations by Mr. Bent in Thasos and Mr. W. R. Paton in Caria, and to the recent discovery in Cyprus of the site of Arsinoe. Mr. Bent described his discoveries in Thasos.

In 1888 Mr. H. H. Statham read a very interesting paper on Greek Architectural Mouldings, and urged the production of full-sized drawings. Mr. R. W. Schultz afterwards made a series of such drawings of mouldings on the Athenian Acropolis, but unfortunately they have never been published. At the Annual Meeting in the same year Miss Jane Harrison gave an account, illustrated by photographs, of recent excavations in Greece. At a later meeting Professor Middleton read a paper on the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, summing up the literary evidence in view of the contemplated excavations. A most interesting discussion followed, in which Sir George Bowen, Mr. Penrose, Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, and Mr. L. R. Farnell took part.

In 1889 a paper by Miss Harrison on Fragments of Greek Vase Paintings led to a good discussion in which Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, Mr. Cecil Smith, and

Prof. Percy Gardner took part. At the Annual Meeting the Council's Report contained a summary of the first ten years' work of the Society. Prof. Jebb, who presided, delivered an address on recent discoveries and publications, referring particularly to the excavations in Greece, to the work of the British School at Athens, to the *Classical Review*, and to the recent issue by the Society of Dilettanti of a second edition of Mr. Penrose's great work on the Principles of Athenian Architecture. Mr. Ernest Gardner read a paper on Archaeology in Greece, 1888-9.

In 1890 at the Annual Meeting, when Prof. Jebb first took the Chair as President of the Society, Mr. Ernest Gardner gave an account of recent archaeological discoveries in Greece, and Mr. Percy Newberry exhibited a series of funeral wreaths found by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Hawara in the Fayum, and read a paper partly descriptive of their character, and partly as illustrating funeral customs among the Greeks.

In February, 1891, Prof. Percy Gardner read a paper on the life and work of Dr. Schliemann, who had died in the previous year, and summed up by saying that 'without the labours of his spade we should have no true idea of the prehistoric age of Greece.' The paper was published in the April number of *Macmillan's Magazine*. At the April meeting a discussion on points of Athenian topography was raised in a paper by Mr. Nicolaides, of Athens. At the Annual Meeting the President delivered an address on the progress of Hellenic Studies during the year, referring to the work of the Athenian Archaeological Society at Rhamnus and elsewhere, to the work of the American School at Eretria, and of the British School at Megalopolis; to explorations by Mr. Bent in Cilicia, and by Prof. Ramsay, Mr. Hogarth, and Mr. Headlam in Pisidia Isauria and Cappadocia; to discoveries at Salamis in Cyprus made by Mr. J. A. R. Munro and Mr. H. A. Tubbs under the auspices of the 'Cyprus Exploration Fund'; and among literary discoveries to Mr. Kenyon's edition of the 'Constitution of Athens,' and Mr. Loring's edition of a fragment of the 'Edict of Diocletian.' Allusion was also made to the excavations about to be undertaken at Delphi by the French Government.

In 1892 a paper on 'Iron in Homer' by Mr. F. B. Jevons led to a full discussion in which Sir F. Pollock, Mr. F. Carter, Mr. Leaf, Mr. Newton, Prof. Lewis Campbell and Mr. Penrose took part.

In 1893 Mr. Ernest Gardner gave an account at the Annual Meeting of recent discoveries in Greece, and of the work of the British School at Athens. Mr. Bent spoke of his recent discoveries in Abyssinia, where he claimed to have established the fact of Greek influence brought to bear upon a Sabaeen race which worshipped the sun. In November of the same year, Mr. Arthur Evans, after reading a paper on 'A Mycenaean Treasure from Aegina,' first announced his discovery, on a series of gems and seals from Crete and the Peloponnese, of some sixty symbols which seemed to belong to a native Greek system of hieroglyphs.

In 1894 a paper by Mr. Stuart Jones on the Chest of Cypselus led to a good discussion, in which Mr. A. S. Murray, Prof. Percy Gardner, Prof. Jebb, and others took part. At the April Meeting Miss Harrison,

in pursuance of a suggestion that recent publications should sometimes be brought to the notice of members with a view to discussion, read a summary of the views in regard to the temples on the Acropolis at Athens recently put forward by Prof. Furtwängler in his 'Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture.' An interesting discussion followed, in which Mr. A. H. Smith, Miss Sellers, and Mr. Penrose took part. Miss Harrison replied. At the Meeting in May Miss Sellers gave an account of recent archaeological publications. At the Annual Meeting Prof. Jebb referred to recent discoveries at Delphi and in Cyprus.

In 1894 Mr. Arthur Evans' paper on 'Cretan Pictography' led to an animated discussion in which Mr. J. L. Myres, Sir Henry Howorth, Sir John Evans, and Mr. Cecil Smith took part.

In January 1895, a Special Meeting was held at which Prof. Jebb delivered a Memorial Address on Sir Charles Newton, who had died in November 1894. The Address was printed in the Society's Proceedings (*J.H.S.* Vol. XIV.). At the same meeting (which was held by permission in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries) Mr. A. G. Bather's paper on 'The Problem of the Bacchae' was fully discussed by Mr. A. J. Evans, Dr. Verrall, Mr. Cecil Smith, Miss Harrison, Prof. Lewis Campbell, and Dr. Sandys. At a meeting in May Prof. Percy Gardner described the famous Sarcophagi found at Sidon, and exhibited plates from the work which was in course of publication by Hamdy Bey and M. Théodore Reinach. In November Miss Harrison initiated a discussion on the site of the Enneacrounus at Athens, in the light of Dr. Dörpfeld's recent discoveries and theories, and in special connexion with Thucydides II. 15. These views were discussed by Mr. Ernest Gardner, Mr. J. L. Myres, Dr. Sandys, and Sir John Evans. Miss Harrison replied.

In February 1896, Mr. Edmund Oldfield, F.S.A., read, by invitation, a summary of his views on the architectural form of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, which he had more fully elaborated in three papers read before the Society of Antiquaries. The paper was discussed by Prof. Percy Gardner, Mr. H. H. Statham, and Mr. Hugh Stannus. At the meeting in March a very animated debate was aroused by Mr. G. B. Grundy's paper on the Thucydidean narrative of Sphacteria, his views being controverted by Mr. Ronald Burrows, and discussed by Prof. Percy Gardner, Mr. Leaf, and Sir F. Pollock. In November a further paper by Mr. Evans on 'Early Cretan Script' also led to a good discussion.

In April 1897, Miss Harrison read a paper on the Danaides, arguing that their function of water-carrying was simply a repetition in Hades of their upper-world function as water-nymphs, and contending also that though the Olympian Gods were part Hellenic, part Pelasgian, the remaining denizens of Hades would prove, like Danaides, to be of Pelasgian origin. At the Annual Meeting the President called attention to the discovery of the MSS. of Bacchylides. Mr. Cecil Smith, as Director of the British School at Athens, gave an account of recent archaeological work in Greece, and of excavations undertaken by the British School at Cynosarges and in Melos.

In February 1898, Mr. C. R. R. Clark, Architectural Student of the British School at Athens, exhibited drawings of a fine mosaic found by the School in Melos. At the same meeting Prof. Ridgeway delivered an address on some of the contents of his forthcoming book on 'The Early Age of Greece.' A most interesting discussion followed, in which Mr. Evans and Mr. Farnell took part, and Prof. Ridgeway replied. In April Prof. W. C. F. Anderson read a paper on 'The March of Xerxes,' dealing with the country between Hebrus and Mt. Athos, and based on a journey taken in 1896 with Mr. J. A. R. Munro. The paper was illustrated by lantern slides from negatives taken on the spot. This was the first occasion on which the lantern was introduced, but it has since been constantly used at meetings and has added greatly to their interest. At the Annual Meeting M. Salomon Reinach communicated a new theory concerning the date, denomination, and restoration of the Aphrodite of Melos, arguing that it was in fact an Amphitrite and belonged to the Attic School immediately following the epoch of Phidias. Mr. Penrose gave an account of his recent visit to Athens. In November Mr. G. B. Grundy's paper on Thucydides' accounts of operations at Plataea, Pylus, Sphacteria, and Syracuse, led to an animated discussion, in which Mr. Ronald Burrows and others took part.

In May 1899, Prof. Percy Gardner's paper on 'The Scenery of the Greek Stage' was discussed by Prof. G. G. A. Murray, Mr. A. G. Bather, and Mrs. Strong. At the Annual Meeting the President spoke of the work of the British School at Athens, the proposed explorations in Crete, and the probable establishment of a British School in Rome. Mr. Hogarth gave an account of recent excavations in Melos and at Naucratis by members of the British School at Athens, and in Cyprus by the Trustees of the British Museum. He also explained the plan of explorations in Crete. In November, a communication from Signor Savignoni on 'Representations of Helios and Selene' was discussed by Sir Henry Howorth, Sir John Evans, Prof. Ernest Gardner, and Prof. Sayce.

In 1900 discussions took place on papers read by Mr. J. L. Myres on 'The Homeric House'; by Prof. Percy Gardner on a vase representing the Birth of Pandora (when Miss Harrison introduced a new theory of the myth); and by Prof. Waldstein on the 'Hera of Polycleitus.' At the Annual Meeting the President reviewed recent progress in Hellenic Studies, referring to the British Museum excavations in Cyprus, to the German excavations in Miletus, to the Austrian excavations at Ephesus, to important discoveries in the Roman Forum, and to Prof. Furtwängler's new book on gems. Mr. Evans gave an account of his recent discoveries at Knossos. In November Mr. Evans' paper on 'The Tree and Pillar cult of the Mycenaeans' was discussed by Prof. Waldstein, Dr. Farnell, and Mr. Hogarth.

In February 1901, Mr. Cavvadias sent photographs of the bronze and marble figures recovered from the sea off Cythera. These were exhibited on lantern slides, and Mr. Arthur Smith supplied an interesting commentary. At the same Meeting Prof. Ernest Gardner's paper on 'The Greek House' led to a full discussion. In May, Prof. Waldstein, in a paper on 'A Discovery



of Marbles related to the pediments of the Parthenon,' described two marble statuettes in the Museum of Sculpture at Dresden, comparing them with statuettes found at Eleusis, which corresponded both in dimensions and style. The paper was discussed by Prof. Percy Gardner, Sir Henry Howorth, Mr. Arthur Smith, and Prof. Butcher. At the Annual Meeting Mr. Arthur Evans read an account of recent work at Knossos, and Prof. Ernest Gardner spoke both of the excavations at Knossos and the statues found off Cythera. In November discussions took place on a paper by Mr. Cecil Smith, describing a large Proto-Attic Amphora found at Cynosarges, and on Mr. J. H. Hopkinson's paper on 'An Early Island Vase-Fabric.'

Towards the end of 1901 an arrangement was made with the Society of Antiquaries that future Meetings of the Society should take place in their rooms at Burlington House, the rooms at Albemarle Street having been found too small, as the attendance at Meetings increased. The first Meeting under this new arrangement, which has proved of great advantage to the Society, was held in February 1902, when Mr. Arthur Smith read a paper on 'Humour in Greek Art.' A discussion followed, in which Prof. Ernest Gardner, Mr. G. F. Hill, and Mrs. Strong took part. In May Mr. Hill showed lantern slides of some of the more remarkable Greek coins acquired by the British Museum during the past five years. At the Annual Meeting Mr. Evans gave an account, illustrated by lantern slides and diagrams, of his season's work at the Palace of Knossos, and Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, Director of the British School at Athens, described excavations undertaken by the School at Palaikastro in Eastern Crete. In November Mr. Jay Hambidge read a very interesting paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'The Natural Basis of Form in Greek Art,' with special reference to the Parthenon, summing up in the words 'The Parthenon is only the most striking and complete instance of the fact that the beautiful in Art involves adherence (presumably unconscious) to the same law as underlies the beautiful in Nature.' The paper was discussed by Mr. Penrose, Sir John Evans, Mr. H. H. Statham, Mr. G. F. Hill, and Prof. W. C. F. Anderson. Mr. Hambidge replied.

In May 1903, Dr. Waldstein read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on the Hermes bronze found off Cythera, arguing that it belonged rather to the School of Scopas than of Praxiteles. The paper was discussed by Dr. Rendall, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Stannus. At the Annual Meeting the President gave a survey of the progress of Hellenic Studies during the year, referring to the discovery in Egypt of fragments of a dithyrambic poem by Timotheus of Miletus, describing a victory of the Greeks over the Persians, presumably at Salamis; to the recently issued facsimile of the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes; to the volume of Tebtunis papyri, edited by Messrs. Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly; to recent discoveries in Crete and elsewhere; to the controversy regarding the so-called tiara of Saitaphernes; to the Exhibition of Greek Art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club; to the foundation of the British Academy; and finally to the death of Mr. Penrose.

In the Session just ended four important papers have been read, by

Mr. Evans on his last season's work at Knossos, by Prof. Ramsay on 'A New Scheme for Exploration in Asia Minor,' by Dr. Farnell on some local cults in Attica, and by Prof. Ridgeway on 'The Origin of Greek Tragedy.' All have excited great interest, and in the case of Prof. Ridgeway's paper a discussion followed, in which Prof. Ernest Gardner, Prof. G. G. A. Murray and others took part. At the February meeting Mr. Arthur Smith made a communication, illustrated by lantern slides, relating to the inscribed term of Hermes Propylaios, recently found at Pergamon, and described in the inscription as a work of Alcamenes.

This rapid survey of the Proceedings of the Society is, I think, instructive and encouraging for the evidence it gives of the active interest taken by members in every side of Greek archaeology, history, and literature; and there is no doubt that the opportunity afforded by the Meetings of dealing promptly with various questions of current interest is welcomed both by those who contribute to the discussions and by the larger number of those who come to listen.

It should be added that as long ago as 1881 a branch of the Society was formed at Cambridge, the first Chairman being Dr. Thompson, Master of Trinity, and the first Hon. Secretary Mr. Oscar Browning. The branch still flourishes, its present Chairman being Sir Richard Jebb, and its Hon. Secretary Mr. A. B. Cook. The discussions which have taken place on topics kindred to those dealt with by the main Society have from time to time been recorded in the *Journal*. Curiously enough, no similar branch has ever been established at Oxford, though leading members of that University have always taken an active part in the management of the Society in London.

#### HONORARY MEMBERS

In January 1882 the Council decided to appoint certain foreign scholars and archaeologists as Honorary Members of the Society, and the choice fell upon Prof. H. Brunn, Prof. D. Comparetti, of Florence, Prof. Ernst Curtius, Monsieur P. Foucart, Director of the French School at Athens, Prof. W. Helbig, of Rome, Prof. A. Kirchhoff, of Berlin, Dr. U. Köhler, Director of the German Institute, Athens, Prof. S. A. Kumanudes, of Athens, Prof. A. Michaelis, Monsieur B. E. C. Miller, of Paris, Monsieur A. R. Rangabé, Greek Minister at Berlin, Prof. L. Stephani, of St. Petersburg, Monsieur W. H. Waddington, and the Baron J. de Witte, of Paris. The same distinction was conferred upon the following British Consuls then serving in the Levant, Mr. Alfred Biliotti, Mr. George Dennis, Mr. Charles Merlin and Mr. Thomas Wood. And on H.M. the King of the Hellenes applying for admission to the Society he also was added to the list of Honorary Members. In later years, as vacancies occurred, or otherwise at the discretion of the Council, the following have been appointed, Dr. F. A. O. Benndorf, Prof. F. Blass, of Halle, M. Alexander Contostavlos, of Athens, Prof. A. Conze, Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Monsieur l'Abbé Duchesne, of the French School, Rome, Prof. Adolf Furtwängler, Mr. Gennadius, Prof. F. Halbherr, Hamdy Bey, Keeper of the

Museum of Antiquities, Constantinople, Monsieur Joseph Hazzidaki, Keeper of the National Museum, Candia, Crete, Monsieur Homolle, Director of the French School at Athens, Monsieur Cavvadias, Ephor-General of Antiquities, Athens. Prof. E. Petersen, of the German Institute, Rome, Prof. Rufus Richardson, Director of the American School at Athens, Prof. Ulrich V. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, of Berlin, and Prof. Adolf Wilhelm, Director of the Austrian Institute, Athens. On the occasion of the present Anniversary the Council decided to appoint fifteen more foreign Honorary Members, thus bringing the number up to forty, which will in future be regarded as the limit. The following have been selected :

Prof. Maxime Collignon, of Paris, Prof. Hermann Diels, Secretary of the German Institute, Prof. Theodor Gomperz, of Vienna, Prof. B. L. Gildersleeve, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Prof. W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University, Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer, Prof. Georg Loeschcke, Signor Paolo Orsi, M. Georges Perrot, Prof. Carl Robert, M. Valerios Stais and M. Ch. Tsountas, of Athens, M. Henri Weil, Prof. John Williams White, of Harvard, and Prof. T. D. Seymour, of Yale University.

It has clearly been to the advantage of the Society thus to maintain direct relations with Continental scholars and archaeologists, and that the honour has been appreciated and the work of the Society held in high esteem by its Honorary Members is evident from the very friendly and complimentary letters addressed to the Council in connexion with the present celebration.

#### RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIETIES AND PUBLIC BODIES

In 1894 the Society signed a memorial in support of an effort that was being made by the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments in Egypt to prevent the submersion of the island of Philae, and although the material benefits of the barrage scheme necessarily outweighed archaeological considerations, steps were taken to minimise the damage to the temples. Some months later Mr. Kenyon was appointed to represent the Society on a Committee formed by the same Egyptian Society to consider the question of a new Archaeological Survey.

In 1901 the Society was invited to send representatives to the celebration of the 450th Anniversary of the University of Glasgow. The President, Honorary Secretary, and Mr. Penrose were appointed, and an address of congratulation was presented.

In 1902 the Society was similarly invited to send representatives to the celebration at Oxford of the Tercentenary of the Bodleian Library. The President and Honorary Secretary were chosen as Delegates, and a Latin address of congratulation, composed by Sir Richard Jebb, was presented on the occasion and afterwards printed in the Proceedings of the Society. In the following year the President represented the Society at the Historical Congress in Rome.

In 1904 the Society supported a memorial to the Privy Council in favour of a Charter being granted to the Numismatic Society of London. The application was happily successful.

This seems the proper place for mentioning a proposal which was brought before the Council in 1893 by Mr. Churton Collins for the establishment in London of an Institute where Greek and allied subjects could be taught in a popular way. It was felt that the idea was one which deserved encouragement, but that the Society could take no responsibility. A Committee however was appointed, consisting of the President, Hon. Secretary, the President of Magdalen, Dr. Leaf, Mr. Dakyns, Mr. Ely and Miss Harrison, to confer with representatives of the University Extension bodies in Oxford, Cambridge and London, on the possibility of extending and developing the elementary study of Greek both in London and the provinces. This Committee held frequent meetings, and in the end drew up a report and a scheme of study, which was signed by Prof. Jebb as Chairman. Various classes were formed, but the ultimate result is beyond the cognisance of this Society. It is possible that the subject may be dealt with more effectively by the newly-formed Classical Association, to which our Society bids welcome and God-speed.

### CONCLUSION

This brief record of the Society's work during the first twenty-five years of its existence may be viewed with satisfaction alike by its members and by all who care for the objects which it was founded to promote. The membership has grown steadily from about 300 in its first year to 850 at the present time, to which must be added 150 Libraries subscribing to the *Journal* at Members' rate. This growth has been materially assisted by the Rule which from its earliest days admitted ladies to the privileges of the Society; and their influence has been felt not only in its revenue but in its work, through contributions to the *Journal* and efficient service on the Council.

But while congratulating themselves on the achievements of the past, and on the growing prosperity and efficiency of the Society, members will feel that there is still room for further development. Now that the supremacy of Classical Studies is challenged even at our Universities it is evident that the work of such a Society as ours is more than ever necessary. And, apart from all such questions of controversy, the progress of research presents an ever increasing number and variety of problems for solution in all departments of Hellenic study. The greater the resources of the Society the more effective aid it can give towards solving such problems, whether by grants to explorers, by facilities for the publication of results, or by such additions to the library or the photographic collections as may better satisfy the requirements of students and teachers. Let us hope that this anniversary may stimulate the Society to further efforts, and draw fresh supporters into its ranks, so that when it is called upon hereafter to celebrate its Jubilee, members may have an even more brilliant record to shew than has been set forth in these pages.

## PART II.—1904–1929

## INTRODUCTION

WHEN I undertook in 1904 to give an account of the foundation of the Society, and to trace in outline its progress and achievements during the first twenty-five years of its existence, it did not seem likely that the task of continuing the narrative to the date of the Jubilee of the Society would again be entrusted to me, and indeed I would gladly have passed it on to younger hands. When, however, it proved to be the unanimous wish of my colleagues on the Council that I should so far complete the record I felt that I could not refuse, especially when Mr. Penoyre and his admirable staff were able to lighten my work by placing the Annual Reports and other records at my disposal in a most convenient form.

I shall in the main follow the arrangement adopted in the History of twenty-five years ago, but shall feel free to depart from it if later developments seem to require somewhat different treatment.

## ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

Quite early in the period an important change was made in the office of President. Sir Richard Jebb, who held the office, to the great advantage of the Society, from 1890 to his death in December 1905, had been re-elected as a matter of course year by year, so that in effect the office was held for life. After Sir Richard's death the Council decided to alter the Rule, so that in future the President should hold office for five years only, thus bringing the Society into line with most other Societies of the kind. The obvious advantage is that it gives more members a chance of attaining this privileged position, while the fact that his period of office is limited probably tends to encourage each successive President to give of his best during that period. That is certainly how it has worked for this Society during the last twenty-five years, when the office has been held in succession by Professor Percy Gardner, Sir Arthur Evans, Dr. Walter Leaf, Sir Frederic Kenyon, and Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith. From each of these great scholars the Society has received not only constant care of its interests in presiding at the meetings of Council, and in advice on innumerable details, but also at the Annual Meetings stimulating Addresses on such aspects of the Society's work as they were specially qualified to deal with. Professor Percy Gardner, besides referring year by year to distinguished members lost to the Society by death, to recent publications and to excavations in progress, gave us in his last Address a most eloquent retrospect of the work done by the Society in the past, and a view of the prospects of Hellenic Studies in the future which, in spite of obvious difficulties due to the pressure of other subjects, was full of hope and encouragement.

Two important events, the move from the original quarters in Albemarle Street to 19 Bloomsbury Square and the foundation of the Roman Society, occurred during his term of office. Sir Arthur Evans was only able to hold office for two years, but his first Presidential Address on the Minoan Element in Hellenic Life made a notable contribution to science through its publication in the *Journal* of that year. Dr. Leaf, whose period of office (1914–19) coincided with the Great War, devoted his final Address to a general consideration of Hellenism as affected by the war and of the lines upon which the study could most profitably be promoted on the return to normal conditions. In earlier Addresses the rare combination of Homeric scholarship with a thorough mastery of the principles of banking, and of economics generally, suggested to the President such subjects as Greek Commerce, many-fountained Ida, and a journey from Troas to Assos with St. Paul. It was, moreover, during Dr. Leaf's term of office that a notable discussion took place in November 1916 on 'The Future of Hellenic Studies,' to which I shall refer in a later section. Sir Frederic Kenyon became President in the Session 1919–1920, and his first Address, 'The Outlook for Greek Studies,' was full of practical suggestion and ended on this lofty note: 'We have to convince the world that Greek is the inexhaustible well-spring of intellectual life.' In later Addresses he dealt with such subjects as the recovery of the Society after the war, the new lands open to research as a consequence of the war, the need for laws of antiquities, the special characteristics of British scholarship, and, especially in his final Address, the widening of the borders of Hellenic Studies in this country, and their value not only to the professional scholar but to the ordinary citizen. Mr. Arthur Smith devoted his first Presidential Address (June 1925) to recent events in the field of Hellenic Studies, referring to three pending publications of international importance, the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, the new edition of '*Liddell and Scott*': and the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, and to recent discoveries in Greece and (by the Italians) at Cyrene and Leptis Magna.

It was during Mr. Arthur Smith's first year of office that the decision was taken to move the Society's headquarters from Bloomsbury Square to Bedford Square, but of this important step a full account will be given hereafter. In 1926 Mr. Smith devoted his Annual Address to a most interesting survey of the architectural history of the Acropolis at Athens during the second half of the fifth century B.C. In the following year he paid special tribute to four Vice-Presidents who had passed away since the previous meeting, viz. Sir Sidney Colvin, Dr. Walter Leaf, Sir Charles Walston and Sir William Ridgeway; and also referred to the recent deaths of Professor J. B. Bury, and of the veteran American scholar Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, one of the Society's Honorary Members, who had attained the great age of ninety-five. His address touched also on recent publications, on a new fount of Greek type and on excavations at Sparta, at Constantinople and in Crete. In his Address in 1928 he referred to the recent deaths of Dr. David Hogarth and Miss Jane Harrison.

The Council, or Governing Body of the Society, as vacancies have occurred by death or resignation, has constantly enlisted fresh recruits among the

younger scholars and archaeologists, so that it may still claim to be representative of all the interests with which the Society is concerned.

Passing to other officers, Mr. George Macmillan retired in 1919 from the office of Hon. Secretary which he had held for just forty years, and was succeeded by Miss C. A. Hutton, who had done invaluable service to the Society by taking on a great part of Mr. John Penoyre's duties during his prolonged absence on Red Cross work during the war. Mr. Penoyre is still acting as Secretary, Librarian and Keeper of the Photographic Collections, with a devotion to the interests of the Society in every detail which is beyond all praise. In the management both of the Library and the ever-increasing collection of lantern slides he is ably supported by Mr. F. Wise, the Assistant Librarian, and in 1927 the pressure of work called for the appointment of another official, Mr. W. R. Le Fanu, who successfully combines the functions of Second Librarian to the Society, and of Secretary to the British School at Athens. The Society is further indebted to Mr. A. H. Smith, who acted as Hon. Librarian for twelve years and gave invaluable help in the general plan and arrangement of the Library. On his resignation in 1908, Mr. F. H. Marshall of the British Museum acted in that capacity for four years, and when he resigned in 1912, on being called to an appointment in Cambridge, Mr. Smith generously consented to resume his former office. It may be added that Mr. Macmillan, on resigning the office of Hon. Secretary, assumed that of Hon. Treasurer, of which Mr. Douglas Freshfield had wished to be relieved. During the present session, 1928-29, while the President, Mr. Arthur Smith, is acting as Director of the British School at Rome, Mr. Macmillan, in recognition of his services to the Society since its foundation, has been appointed Acting President. Mr. George Garnett has acted as Assistant Treasurer since 1903, and in that capacity has done excellent work. Not only has he relieved the Hon. Treasurer of all details of the accounts, but his advice on financial questions has been of constant value. In the earlier years Sir Frederick Pollock and Mr. Arthur J. Butler acted as Hon. Auditors of the Society's accounts. On their resignation in the session 1909-10, Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan were appointed in their place and still hold office.

## FINANCE

The question of finance is of vital importance and concerns every department of the Society's activities. During the period under review the steady growth in the number of members has been accompanied by increasing demands upon the Society's resources, and in the first year, 1904-5, it was decided to keep members more fully informed of these demands by presenting with the annual statement of income and expenditure separate accounts of each department of the Society's work. In the same session the entrance fee was raised from one guinea to two guineas, and an *Endowment Fund* was started, to which it was hoped that members would from time to time contribute so as to strengthen the financial position of the Society. The response has been somewhat disappointing, but thanks to two legacies of £200 each, the Fund

now stands among our investments at about £1000. It is, moreover, only fair to say that when special emergencies have arisen, members have always been ready to rise to the occasion. Twice during the last twenty-five years the Society has found it necessary to move into roomier quarters, and on each occasion the actual cost of the move and of the rearrangement of the Library and slide collections in the new premises has been met by special contributions, of which particulars will be given when these two moves are recorded in detail. The Great War also, of course, hit all learned Societies very hard, and ours among the rest. The situation was relieved to some extent by members subscribing £200 to an Emergency Fund and by a grant of £50 from the Greek Government. The most critical situation occurred in the session 1919-20, when in spite of rigid economy the estimated deficit for the year was between £400 and £500. This was due partly to a loss of subscriptions arising from the war, but mainly to the increased cost of paper, printing and binding, of books and photographic materials, of distribution, and every form of service. The Council decided that in the best interests of the Society it was out of the question either seriously to curtail its activities or to increase the annual subscription. The only alternative was a large increase in membership. Mr. Macmillan used the opportunity of his retirement from the Hon. Secretaryship in November 1919 to write a letter to *The Times* explaining the financial situation and urgently appealing for further support. The most notable response was a donation of £1000 from Sir Basil Zaharoff, who suggested that the money might be applied to meet the apprehended deficit while steps were being taken to place the Society upon a more secure financial basis. The breathing space thus allowed by this generous gift was at once turned to account by the appointment of a Sub-Committee to go carefully into the whole question. After considering all possible suggestions, they unanimously reported in favour of a limited suspension of the entrance fee of two guineas, which was found to be a serious bar to recruiting new members. This recommendation was adopted by the Council, and in spite of the fact that changes in the Rules could only be made at the Annual Meeting in June, they took upon themselves the responsibility of ordering the immediate suspension of the entrance fee for the first 500 members elected in 1920. This bold step was more than justified. Thanks to the cordial co-operation of members, old and new, and to a series of carefully planned special appeals issued by the Society's Secretary, Mr. Penoyre, the Council were able to report at the Annual Meeting in June 1920 that 458 new members and 45 subscribing libraries had been enrolled. Needless to say that their action was confirmed and their recommendation that the entrance fee should be suspended until December 31, 1920, and be reimposed at the rate of £1 1s. from February 1, 1921, was carried unanimously. The only fly in the ointment was that Mr. Penoyre's health, which had already been affected by his strenuous war service, broke down under the strain of his exertions for the financial welfare of the Society, so that a period of rest was necessary. Miss Hutton, as has been already recorded, generously took on his duties, and happily for the Society, no less than for himself, the remedy was effective, and when the time came Mr. Penoyre was able to throw himself with equal vigour



and success into the arrangements for moving the Library from Bloomsbury Square to Bedford Square. Since this crisis, which I felt bound to record in detail, the financial position of the Society may be regarded as satisfactory, in spite of the fact that we still have a large overdraft at the Bank.

This is entirely accounted for by the purchase of the lease of 50 Bedford Square for £2250 and the necessary outlay on structural alterations and decorations amounting to £1600. On the other hand, while the rent and rates payable by the Society amount to £525, the rent we receive from the tenants of the upper part of the house is £650. It is an encouraging sign that the members on our books now stand at nearly 1400, while there are 330 subscribing libraries, and 150 student associates <sup>1</sup> who pay a subscription of half a guinea. And the Roman Society, which contributed £250 towards the cost of the new Library, and in the first instance contributed £100 a year towards current expenses, have recently raised their annual contribution to £150. The adverse balance on the Income and Revenue account for the year ending December 31, 1927, was £137. It is, of course, hoped that the great effort to be made on the occasion of the Society's Jubilee will clear off the debt of £3000. The Society will then be free of the charge of £70 a year interest on the overdraft, and with the addition of another 100 members will be fully solvent.

## RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIETIES AND PUBLIC BODIES

### THE ROMAN SOCIETY

In previous sections reference has been made to the Roman Society, and it is desirable, therefore, at this point to record the circumstances which led to its foundation. It was in the session 1908-9 that a question which had come up from time to time as to extending the scope of the Society to include Roman Studies was brought to a head by a memorandum on the subject received from Dr. Ashby, then Director of the British School at Rome. A special Committee was appointed to consider the subject, and in the course of their deliberations various alternative plans were discussed. In the end they reported that it was out of the question for the Society to extend its scope to cover Roman Studies, except by increasing the subscription, and that in their opinion the first point was to ascertain, first whether such increase would be approved by members or, secondly, whether any scheme for the promotion of Latin studies would meet with adequate financial support. Accordingly, on their recommendation a circular letter of inquiry embodying these alternatives was issued by the Council to members of the Society, of the Classical Association and to all other bodies likely to be interested. The answers received were overwhelmingly in favour of founding a new Society, and at the instance of the Council of the Classical Association, conferences were held between representatives of that body, of the Committee of the British School at Rome, and of the Council of the Hellenic Society to settle the best course of action. Finally, the Conference unanimously decided to recommend the creation of a Society for the Promotion

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<sup>1</sup> For these Student Associates see p. xxxv.

of Roman Studies. The importance of establishing friendly co-operation between the two Societies, and of defining the ground to be covered by the periodicals conducted by these Societies and by the Classical Association, was recognised from the first, and members of the Hellenic Society have noted with pleasure the steady progress of the sister Society since the inaugural meeting which was held in June 1910. The Roman Society became in the following session tenants of the Hellenic Society in Bloomsbury Square, and since then, both in regard to the Library and the collection of lantern slides, the Roman contribution in money and in kind has steadily increased, so that, as recorded in the financial section, the Hellenic Society now receives an annual subsidy of £150 towards its current expenses.

Something will be said under the head of Exploration and Excavation of the Society's continued interest in the British School at Athens, to which it makes an annual grant of £100. It is also a regular subscriber to the Archaeological Faculty of the British School at Rome.

#### RELATIONS WITH OTHER BODIES

During the period under review the Society has been represented at the first International Archaeological Congress, held at Athens in 1905, at the second Archaeological Congress, held in Cairo in 1909, and the Historical Congress, held in Berlin in 1908. Addresses on behalf of the Society were presented in 1909 to the University of Leipsic at the celebration of its Quincentenary, in 1922 to the University of Padua at the celebration of its seven hundredth anniversary, and in 1929 to the German Archaeological Institute on its centenary. Personal addresses of congratulation were sent in 1905 to Professor Adolf Michaelis on his seventieth birthday, in the same year to King George I. of Greece on his first state visit to this country, in 1907 to Hamdy Bey on his completing twenty-five years in the office of Director of the Museum at Constantinople, in 1909 to Professor Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf on his sixtieth birthday (when the Address written in Greek produced a humorous response in the same language), and to Dr. Wolfgang Helbig on his sixtieth birthday, in 1912 to Dr. Theodor Gomperz on his eighty-first birthday, and in 1913 to King Constantine of Greece an address both of condolence on the death of his father and congratulation on his own accession to the throne.

In the session 1907-8 the Society was represented on the Executive Committee of the newly-founded Byzantine Research and Publication Fund which worked in association with the Committee of the British School at Athens. The object of the Fund was to survey churches and other buildings, and to produce drawings, plans and photographs of these buildings, and of the mosaics, frescoes or sculptures which they contain, supplementing such researches by occasional excavations. The Fund ultimately produced three important monographs on *The Church of S. Eirene at Constantinople* by W. S. George, on *The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates at Paros* by H. H. Jewell and F. W. Hasluck, and on *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem* by Messrs. Harvey, Lethaby, Dalton, Cruso and Headlam.

In 1912-13 delegates were appointed by the Council to act with representatives of the Classical Association and the Roman Society to consider a scheme originated by the Rev. H. Browne, of University College, Dublin, for the distribution in schools of educational apparatus dealing with classical subjects.

In 1915-16, on the foundation at Oxford of the Bywater and Sotheby Professorship of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature, the Society was called upon to nominate an Elector, and Professor J. B. Bury was appointed.

In 1918 the Council joined with other learned bodies in a strong protest to the Prime Minister against the proposal of the War Cabinet to take over the British Museum as the offices of the Air Board, a protest which happily achieved its end.

In 1918-19 the Council nominated two representatives (Mr A. H. Smith and Mr. G. F. Hill) to serve on the Archaeological Joint Committee formed at the invitation of the Foreign Office by the British Academy in conjunction with the leading archaeological Societies, to deliberate on questions connected with the antiquities of the countries in the Near East which had been opened up by the Great War. Their efforts were directed mainly towards improved legislation on antiquities in the countries concerned with a view to the better preservation of monuments, and a draft of the general principles to be observed was submitted to and adopted by an International Committee in Paris. A Law of Antiquities for Palestine was drafted and has since become Law, and the Committee also made arrangements for the collection of records of all kinds relating to antiquities in the countries concerned. The Hellenic Society will be the natural repository for such records relating to Greek antiquity as may be collected by the Committee.

## PUBLICATIONS

The *Journal* still, of course, stands in the forefront of the Society's activities in this field, and it may safely be claimed that during the last twenty-five years the high prestige earned in the past has been fully maintained. Before, however, speaking of the contents of the *Journal* it may be well to record changes in the editorship. In the session 1911-12 Sir Frederic Kenyon retired from the Acting Editorial Committee, but accepted a seat on the Consultative Committee, which was joined also at the Council's invitation by Professor Gilbert Murray. In the same year Mr. G. F. Hill, on retiring from the business editorship after fourteen years' devoted service, joined the Consultative Committee, and Mr. E. J. Forsdyke of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum was appointed business Editor in his stead. Mr. Forsdyke acted as Editor, to the great advantage of the Society, until the session 1923-24, when he was succeeded by Mr. F. N. Pryce, of the same Department in the British Museum, who still holds office.

A review of the volumes of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* that have appeared since 1904 may perhaps give the impression that they contain a smaller proportion of outstanding articles than their twenty-five predecessors.

If that is so, it is partly due to the increased opportunities of publication elsewhere. New institutions have been founded, new journals have arisen, and others, which were previously more interested in other fields of archaeology, have opened their pages to the description of discoveries in Greek lands. In 1910, by an agreement between the principal classical journals, their frontiers were delimited, so that, for articles on the literature and language of Greece the student must now as a rule look elsewhere than to our *Journal*: although, if he is content to do so, he may miss, for instance, studies on Aristotelean and Byzantine legal texts, and be sorry afterwards. The results of British digging in Greek lands naturally come first to publication in the *Annual* of the British School at Athens; and Asia Minor in Roman times is a fair field for the *Journal of Roman Studies*. But the relations of our *Journal* with these others are such that it may fairly be said that nothing has really passed 'out of the family.'

This is not the place to enumerate the contents of the *Journal* or the names of all the most distinguished contributors. But one may mention as typical of the kind of work for which the student naturally turns to the *Journal*, knowing that it is going to be good, the series of studies on Greek athletics by Norman Gardiner (1909-12) on Hellenistic history by W. W. Tarn (1901 onwards), and on problems of Greek painting by J. D. Beazley. Apart from original contributions, our readers have been helped to keep abreast of recent discovery by the faithful accounts of excavations rendered annually by successive Directors of the British School at Athens and by M. N. Tod's summaries of epigraphic research. The accounts of acquisitions by the British and other Museums have perhaps been less frequent than could have been wished, and here again a new publication has come into the field. Finally, it would not be fair to omit mention of a feature, also ancillary to study, which has been greatly developed of recent years. In 1904 the notices of new books filled but 18 pages: in 1927 they required 81. There are more readers than one who always turn first to this portion of a new Part of the *Journal*, and as books sent for review pass on into the Society's Library they constitute an important annual addition to the collection at no cost to the Society.

Considerations of space, and others which are obvious, make it difficult, as has been said, to enumerate individual contributions, but the following recorded in chronological order may be taken as typical. Some other important articles are incidentally referred to in the section on General Meetings. *Damophon* by A. M. Daniel, *The Pediments of the Mausoleion* by J. Six, *Olympian Treasuries* by Louis Dyer, *The Thalassoeracies of Eusebius* by J. L. Myres, *Monemvasia* by William Miller, *Thasos* by J. Penoyre and M. N. Tod, 'Cyrenaic' Vases by J. P. Droop, *A Polycleiton Head in the British Museum* by Ernest Gardner, *The Growth of the Spartan Policy* by Guy Dickins, *The Boston Counterpart of the Ludovisi Throne* by Ernest Gardner, *The Pottery called Minoan* by E. J. Forsdyke, *Lord Elgin and his Collection* by A. H. Smith, *Greek Papyri and their Contribution to Classical Literature* by F. G. Kenyon, *Queen Dynamis of Bosphoros* by M. Rostovtzeff, *Ptolemaios Epigonos* by M. Holleaux, *The End of the Odyssey* by J. B. Bury, *Poet or Lawgiver* by Theodore Reinach, *The Interpretation of Greek Music* by E. Clements, *The Greeks and Ancient Trade with*

*the Atlantic* by M. Cary, *The New Athenian Statue Bases* by S. Casson, *A Portrait Statuette of Socrates* by H. B. Walters, *The Date of the Treasury of Atreus* by A. J. B. Wace, *The Herbal in Antiquity* by C. Singer.

A word of sincere gratitude is due to Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Smith, who in the session 1923-24 completed for the Society an Index to the last twenty-six volumes of the *Journal*, a labour of love which had occupied them for several years.

Apart from the *Journal* only one other important publication has been undertaken by the Society during the period, and this it is hoped to complete in time for our Jubilee celebration. This is a volume embodying the results of the excavation of the Shrine of Artemis Orthia at Sparta carried out by members of the British School at Athens during the years 1906-1910. There was precedent for the enterprise in the volume describing the excavations by members of the School at Athens on the site of Phylakopi in the island of Melos which was issued by the Society in 1900, and sold to members at a little above cost price and at a higher price to the general public. Although the outlay has not been entirely recovered, the results seemed to the Council sufficiently encouraging to justify them in making this further venture. The volume in question will be under the general editorship of Professor R. M. Dawkins, who was Director of the School while the Excavations at Sparta were in progress, and special chapters will be contributed by the late Guy Dickins, J. P. Droop, H. J. Rose, A. J. B. Wace, and A. M. Woodward. Some of the illustrations have already been made for the preliminary Reports which appeared from time to time in the *Annual* of the British School at Athens and are therefore available for the proposed volume without further expense.

#### PUBLICITY AND PROPAGANDA

In the session 1910-11 the Council, feeling that the position of Greek in education had reached a critical stage, appointed a Committee to consider the question in all its bearings. The Report of this Committee, based on a vast amount of hitherto untabulated *data*, was published in the *Educational Supplement of The Times* for January 1912, and formed the text of a very full and interesting discussion, inaugurated by Professor Ernest Gardner, at the meeting of the Classical Association in the same month. The Report was afterwards circulated to members of the Society, and the recommendations which it embodied may be summed up in the words, "If difficulties of curriculum or other causes exclude the possibility of Greek being taught in some secondary schools, it should at least be arranged that there should be some school or schools in each educational district at which Greek could be learnt by those who wish to learn it." Much the same plea was put forward in the Report of the Prime Minister's Committee on 'The Classics in Education' some ten years later. The subject was taken up again in November 1916 when Dr. Walter Leaf, then President of the Society, opened a discussion on the 'Future of Hellenic Studies,' in which Mr. T. E. Page, Sir Clifford Allbutt, Professor R. S. Conway, Professor Percy Gardner, Sir William Ramsay,

Mr. R. W. Livingstone and Sir Frederic Kenyon took part. Various views were expressed and opinions differed, particularly on the subject of 'Compulsory Greek,' but though no resolution was proposed, it was felt that the discussion had amply served its purpose in eliciting individual opinions on a subject of vital importance to the Society. After this meeting the Council decided to reprint the Report of the Committee referred to above, together with a supplementary note which appeared in the *Educational Supplement of The Times* in March 1912. The speeches delivered at the meeting were published in the *Journal* (Vol. XXXVI.).

#### COMMITTEE ON THE FURTHER POPULARISATION OF THE CLASSICS

In the session 1921-22 a Committee consisting of Messrs. Baynes, Beazley, Bell, Forsdyke, Gardiner, Last, Livingstone, Sheppard and Ure, with Mr. Penoyre as convener, was appointed to act with a Committee of the Roman Society to consider what could be done to popularise classical study. One of their first recommendations was based upon the sound principle that the future of such a Society as ours rests with the young. As long ago as 1906 the Society on the recommendation of the Council created a class of student associates who for a subscription of half a guinea were admitted to some but not to all the privileges of full membership. The result was disappointing, but the Council, on the recommendation of the Committee in question, now took the bolder course of admitting duly qualified student associates, on payment of an annual half-guinea without entrance fee, to the full use of the *Journal*, Library, Photographic Collection and Meetings, with the further proviso that on passing beyond the *status pupillaris* such associates might at once become full members on payment of the guinea subscription. This bolder policy has been amply justified, as no less than 150 student associates have been admitted on these terms, and a large proportion of them have become full members after taking their degree.

The Committee also issued in the session 1922-23, under the title *The Claim of Antiquity* a pamphlet containing an annotated list of the most useful and accessible books for those who, without being scholars, have come under the spell of ancient art and literature. This pamphlet, of which a second edition appeared a year later and a third in 1927-28, proved a most useful and popular guide. They also arranged a course of popular lectures by distinguished scholars which were delivered at various London schools, and included *The Great Schools of Philosophy* by Professor Gilbert Murray, *The Emperor Julian the Apostate* by N. H. Baynes, *The Excavator in the Near East* by D. G. Hogarth, *The Art of Crete* by H. R. Hall, and *Greek Life and the Greek Environment* by A. J. Toynbee. Another series delivered in the session 1925-26 is mentioned in the Section on General Meetings.

In 1924-25 the Committee produced a second advisory pamphlet entitled *The Geography of the Ancient World*, being a select list of wall maps, etc. suited for classical teaching in schools. The best maps produced in various countries were selected and catalogued with full particulars of size and

price, while a special section was given to atlases, with brief hints and comments.

In the autumn of 1928 the Committee organised at 50 Bedford Square 'an exhibition of wall pictures, illustrated books, electrotypes of coins and slides. Among the wall pictures the Society's own selection of enlarged photographs of sculpture and architecture had a place. This exhibition will be repeated when the Popularisation Committee's third recommendatory pamphlet, on Pictures for Schools, is published. The pamphlet forms a detailed catalogue of the exhibition.'

This outline of the work of what is commonly known as the *Popularisation Committee* will have shown what invaluable service it has rendered in bringing a constant stream of fresh life and ideas into the Society's operations.

## EXPLORATION AND EXCAVATION

### THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

The Society has during the period under review maintained its annual grant of £100 to the School (except that for the last two years of the Great War it was necessarily reduced to £50), and has accordingly been represented on the Managing Committees. The following special grants have also been made towards excavations undertaken by its members; in the session 1906-07, £100 towards excavations at Sparta; in the following session, £100 for the same object, and in 1924-25, when the School, after the war, resumed operations at Sparta, a further grant of £100.

### THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

The Society from its foundation in 1902 made an annual grant of £25 to this School, which during the period 1908-20 was raised to £50. In 1909 the President and Hon. Secretary signed in the name of the Society a memorial (happily successful) in favour of a grant of £500 a year to the School from public funds. In 1911, when the School was, under the auspices of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, re-constituted so as to cover various branches of art, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, etc., and the original Committee became the Faculty of Archaeology and Letters, the Society's grant was allocated to that Faculty. In 1920, however, the many other claims upon the Society's resources made it necessary to reduce the grant to £10 10s. But in 1916-17 the Society made a grant of £25 towards the production of the Catalogue of the Capitoline Museum which had been undertaken by members of the School at Rome.

### OTHER GRANTS

In 1904-5 a grant of £100 was made to the Cretan Exploration Fund; in 1908-9 a grant of £30 to Mr. C. H. Hawes, a former student of the School at Athens, for work in Crete, while smaller grants have from time to time been made to the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, and for exploration in the island of Thasos, in Boeotia and in Egypt.

## THE LIBRARY AND PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS

There is much active and satisfactory progress to be recorded under this head, but it would seem best in the first place to speak of two changes of quarters which have been effected during the period. It was in the Report for 1908-9 that the Council gave notice that the Library had outgrown its original quarters at 22 Albemarle Street, so that it had become imperative to seek for better accommodation. In the following year they were able to announce that such accommodation providing more room not only for books but for readers, and also for the Librarian and his assistant, had been found at 19 Bloomsbury Square. There had been some hesitation about moving to a neighbourhood on the face of it less accessible than Albemarle Street, but the proximity to the British Museum was a decided advantage, and members of Council and frequenters of the Library soon became accustomed to the new site. Thanks to a special Emergency Fund of nearly £400, to which members generously contributed, nearly the whole cost of the move, including new fittings, decoration, etc., was met without touching the Society's small investments or seriously increasing current ordinary expenditure. From this date onwards contributions towards the rent were made by the Schools at Athens and Rome for the use of the Society's rooms, and, as already mentioned, since the foundation of the Roman Society, steadily increasing support has come from that quarter. In the session 1910-11 the Hellenic Society extended its premises to make room for the new Society as tenants, and it was from that time that arrangements began to take effect for reciprocal privileges between the two bodies. It was wisely decided from the first that the books and slides of both Societies should form one Library and Collection, to which members of each Society should have equal access and facilities. This arrangement worked admirably, and towards the latter part of the Society's tenure of these rooms, rents were received also from the Royal Archaeological Institute, from Lady Roberts' Field Glass Fund (administered by Mr. Penoyre), and, when the Society in 1922-23 took over the whole house, a rent of £50 from the English Jersey Cattle Society, which had long occupied the ground floor.

This arrangement worked satisfactorily for about two years, but towards the end of that time certain warnings as to the effect upon the structure of the house of the increasing weight of books, and the steadily growing need for more accommodation now that the rooms were occupied by two active Societies, led the Council to the conclusion that a further move was necessary. After careful search an exceptional opportunity presented itself of acquiring the lease of the fine house on the south side of Bedford Square in which the Society is now happily established. For all the complicated arrangements for moving the Library, photographic collections, etc. to the new premises, and for the reconstruction necessary to adapt the premises to the Society's requirements, all members owe a debt of deep gratitude to a Sub-Committee, consisting of Mr. A. H. Smith (the President), Mr. Maurice Thompson and Mr. Penoyre, under the professional guidance of Mr. Christian Doll, a former student of the British School at Athens, who happily for us held the post of architect to the Bedford



Estate. The labours of this Sub-Committee were incessant, and as a result the move was effected and the new premises were in working order in a far shorter time than could have been anticipated. In the Report for 1925-26 full details were given of the accommodation, with clear and attractive plans. But it seems worth while to note here the main features in what is likely to be the home of the Society for at least a generation to come. In the front of the house, on the ground floor, is the dignified Council Chamber panelled throughout in dark oak. Behind it is the office and slide department administered by Mr. Wise, and so situated that all the routine work can be carried on out of earshot of the Library. A corridor beyond, in which are housed all the classical texts and commentaries in one alphabetical sequence, leads to the main upper Library (formerly a billiard-room), a spacious apartment well lit by two full-length windows and a large skylight. Nearly all the book-cases were brought from Bloomsbury Square and re-fitted. This upper Library contains the works on Papyri, Inscriptions, Travel, Topography and Excavation, Pre-Hellenic Studies, History, Modern Greek, Mythology, Antiquities and Art. From the corridor leading to the upper Library a spiral staircase descends to the Periodical-room, cleverly constructed by Mr. Doll by sweeping away a labyrinth of kitchen, pantries and offices. Under the main upper Library are a small workshop and a large book store, which will ultimately be used for the most out-of-date periodicals and other obsolescent material. These rooms are not open to members. Below the Council Chamber and Mr. Wise's office are the domestic quarters occupied by resident caretakers. The whole of the upper part of the house is let to the London Association of Accountants.

Passing now to the Library itself, it is impossible to record all the additions that have been made by gift or purchase during the last twenty-five years, but it may be stated in round figures that the number of volumes has risen from about 2600 in 1904-05 to about 12,000 at the present time. Among gifts, special mention is due to that of over 130 volumes from the library of the late Sir John Sandys, given by Lady Sandys in 1922-23, of his valuable Homeric Library, with other miscellaneous books, given by Dr. Walter Leaf in 1925-26, and in the same year over 100 volumes given by Mr. Arthur Smith and specially selected to fill gaps in the shelves of the Joint Library of the two Societies. Other donors whose names should be recorded as generous benefactors are W. H. Buckler, Mrs. Culley, F. W. Hasluck, Miss C. A. Hutton, Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Milne, and Miss H. Virtue-Tebbs.

In the general administration of the Library, apart from the unremitting labours of Mr. Penoyre, Mr. Le Fanu and Mr. Wise, invaluable voluntary help has been and is daily rendered by the Association of Friends of the Library, whose names and services have been recorded from time to time in the Annual Reports.

The Catalogue from 1906-07 has from time to time been brought up to date, but the usefulness of the Library was enormously increased by the issue in 1924 of the Classified Catalogue of the Books, Pamphlets and Maps in the Library of the two Societies compiled by our indefatigable Librarian, Mr. Penoyre. This volume with its 35 sections, following the order which has been in use for many years in Bursian's *Bibliotheca Philologica Classica*, and with

the ingenious Key to their arrangement given at the end, has, quite apart from its use to our members, been generally recognised by experts in such matters as a masterpiece of bibliography. The compiler was assisted by members of Council and others with special knowledge in the various departments of study, and Mr. Arthur Smith added to his already great services as Hon. Librarian by acting as referee on any doubtful point. Although the Council made a grant of £50 towards the expenses of the Catalogue, it was in the main the Librarian's own venture, undertaken, he assures me, for the very great interest and happiness which the work brought him. Additions to the Library classified under the same sections are recorded in each volume of the *Journal*.

#### THE PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS, ETC.

As in the case of the books, the growth in the Society's collections of photographs and lantern slides during the period has been most remarkable. The first complete Catalogue of Lantern Slides appeared in the *Journal* for 1904, and a new Catalogue incorporating the supplementary lists given from time to time in the *Journal*, and including a Roman Supplement, was issued in 1913-14. From the first the Catalogue has been made on a single scientific system, the slides being arranged according to subject, but a great step forward in the usefulness of the collection for educational purposes was taken when, from about 1920 onwards, sets dealing with special subjects began to be issued with lecture texts by recognised authorities. The credit of this admirable scheme is due to the initiation of Mr. G. H. Hallam, who himself made important contributions to it, besides placing at the disposal of the Society his carefully collected series of negatives of Rome and Italy. In view of the educational importance of the scheme, it seems worth while to give here a complete list of the sets now available, with the names of those who provide the texts.

##### Greek :

*The Pre-Hellenic Age* (no text).  
*The Geography of Greece* (A. J. Toynbee).  
*Ancient Athens* (S. Casson).  
*Ancient Architecture* (D. S. Robertson).  
*Greek Sculpture* (J. Penoyre).  
*The Parthenon* (A. H. Smith).  
*Greek Vases* (M. A. B. Braunnholtz).  
*Survey of Early Greek Coins* (P. Gardner).  
*Some Coins of Sicily* (G. F. Hill).  
*Greek Papyri* (H. I. Bell).  
*Olympia and Greek Athletics* (E. N. Gardiner).  
*Alexander the Great* (D. G. Hogarth).  
*The Travels of St. Paul* (no text).  
*The Ancient Theatre* (J. T. Sheppard).

##### Roman :

*Rome* (H. Last).  
*The Roman Forum* (G. H. Hallam).  
*The Roman Forum*, for advanced Students (T. Ashby).  
*The Palatine and Capitol* (T. Ashby).  
*The Via Appia* (R. Gardner).  
*The Roman Campagna* (T. Ashby).  
*Roman Portraiture* (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).  
*Horace* (G. H. Hallam).  
*Pompeii* (A. van Buren).  
*Ostia* (T. Ashby).  
*Sicily* (H. E. Butler).  
*The Roman Rhone* (S. E. Winbolt).  
*Timgad* (H. E. Butler).  
*Roman Britain* (Mortimer Wheeler).  
*The Roman Wall* (R. G. Collingwood).

The series also includes annotated lists of slides only, prepared by Mr. Penoyre to illustrate Ancient Life both Greek and Roman, by Mr. D. Brooke on Ancient Athens, and by A. W. and B. I. Lawrence to illustrate Xenophon's Expedition of Cyrus and the *Anabasis*.

The Library contains also a reference collection of photographs, both large

and small, which has proved both of use and enjoyment to members. From 1912 onwards steps have been taken to collect, mount and classify original drawings which have been reproduced in the *Hellenic Journal* and the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, and in the session 1917-18 it was suggested that the Society might endeavour to collect and classify sketches, plans, etc. made by travellers in the Near East in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A beginning was made that session when Miss Annie Barlow presented a roll of drawings of Sicily, Malta, etc., bought at the Frere sale, and probably collected by John Hookham Frere, the well-known translator of Aristophanes, during his residence in Malta 1819-46. The most important gift of the kind has been the MSS. of Robert Wood (1716-71), generously presented by his descendants, together with the original drawings of the Italian artist Borra who accompanied him. A catalogue of the Wood papers appeared in Vol. XLVI. of the Society's *Journal*, and a study of part of the materials was published, with facsimiles, in Vol. XLVII. by Miss C. A. Hutton.

Of different but equal interest is the fine collection of early prints and original drawings, mainly of Rome, the generous gift to the Joint Library of Mr. St. Clair Baddeley. The arrangement of these has been a matter of time and care, but they are now adequately and accessibly housed, and the Catalogue of the collection, by Lady Brooke, is nearly ready for publication.

The Joint Library also possesses a long series of singularly accurate water-colour drawings of Italian Church furniture and plate, the gift of an anonymous donor.

The list of members who have from time to time made generous contributions of lantern slides, negatives and photographs is too long to quote here, though grateful acknowledgments have always been made in the Annual Reports. But special reference is due to the services of Professor J. L. Myres, who, when acting as Hon. Keeper of the Photographic Collections, initiated the arrangement of the negatives, in subject order, with a corresponding set of reference photographs, similarly numbered, which with certain developments, already mentioned, has ever since been followed, to the great advantage of all members who have occasion to purchase or hire the material. The Keeper of the collections is now Mr. Penoyre.

In concluding this section on the Library and the Photographic Collections, the readiest way to bring home the great advance made by the Society in the period under review is to give the following figures :

Visitors to the Library	1905	375	
„ „ „	1921	2,000	and from that date too numerous to count.
Books borrowed	1905	401	
„ „	1928	3,389	
Slides borrowed	1905	3,053	
„ „	1927	12,216	
Slides sold	1905	787	
„ „	1927	2,221	

## GENERAL MEETINGS

The General Meetings of the Society have throughout the period been held normally four times a year in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House. I propose, as in the first part of this History, to give a brief survey in chronological order of the principal papers read at these meetings and of the subsequent discussions as recorded year by year in the Society's Proceedings.

In 1904 Dr. Arthur Evans gave an account of the last season's work at Knossos, describing in particular the mausoleum of Minoan times then discovered, and of which plans prepared by Mr. Theodore Fyfe were exhibited.

In 1905 Mr. W. W. Tarn read a paper on the Greek War-ship, which led to an animated discussion in which Mr. W. C. F. Anderson, Professor Ernest Gardner, Mr. G. F. Hill and others took part; and Professor Percy Gardner read a paper on the Apoxyomenos and its relation to Lysippus in the light of the recently discovered Agias of Delphi. Dr. Waldstein and Professor Ernest Gardner took part in the discussion.

At the Annual Meeting the President, Sir Richard Jebb, referred in his Address to recent excavations by the Greeks at Oropus, Sunium and Epidaurus, by the Belgians at Carthaea on the coast of Ceos, by the French at Delos, by the Germans on the site of the Asclepieion in the island of Cos, and at Miletus, and both by the Austrians and by Mr. Hogarth for the British Museum at Ephesus.

In November 1905 Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper on a bronze coin of Asine, in Messenia, which by the style in which Apollo and his son Dryops were represented recalled the Laconian style of relief, which was interesting in view of the historical relations between Asine and Sparta.

The death of the President, Sir Richard Jebb, occurred in December of that year, and at the meeting in January 1906 the new President, Professor Percy Gardner, delivered an Address to the memory of his predecessor. There followed an illustrated paper by Professor W. C. F. Anderson on Greek and Roman Ships, embodying a criticism of the views recently put forward by Mr. W. W. Tarn. The paper was discussed by Mr. S. H. Butcher, Mr. Cecil Smith, Dr. Edmond Warre and Mr. A. B. Cook.

In May 1906 Mr. Cecil Smith, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, read an interesting paper on recent acquisitions in his Department, dwelling incidentally upon the inadequate sum available for purchases. Later in the same month Mr. Horace Sandars read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on a collection of pre-Roman bronze votive objects from Despeñaperros in Spain, which was of special interest from the light thrown by some of the little figures on the remarkable head found at Elche, the Iberian city of the Ilisi, and now in the Louvre. At the Annual Meeting Mr. Cecil Smith gave an illustrated communication on the arrangement of the Parthenon pediments, dealing particularly with the representations of Victory.

In the session 1906-7 a paper was read at the first meeting on November 13, by the Rev. G. C. Richards, on 'The Ionian Islands in the *Odysey*,' with special

reference to Professor Dörpfeld's theory that by Ithaca in the *Odyssey* Homer meant the island later known as Leucas, and in modern times as Santa Maura. This paper aroused so much interest that a second meeting for its discussion was held on November 27, when Professor Dörpfeld's theory was criticised by Professor Ernest Gardner and to some extent supported by Professor R. C. Bosanquet. After Mr. Richards had made a brief reply the President, Professor Percy Gardner, summed up against the claims of Thiaki as identical with Ithaca, but added that Homer could not be regarded as a safe source for history.

At the meeting in April 1907 Professor Ridgeway read an important paper on 'The True Scene of the Second Act of the *Eumenides*,' arguing in favour of the Palladium south-east of the Acropolis, and outside the walls, as against the traditional claims of the Areopagus.

In the session 1907-08, on November 12, Professor Ronald Burrows gave an account of his excavations at Mycalessus in Boeotia, and Dr. B. P. Grenfell gave an account of some Greek papyri found in Egypt, including some of the writings of the historian Theopompus of the fourth century B.C., and a fragment of the lost *Hypsipyle* of Euripides. In March 1908 Miss Gertrude Bell read an illustrated paper on 'The Early Christian Architecture of the Karadagh,' which was afterwards discussed by Mr. Phené Spiers, Mr. O. M. Dalton and Mr. Lethaby. At the meeting in May after Mr. Cecil Smith had discussed Professor Ernest Gardner's paper on the Trentham Statue recently acquired by the British Museum from the Duke of Sutherland's collection, and argued for a later date than that suggested by Professor Gardner, Mr. Penoyre showed slides of a relief of the fifth century B.C. which had recently been discovered in Thasos.

In the session 1908-9, at the meeting in November, Professor W. Ridgeway presented a new view of the part played by the early northern element of the Greek race in the evolution of two striking features of Greek classical art and architecture—the gabled pediment and the continuous frieze. Both in his opinion were due to the Achæan race. At the meeting in February Mr. P. Ure gave a further account with lantern slides of 'Recent Excavations in the Ancient Greek Cemetery at Rhitsona in Boeotia,' while Mr. W. C. F. Anderson described a recent journey to Amphipolis and discussed its possibilities as a site for excavation. At the meeting in May Dr. L. R. Farnell read a paper on 'The Megala Dionysia and the origin of Tragedy,' referring incidentally to a recent discovery by Mr. R. M. Dawkins of a Dionysiac Mummers' Play in Modern Thrace, of which photographs were exhibited. The paper was discussed by Professor Ridgeway.

In the session 1909-10, at the November meeting, Miss Gertrude Bell read an illustrated paper on the Persian Palace of Ukheidar. At the meeting in February 1910 Miss Jane Harrison read an illustrated paper on 'The Myth of Zagreus in relation to Primitive Initiation Ceremonies,' which was discussed by Dr. Farnell and the Rev. A. G. Bather. At the meeting in May the President [(Professor Percy Gardner) read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'Some Bronzes recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum.' The paper was discussed by Mr. G. F. Hill and Professor Ernest Gardner. At the Annual

Meeting in June Mr. Arthur Smith gave an illustrated communication on the recent rearrangement of the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon in the Elgin Room at the British Museum.

In the session 1910-11, at the first meeting, Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper on some Graeco-Phoenician Shrines, mainly based on the coins of the great Phoenician cities. The paper was discussed by Mr. H. H. Statham, Miss Gertrude Bell and Sir Henry Howorth. At the meeting in February 1911, Professor Ernest Gardner spoke about a Polycleitan head in the British Museum which, coming from Apollonia, was recognised as a replica of the head of the Westmacott athlete. The communication (afterwards published in the *Journal*) was discussed by Mr. N. Gardiner, Mrs. Esdaile, Mr. Penoyre, Mr. Hill and Mr. H. B. Walters. At the meeting in May, Professor Ridgeway read a very important paper on 'The Origin of the Great Games of Greece,' developing the theory that they arose out of the worship of dead heroes. The paper was criticised by Dr. J. G. Frazer, Dr. Farnell and Miss Harrison, none of whom were prepared to accept the theory as conclusive. Professor Ridgeway in his reply stood his ground so far as the Great Games—Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, Isthmian, Panathenaic and Eleusinian—were concerned.

At the meeting in November 1911, Professor Baldwin Brown read a paper, illustrated by photographs from a draped model, on Ancient Greek Dress, claiming that the dress of the ancient Greeks might be termed the most characteristic product of Hellenism, for nothing else exhibited so perfectly the capacity of the Greeks for effecting beautiful results by direct and simple means. At the May meeting, Sir W. M. Ramsay read a paper on 'The Shrine of the God Men Askaenos at Pisidian Antioch.' The paper was discussed by Professor Percy Gardner, Sir Henry Howorth, Mrs. Esdaile and Dr. Farnell. In June, at an Extraordinary Meeting, Professor Ernest Gardner's communication on the so-called Boston reliefs which were thought to be part of the Ludovisi Throne (afterwards worked up for a paper in the *Journal*) led to an interesting discussion in which Mr. Guy Dickins, Professor W. C. F. Anderson, Sir Frederick Pollock and Mr. A. H. Smith took part.

At the meeting in January 1913, Mr. W. H. Buckler gave an account of the American Excavations at Sardis, illustrated by lantern slides, and in the discussion which followed, the President, Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Hogarth took part. At the meeting in May, Professor Percy Gardner gave an important address, illustrated by lantern slides, on the restoration of masterpieces of Greek Sculpture, contending that all restoration should be in plaster, or in drawings, the marbles themselves remaining untouched. Mr. Arthur Smith and Professor Ernest Gardner took part in the discussion.

At the meeting in November 1913, Mr. Ellis Minns read an illustrated paper (afterwards published in the *Journal*) on 'Two Greek Documents of the first century B.C. from Western Media.' Professor Sayce, who presided, dwelt on the importance of the discovery as evidence of the existence in the provinces north-west of what is now India of so strong an Hellenic element that Greek was used for legal and commercial purposes by persons of other than Greek nationality.<sup>1</sup> At the meeting in February 1914, Miss Jane Harrison read a

paper on 'Poseidon and the Minotaur,' and in May, Professor Ridgeway read a paper on 'The Early Iron Age in the Aegean Area,' which was discussed by Sir Henry Howorth and by Sir Arthur Evans, who strongly dissented from the theory put forward.

At the meeting in February 1915, Mr. R. M. Dawkins read a paper on 'The Modern Greeks in Asia Minor,' limited to such portions of the Christian population as are Greek in religion, sentiment and language, but excluding the Greeks of the coast towns and those who have settled in the country at different times since the Turkish conquest. A series of slides was shown to illustrate the pastoral and agricultural way of life of these people among the mountains, plains and rock-cut dwellings of Cappadocia. Interesting particulars were given of the various dialects. In May, Professor J. L. Myres read a paper on the excavations in Cyprus made in 1913 on behalf of the Cyprus Museum. In November, Professor Percy Gardner read an illustrated paper on 'A new Statue of Alexander the Great from Cyrene,' which was discussed by Mrs. Esdaile, Mr. A. H. Smith, and Mrs. S. Arthur Strong. In May 1916, Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper on 'Apollo and St. Michael: some Analogies,' which led to an interesting discussion in which the President (Dr. Walter Leaf), Dr. Crawford, Mr. J. P. Droop, Dr. Sambon and Mr. P. N. Ure took part.

At the meeting in February 1917, Mr. A. B. Cook read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'The Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon; its restoration and significance,' which was discussed by Sir Charles Waldstein, Mr. G. F. Hill and Professor W. R. Lethaby. At the meeting in May, Professor Lethaby read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'Greek Art and Modern Art,' or in other words what Art meant to the Greeks and to us. After referring to certain early drawings of Greek temples in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and especially to ten minutely accurate drawings of the Acropolis at Athens a century ago, Professor Lethaby touched on the use of colour in Greek architecture and sculpture, and finally dwelt on the high ideals of the Greeks not only in these, but in minor arts, such as coinage, and implied the lack of any such national feeling for art among ourselves.

In May 1918, Professor B. P. Grenfell read a paper on 'The Value of Papyri for the Textual Criticism of Extant Authors.' In thanking Professor Grenfell for his valuable communication the President (Dr. Leaf) made some observations on the questions raised by the Homeric papyri. At the Annual Meeting in June, Mr. Norman Gardiner read a paper on 'The Alleged Kingship of the Olympian Victor,' discussing the theory originally propounded by Mr. A. B. Cook and since elaborated by Sir James Frazer in *The Golden Bough* and by Mr. Cornford in *Themis*. Letters were read from Sir James Frazer and Mr. Cornford on some of the points, and Mr. A. B. Cook and Dr. Farnell took part in the discussion which followed, Dr. Farnell agreeing with Mr. Gardiner in the view that the Greek Games were not of ritualistic origin, and Mr. Cook explaining that he had now somewhat modified his theory.

In November 1918, Mr. A. H. Smith read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'The Temporary War-time Exhibition in the British Museum,' intended primarily to give our overseas visitors some idea of the treasures of

the Museum, although, as the most valuable objects were in a place of safety, recourse was had as far as possible to casts. The exhibition had attracted a constant stream of visitors. Papers read at the meetings in February and May 1919, by Professor Percy Gardner on 'A Bronze Head of Polycleitan Style,' lately given to the Ashmolean Museum, by Mr. D. S. Robertson on 'A Greek Carnival,' and by Mr. J. T. Sheppard on 'Admetus, Verrall and Professor Myres,' were afterwards published in the *Journal*. At the Annual Meeting in June, Mr. Stanley Casson read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'Antiquities discovered on the Salonica Front.'

In November 1919, Mr. Jay Hambidge made a communication on 'Symmetry and Proportion in Greek Architecture,' which was discussed by the President (Sir Frederic Kenyon) and Mr. Arthur Smith, and evoked so much interest that it was decided to hold a further meeting at which illustrations of the application of the theories laid down by Mr. Hambidge could be shown and discussed. At this second meeting held in December, Mr. Hambidge again spoke on 'Symmetry in Greek Architecture,' and Sir Cecil Smith, Mr. W. C. F. Anderson and Mr. A. E. Henderson took part in the discussion. In February 1920, Mr. E. J. Forsdyke's paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'A Mycenaean Head recently acquired by the British Museum' (afterwards published in the *Journal*), was discussed by Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. A. H. Smith, Mr. H. R. Hall and Professor Ernest Gardner. At the meeting in May, Mr. A. H. Smith gave an illustrated address on 'The Life of the Ancients as illustrated by objects in the British Museum.'

At the Annual Meeting in June 1920, an illuminated Address,<sup>1</sup> together with a Greek Psephisma, was presented to Mr. George Macmillan on his resignation of the office of Hon. Secretary which he had served for forty years from the foundation of the Society. After some introductory remarks by H. E. Monsiur Gennadius, who had been closely associated with Mr. Macmillan in the foundation of the Society, the Address was read and presented by Dr. Leaf. Mr. Macmillan, in expressing his warm thanks for the presentation, and for the very kind words which had accompanied it, said that the Address would always be treasured both by himself and by those who came after him.

In the session 1920-21, for the first time Students' Meetings were held in addition to the usual General Meetings and proved a great success. Thus, in October 1920, Mr. A. J. B. Wace gave a lecture on Mycenae, with some account of the recent excavations of the British School at Athens. In December Mrs. Strong gave particulars of recent archaeological research in Italy. In March 1921, Mr. Hill read a paper to illustrate 'The Greek Theory of Portraiture.'

At the ordinary meeting in November 1920, Mrs. Strong read a paper (afterwards published in the *Journal*) on 'The Imagery of the recently discovered Basilica near the Porta Maggiore in Rome,' which was discussed by the President (Sir F. Kenyon), Sir Rennell Rodd, Mr. A. H. Smith, Mr. G. F. Hill

<sup>1</sup> The English text was drafted by Dr. Leaf, the Greek decree written by Mr. M. N. Tod. The Address, transcribed by Mr. Graily Hewitt and bound by Messrs.

Rivière, was signed by the President, Vice-Presidents, surviving Original Members, Council and Officers.



and Sir Arthur Evans. At a Special Meeting held in March 1921, in the rooms of the Royal Institute of British Architects (a joint meeting of the two bodies), Mr. Jay Hambidge gave an illustrated communication on 'Further Evidences for Dynamic Symmetry in Ancient Architecture.' The paper, which was warmly appreciated, was discussed by Sir Charles Walston, who presided, by Mr. P. W. Hubbard, Mr. George Hubbard, Mr. Cloudesley Brereton and Mr. Theodore Fyfe. At the meeting in February, Mr. H. B. Walters gave an illustrated description (afterwards published in the *Journal*) of the red-figured vases recently acquired by the British Museum, and Sir F. Kenyon (who presided), Professor Ernest Gardner, Sir Henry Howorth and Sir Charles Walston took part in the discussion. At the meeting in May, Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. F. N. Pryce read illustrated papers (afterwards published in the *Journal*) on 'Two recently discovered Minoan Bronzes,' which were discussed by Sir Frederic Kenyon (in the Chair), Mr. Hogarth, Dr. Leaf, Mr. Seager, Mr. Forsdyke and Professor Ernest Gardner.

At the Meeting in November 1921, Mr. H. I. Bell read a paper on 'Hellenism in Egypt.' At the meeting in February 1922, Mr. Arthur Smith described the frieze from Aphrodisias recently acquired by the British Museum. The paper was commented upon by the President, Professor Lethaby and Sir Henry Howorth. The third meeting, held in May, was convened to celebrate the publication of the first volume of the long-expected work on the Palace of Minos by Sir Arthur Evans, when Mr. Arthur Smith presided. Professor J. P. Droop gave a general summary of the contents of the volume, illustrated by lantern slides, some of them in colour. Mr. Theodore Fyfe spoke on architectural mouldings in stucco, Dr. H. R. Hall on the relations between the Minoan civilisation and ancient Egypt, and after further remarks by Mr. Hogarth, the Chairman summed up the debt which the Society, and archaeologists generally, owed to Sir Arthur Evans for his long and successful labours, and congratulated him on the fine instalment now published. The first Students' Meeting of the Session, held in December, was devoted to the memory of Mr. F. W. Hasluck, formerly Assistant Director of the British School at Athens, and a frequent contributor to the *Journal*. Mr. Penoyre gave particulars of Mr. Hasluck's posthumous works, with personal recollections of their author; Mr. N. H. Baynes gave an address on the development of East Roman asceticism, dwelling on the need for a general study of monasteries in the East Roman Empire; while Professor Lethaby showed by means of the lantern the long and beautiful series of photographs taken by Mr. Hasluck of the monasteries of Mount Athos. At the second Students' Meeting in March, Mr. E. J. Forsdyke showed the lantern slides in the Society's collection illustrating 'The Decorative Art of Pre-historic Greek Pottery.'

At the meeting in November 1922, Mr. Bernard Ashmole read a paper, 'New Lights on the Ludovisi Throne,' afterwards published in the *Journal*: Professor Percy Gardner described and showed photographs of two recent acquisitions of the Ashmolean Museum, one a marble female head of life size, from the collection of the late Lord Downe, and the other a gracefully draped statuette which had been in the collection of Mr. Vincent Robinson and probably

came from a tomb. Mr. Arthur Smith showed illustrations of a bronze statuette of Alexander wearing the aegis which had recently been acquired by the British Museum through the National Art-Collections Fund. Sir Charles Walston and Mr. S. Casson commented on the papers. In February 1923, Professor H. J. W. Tillyard gave a lecture, with musical illustrations and lantern slides, on 'Greek Church Music.' Before reading his paper Professor Tillyard played an example of Greek classical music obtained from a papyrus found in Egypt. The Byzantine musical illustrations were given by Miss O. Hemingway and Rev. Percival Stanley, to whom, as to the lecturer, the thanks of the audience were warmly accorded. At the meeting in May, Sir Charles Walston read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides and casts, on 'The Establishment of the Classical Type in Greek Art,' which was afterwards published in the *Journal*. At the first Students' Meeting of the Session, Mrs. Cully showed the slides in the Society's collection covering the section on black-figured vases. At the second Students' Meeting in May, Mr. J. T. Sheppard delivered a lecture on 'The Ancient Theatre,' illustrated by one of the special sets of slides alluded to in an earlier section.

In November 1923, Sir Arthur Evans described his recent excavations at Knossos, and after observations had been made by Mr. A. J. B. Wace and Dr. H. R. Hall, Mr. Hogarth, who presided, expressed to Sir Arthur the thanks of the audience. In February 1924, the Society welcomed a paper by Dr. Louis W. Sambon, of the London Tropical School of Medicine, on 'Ancient Preventive Medicine,' illustrated from his own collection of votive terra-cottas and medical instruments. The President (Sir F. Kenyon) thanked the lecturer for a communication of quite unusual interest. In May, Miss E. R. Price submitted a detailed study of the Early Pottery of Naucratis (afterwards published in the *Journal*), to which Professor Ernest Gardner contributed slides of the excavation of the site in 1886-87, while Dr. Hogarth, who presided, dwelt on the importance of the study of Naucratic ware for its Asian connexions. At the first Students' Meeting in December, Professor J. P. Droop gave a demonstration on red-figured vases with lantern slides from the Society's collection, and in May a Second Students' Meeting was by invitation of the Headmaster held at Westminster School, when Mr. D. S. Robertson gave a sketch of Ancient Architecture prepared for use with one of the special sets of slides.

In November 1924, Mr. Arthur Smith, now President of the Society, described the bronze Elgin lebes in the British Museum from the so-called Tomb of Aspasia with its recently deciphered inscription, and Sir Arthur Evans made communications on 'A Signet Ring from Nestor's Pylos' and 'A Royal Hoard from Thisbe in Boeotia.' In February 1925, Professor Percy Gardner read a paper entitled 'New Light on the Art of Scopas,' and dealing chiefly with a head from the Mausoleum, of which a cast was exhibited. The paper was discussed by Sir Frederic Kenyon, Mr. Casson, Sir Charles Walston, Professor Ernest Gardner and the President. In May 1925, Mr. Norman Gardiner discussed Captain Pihkåla's theory of the Pentathlon, and a paper by Miss G. M. A. Richter on 'A Neo-Attic Krater in the Metropolitan Museum of New York' was, in her absence, read by the Hon. Secretary.

In November 1925, Sir Arthur Evans communicated the results of his recent excavations and investigations at Knossos and other Cretan sites. Professor Sayce, who presided, congratulated Sir Arthur on his fresh chapter of Cretan Exploration, and quoted Babylonian records which proved the importance of Crete as a trading centre.

At the Meeting in February 1926, the occasion was taken to make a presentation to Professor Percy Gardner from his old pupils and friends. The President on behalf of the contributors handed him a cheque for the purchase at his discretion of some object which would commemorate his devoted labours to the cause of Hellenic Studies and serve as an expression of the appreciation in which he was held by all who had worked with or under him. Professor Gardner made grateful acknowledgment of the honour done to him. Miss C. K. Jenkins then read a paper on the sculptor Myron, and the President, Professor Ernest Gardner, Sir Charles Walston and Professor Percy Gardner took part in the subsequent discussion. At the meeting in July (postponed from May in consequence of the General Strike), Miss Hutton (Hon. Secretary) gave some account of the diaries and sketches which form part of the collection recently given to the Society by the descendants of Robert Wood (1717-71), and Mr. A. J. B. Wace described a stone statuette from Crete recently acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. During this session the popular lectures arranged by the Committee for the popularisation of the Classics, to which I have alluded in an earlier section, were again delivered at various schools in London, and included 'Early Greek Art' by Mr. Casson, 'Comedy in Greek Poetry' by Mr. J. T. Sheppard, 'Byzantine Greece and her Frankish Invaders' by Mr. F. H. Marshall, 'Portraiture and Ancient Coinage' by Mr. G. F. Hill, and 'Inscriptions on Greek Social Life' by Mr. M. N. Tod.

At the meeting in November 1926, the President showed an illustration of the gold Minoan cup, the so-called King's Cup, found by the Swedish excavators on the site of Dendra. After observations made on it by Sir Charles Walston and Sir Arthur Evans, Sir Arthur read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on the relation of the Shaft Graves to the Beehive Tombs at Mycenae. Professor Sayce, Professor Percy Gardner, Mr. Gordon Childe and the President took part in the subsequent discussion. At the meeting in February 1927, Mr. H. B. Walters discussed the marble head recently found at Gerasa and now on loan at the British Museum, and argued against the theory that it bore any resemblance to the earliest representations of Christ. After observations made by the President, Sir Martin Conway and Mr. C. J. Tait, Sir Charles Walston submitted three Notes on Greek Sculpture, illustrated by lantern slides. At the meeting in May, Dr. J. K. Fotheringham, in view of the imminent total eclipse, read an interesting paper on 'The Eclipses of Antiquity.' At the meeting in November 1927, Mr. H. G. Payne gave an account of the results of excavations conducted in the previous May in the early Greek necropolis of Knossos, and showed slides of vases ranging from the sub-Mycenean to the early archaic period (eleventh to seventh century B.C.), and illustrating the evolution of the archaic Greek style in Crete. Mr. R. Hinks followed with a paper on 'Porphyry Sculpture,' arguing that the appearance of porphyry as a material for sculpture

was a symptom of the decline of the Hellenistic type of naturalism, while its application to purely Graeco-Roman subjects was a sign of the eclectic and cosmopolitan taste of the Empire. The President and Mrs. Esdaile took part in the subsequent discussion. In February 1928, Professor J. L. Myres read a paper on 'The Historical Content of Greek Folk-Memory.' The President, in thanking Professor Myres for his paper, pointed out that, with this attempt to give chronological importance to the mythical genealogies, the wheel of historical study had completed a full turn. At the meeting in May, Dr. J. Arbuthnot Nairn delivered a lecture on 'Archaeology in Schools,' recommending an extended use of the School Museum, and showing by slides that some Museums of the kind were already flourishing. His suggestion that there might occasionally be a school number of the *Journal* did not find favour with the meeting, Mr. Pryce, the editor, Mr. Norman Baynes, and Mr. Penoyre all dwelling on the necessity for maintaining the prestige of the *Journal* as an organ for research, though admitting that there was something to be said for a separate publication for schools on the lines of the *American Classical Journal*.

At the Annual Meeting in June, the President showed on the screen a remarkable bronze statuette, found in Central Italy. As the figure was that of a draped woman with a pomegranate flower in one hand and a pomegranate fruit in the other, it was presumably an Aphrodite. It was in the late archaic style, with a fine sleeved tunic and a Doric chiton, recalling the archaic figures of the Athenian Acropolis, with the difference that the shoulders were equally covered, whereas a persistent fashion, before the time of the Persian wars, showed the left shoulder bare. There were, however, a few examples (of which the present bronze was one) which seemed to be the predecessors of the draped female figure of the late fifth century. The bronze was therefore to be assigned to the transitional period, and might be dated approximately at 460 B.C. Professor Ernest Gardner then addressed the meeting on methods of study of Greek sculpture, dividing the study into three main periods: the age of Winckelmann, the age of Brunn and the age of Furtwängler. Winckelmann and Lessing were mainly concerned with appreciation and aesthetic. It was Brunn's great achievement to provide, in his *History of Greek Artists*, a foundation on which all subsequent study was based. Furtwängler's *Masterpieces* showed a wonderful power of memory and comparison, and subsequent study owed much to his methods. But there was still danger of erratic criticism, such as the attempt to re-assign the Olympian pediments to Paeonius and Alcamenes, and even to assign to the same two sculptors the pediments of the Parthenon. In the study of Greek art it was especially necessary to 'prove all things and hold fast that which is good.'

As I said at the end of my similar survey of papers read and discussions held at the meetings of the Society, in the first Part of this History, I do not see how in any other way the activities of the Society, and its wide range of interests, could be so effectively demonstrated.

## HONORARY MEMBERS

During the period under review the following Honorary Members whose names were recorded in the first Part of this History have passed away. Otto Benndorf, A. Biliotti, M. Collignon, A. Conze, l'Abbe Duchesne, A. Furtwängler, B. L. Gildersleeve, W. W. Goodwin, Hamdy Bey, Th. Homolle, R. Kekule von Stradonitz, A. Kirchhoff, A. Michaelis, E. Petersen, Carl Robert, V. Stais, H. Weil, J. Williams White, and within the last few months P. Cavvadias and the Cretan Ephor, S. A. Xanthoudides. The only survivor of the original list of Honorary Members is H.E. J. Gennadius, for so many years Greek Minister in London, and one of those to whom the initiation of the Society was due. Vacancies in the list have from time to time been filled up, and the following now stand in our roll of honour :

Dr. Christian Blinkenberg, Prof. E. Breccia, Prof. Ernst Buschor, Prof. Franz Cumont, Prof. G. de Sanctis, Prof. Charles Diehl, Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, H.E. Monsieur J. Gennadius, Prof. Federico Halbherr, H.E. Halil Edhem Bey, Monsieur Joseph Hazzidakis, Dr. B. H. Hill, Prof. Friedrich, Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen, Prof. Maurice Holleaux, Prof. A. D. Keramopoulos, Dr. K. Kourouniotis, Prof. P. Kretschmer, Prof. Emmanuel Loewy, Prof. Eduard Meyer, H.E. Mubarek Ghalib Bey, Prof. Martin Nilsson, Dr. Bartolomeo Nogara, Signor Paolo Orsi, Prof. R. Paribeni, Prof. Ernst Pfuhl, Monsieur E. Pottier, Prof. Frederick Poulsen, Monsieur Salomon Reinach, Prof. G. Rodenwaldt, Prof. M. Rostovtzeff, Prof. Josef Strzygowski, Prof. F. Studniczka, Monsieur Ch. Tsountas, Monsieur Eleutherios Venizelos, Prof. T. Wiegand, Prof. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Prof. Ulrich Wilcken, Dr. Adolf Wilhelm, Prof. Paul Wolters.

## OBITUARY

It is natural that in this second period of the Society's history many of those who had taken an active part in its administration from the beginning should have passed away, and it seems fitting to put on record here our grateful sense of the services rendered by such members as Sir Richard Jebb, Sir Sidney Colvin, Ingram Bywater, Henry Pelham, D. B. Monro, Lewis Campbell, S. H. Butcher, Sir John Sandys, Talfourd Ely, Ernest Myers, Sir William Ridgeway, Ronald Burrows, Walter Leaf, D. G. Hogarth, Jane Harrison, Sir Charles Walston and Gny Dickens.

## CONCLUSION

In closing this historical sketch I may be permitted to express my personal satisfaction that the Society which I helped to found fifty years ago has so largely attained the objects set before themselves by its founders, and that it is still showing so much fruitful activity in the various fields which it undertook to cover. As has appeared incidentally in the course of the narrative, and as is too well known, the cause of Hellenic Studies, so far as Universities and Schools are concerned, has suffered a serious set-back during the last quarter of a

century. All the more important is it that our Society should receive constantly increasing support, for its main purpose, as Prof. Percy Gardner well said in one of his presidential Addresses, is 'to make ancient Greece alive again, or to keep alive its spirit as a corrective to many modern tendencies which lead to destruction.' Earlier in the same Address, Prof. Gardner developed this idea in the following eloquent passage which so aptly illustrates the principle which has animated the Society from the outset that its quotation here will, I think, strike the right note for members who, proud as they may well be of the achievements of the Society in the past, are determined that its work shall be carried forward in the same spirit for generations to come :

'The working of the Greek spirit,' said Prof. Gardner, 'is not merely a thing of the past, but a need of the present. The laws of beauty and of order which Greece gave to the world are of eternal significance. They appear in a fresh light to each generation. But Greece can only be kept thus living and working among us by a constant stream of new studies and fresh discoveries. As in the physical sciences, so in this branch of historical study, we must be constantly finding new facts, or looking at old facts in a new light. The lake must be kept sweet by pouring through it a constant stream of spring water. The fresh treatment of Greek writers, new views of philosophy, new theories in philology, all tend to renew Greek Studies. But the most constant and abundant supply of fresh material and new methods in Hellenic Studies comes from exploration and excavation on Greek soil. Thence we gain fresh information as to ancient life and history, we acquire fresh works of art, fresh inscriptions and manuscripts. We attain to direct touch with what has survived from ancient Greek times; and when we put the new facts by the side of those already known, the result is a sudden expansion and a delightful vivification of our knowledge. The Greeks seem to step out of sculptured portrait and written record, and to mingle with us familiarly. They teach us things they never taught us before. They speak not a dead but a living language.'

These words from one of our veterans may fitly close this record. It is for the younger generation, who are happily pouring into our ranks, to take up the torch and hand it on to those that come after.

GEORGE A. MACMILLAN.

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

- H.R.H. The Crown Prince of Sweden.  
 Blinkenberg, Dr. Christian, *Kathrinevej 20, Hellerup, Denmark.*  
 Breccia, Dr. Prof. E., *Sécrétaire de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie, Musée Greco-Romain, Alexandria, Egypt.*  
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 Nilsson, Prof. Martin P., *The University, Lund, Sweden.*  
 Nogara, Dr. Bartolomeo, *Direttore Generale dei Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, Museo del Vaticano, Rome.*  
 Orsi, Signor Paolo, *Director of the Archaeological Museum, Syracuse, Sicily.*  
 Paribeni, Prof. R., *Direttore del Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, Rome.*  
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 Venizelos, Monsieur Eleutherios, *Athens.*  
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 Wilcken, Prof. Ulrich, *Leistikow Strasse 2<sup>III</sup>, Berlin-Charlottenburg 9, Germany.*  
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 Wolters, Prof. Paul, *Elvira Strasse 4, 0 rechts, Munich, N.W. 2, Germany.*

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

\* *Original Members.*      † *Life Members.*      ‡ *Life Members, Honoris Causa.*  
*The other Members have been elected by the Council since the Inaugural Meeting.*

- † Abbot, Edwin H., 1, *Follen Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 Abbott, Edwin, *Jesus College, Cambridge.*  
 Abercrombie, C. M., *Red House, Prestbury, near Macclesfield.*  
 Abercrombie, Lascelles, *The University, Leeds.*  
 Abernethy, Miss A. S., 13, *Cowley Street, S.W. 1.*  
 Acutt, Miss Alice, *Erasmus, East Transvaal, South Africa.*  
 Adams, Miss E. M., 180, *Aldersgate Street, E.C. 1.*  
 † Adcock, Prof. F. E., M.A. (V.P.), *King's College, Cambridge.*  
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 Aldington, Mrs., c/o *Lloyd's Bank, 67, Kingsway, W.C. 2.*  
 Alexander, Mrs. K., *Red House, Bridge of Allan, Scotland.*  
 Alexander, Mrs. K. N., *Fairways, Seal, Kent.*  
 Alexander, Miss Marion L., 32, *Cambridge Street, Hyde Park Square, W. 2.*  
 † Alford, Miss M., 51, *Gloucester Gardens, Bishop's Road, W. 2.*  
 Alington, Rev. C. A., *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 Allan, J., *Dept. of Coins and Medals, British Museum, W.C. 1.*  
 Allcroft, A. Hadrian, 3, *The Drove-way, Dyke Road, Brighton.*  
 Allen, Miss Jessie, M.A., *St. Mary's College, Cheltenham.*  
 Allen, J. B.  
 Allen, T. W., *Queen's College, Oxford.*  
 Alleyne, Miss Stella M., 16, *Cecil Court, Hollywood Road, S.W. 10.*  
 Alton, Ernest Henry, *Trinity College, Dublin.*  
 Amherst, Hon. Florence, M. T., *Foulden Hall, Stoke Ferry, Norfolk.*  
 Anastasiadi, Mons. P., *Mohammed Ali Club, Alexandria.*  
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 Anderson, Prof. W. C. F. (Council), *Hillside, Burghfield, Mortimer, R.S.O.*  
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 Andrews, Miss Winifred, *Royal Holloway College, Englefield Green, Surrey.*  
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 † Arkwright, W., *Great Gravels, Newbury.*  
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 Armistead, Miss C. W., 18, *Clifton Hill, N.W. 8.*  
 Armistead, Miss H., 18, *Clifton Hill, N.W. 8.*  
 Ashburner, W., 6, *Piazza San Lorenzo, Florence.*  
 Ashcroft, R. L., *Haileybury College, Hertford.*  
 Ashmole, Mrs. B., *Chesterfield, Meads, Eastbourne.*  
 Ashmole, Bernard (Council), *Chesterfield, Meads, Eastbourne.*  
 Aston-Lewis, W. H. D., *Sandringham House, Dawlish.*  
 Atkinson, Miss A. L., *The Training College, Lincoln.*  
 Augustino, P., c/o *Messrs. Augustino & Co., 1, Rue Adib, Alexandria, Egypt.*



- Austin, Reginald Percy, *The University, Edmund Street, Birmingham.*  
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 Bailey, Cyril, *Balliol College, Oxford.*  
 Bailey, George Leader, *Lake Copais, Aharos, Greece.*  
 Bailey, J. C., 4, *Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7.*  
 Bailey, W. O., *Faircroft, Cobham, Surrey.*  
 Bailly, Edward P., *Beech Cottage, Limpsfield, Oxted.*  
 Bain, A. Watson, 4, *Norman Road, Winchester.*  
 Baker, Right Hon. H. T., 42, *Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster, S.W. 1.*  
 Baker-Gabb, Miss B., *The Chain, Abergavenny, Mon.*  
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- Kenyon, John B., *The Croft, Bramhall Park Road, Bramhall, Cheshire*.
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- Robertson, V. S., *South Lodge, Enfield Chase*.

- Robin, Clement Ernest, *St. John's College, Oxford* (27, Claremont Road, London, E. 7).  
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 Walsh, Joseph A., *St. Edmund's House, Cambridge*.  
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 Wentworth, W. C., *New College, Oxford*.  
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 Williams, Miss A. M. Harsley-, *Stradbroke, Park Crescent, Erith, Kent* (*Westfield College, N.W.* 3).  
 Willis, Miss M. L., *Sherstone, Blythe Road, Bromley, Kent* (*Westfield College, N.W.* 3).  
 Wolferstan, D. P., *Trinity College, Oxford*.  
 Wood, J. Q., *Hartswell House, Wiveliscombe, Somerset*.  
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- Gravesend**, The Library of the County School for Girls.
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- Lynchburg**, The Randolph-Macon Women's College, *Lynchburgh, Virginia, U.S.A.*  
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 „ The Library of Temple University, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*  
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**Poughkeepsie**, The Vassar College Library, *Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A.*  
**Princeton**, The Library of Princeton University, *Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.*  
**Providence**, The Library of Brown University, *Providence, Rhode Island, East Side Station, Ver., U.S.A.*  
**Rochester**, The Library, University of Rochester, *Rochester, New York, U.S.A.*  
**Sacramento**, The California State Library, *Sacramento, California, U.S.A.*  
**St. Louis**, Washington University Library, *St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A.*  
**Schenectady**, The Union College Library, *Schenectady, New York, U.S.A.*  
**Swarthmore**, The Library of Swarthmore College, *Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*  
**Syracuse**, The Syracuse University Library, *Syracuse, New York, U.S.A.*  
**Texas**, The Library of the University of Texas, *Austin, Texas.*  
**Urbana**, The University of Illinois, *Urbana, Illinois, U.S.A.*  
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**Wellesley**, Wellesley College Library, *Wellesley, Massachusetts, U.S.A.*  
**Williamstown**, The Williams College Library, *Williamstown, Massachusetts, U.S.A.*

## AUSTRIA

- Graz**, The Library of the Archaeologisches Institut der Universität, *Graz, Austria.*  
**Vienna**, Archaeolog-Epigraph. Seminar der Universität, *Vienna, Austria.*

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## BELGIUM

**Brussels**, Musées Royaux des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels, Palais du Cinquante-naire, *Brussels, Belgium*.

## CHINA

**China**, Metropolitan Library, *Pei Hai, Peking, China, via Siberia*.

## CYPRUS

**Cyprus**, Cyprus Museum.

## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

**Prague**, The Library of the Archaeologisches Institut, Deutsche Universität, 1, *Clementinum, Prague, Czecho-Slovakia*.

„ The Public and University Library, *Prague, Czecho-Slovakia*.

## DENMARK

**Copenhagen**, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, *Copenhagen, Denmark*.

„ Library of Universitets Filologisk-Historiske Laboratorium, *Copenhagen, Denmark*.

## EGYPT

**Egypt**, The Library of the Oriental Institute, *Chicago House, Luxor, Upper Egypt*.

## FINLAND

**Finland**, Åbo, The Library of Åbo University, *Åbo, Finland*.

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**Dijon**, La Bibliothèque de l'Université, *Dijon*.

**Montpellier**, Bibliothèque Universitaire, *Montpellier*.

**Nancy**, L'Institut d'Archéologie, l'Université, *Place Carnot, Nancy*.

**Paris**, La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris, *Paris*.

„ La Bibliothèque des Musées Nationaux, *Musées du Louvre, Paris*.

„ La Bibliothèque de l'École Normale Supérieure, 45, *Rue d'Ulm, Paris*.

**Strasbourg**, La Bibliothèque de l'Université, *Strasbourg*.

## GERMANY

**Berlin**, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, *Berlin*.

„ Bibliothek der Staatlichen Museen, *Berlin, C. 1.*

**Freiburg i. Br.**, The Library of the University, *Freiburg i. Br., Germany*.

**Göttingen**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Göttingen*.

**Greifswald**, Bibliothek der Universität, *Greifswald, Prussia, Germany*.

**Leipzig**, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Beethovenstr. 6, Leipzig, Germany*.

**Marburg**, The Library of the Archäologisches Seminar der Universität, *Marburg, Germany*.

**Würzburg**, Kunstgeschichtliches Museum der Universität, *Domerschulgasse 16, Würzburg, Bavaria*.

## GREECE

**Athens**, The American School of Classical Studies, *Athens, Greece*.

„ Bibliothèque Nationale, *Athens, Greece*.

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LIST OF ELECTROTYPES OF  
ANCIENT COINS,  
MOSTLY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY  
IN HONOUR OF ITS  
FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY,  
BY  
MISS HILDA VIRTUE-TEBBS.

It is the generous donor's wish, with which the administration cordially concurs, that these electrotypes should be lent to teachers or students much in the same way as the Society's slides.

The coins have therefore been arranged alphabetically and numbered to correspond with the list which follows. This does not attempt to do more than give the reference to the page of the second edition of Head's invaluable *Historia Numorum*, on which the coin is described. Full information will be found in this volume, or can be reached from the references there given.

While the list was being compiled a great number of the coins were lent to Dr. Grafton Milne for his lectures on coins at the Ashmolean Museum. Dr. Milne's assistance in compiling the list is gratefully acknowledged.

It may be added here that as the sale of electrotypes of coins at the British Museum is for the present suspended, the value of Miss Virtue-Tebbs' gift to the Society is very greatly enhanced.

Particulars of the cost of hire and length of loan are under consideration.

LIST OF COINS

Towns, etc.

		See <i>Historia Numorum</i> (2nd edit.) page.	Number of specimens in collection.
1	<b>Abdera</b> , B.C. 544-450 . . . .	253	1
2-9	before B.C. 400 . . . .	254	8
10-12	B.C. 408-350 . . . .	255	3
13, 14	<b>Abydos</b> , B.C. 411-387 . . . .	539	1
	B.C. 320-280 . . . .	539	1
15, 16	<b>Acanthus</b> , B.C. 500-424 . . . .	204	2
17-19	B.C. 424- . . . .	205	3
20	<b>Acarnania</b> , c. B.C. 250 . . . .	333	1
21-22	<b>Achaean League</b> , B.C. 370-360 . . . .	416	2
23	B.C. 280-146 . . . .	417	1
24-26	<b>Aegina</b> , B.C. 650-600 . . . .	396	3
27-29	c. B.C. 600 . . . .	396	3
30-32	B.C. 404-350 . . . .	398	3
33	<b>Aegospotami</b> , c. B.C. 300 . . . .	258	1
34	<b>Aenianes</b> , c. B.C. 400-344 . . . .	291	1
35-40	<b>Aenus</b> , B.C. 450-400 . . . .	247	6
41-46	B.C. 400-350 . . . .	247	6
47, 48	B.C. 300-200 . . . .	248	2
49-52	<b>Aetolia</b> , B.C. 297-168 . . . .	335	4
53-58	<b>Agrigentum</b> , B.C. 472-413 . . . .	120	6
59-64	B.C. 413-406 . . . .	121	6

		See <i>Historia</i> <i>Numorum</i> (2nd edit.) page	Number of specimens in collection.
	<b>Amathus</b> , see under Cyprus in next section.		
65, 66	<b>Ambracia</b> , B.C. 480-342 . . .	319	2
67-73	<b>Amphipolis</b> , B.C. 424-358 . . .	215	7
74	<b>Andros</b> , 7th cent. B.C. . . .	482	1
75-77	<b>Aphrodisias</b> , B.C. 485-425 . . .	717	3
78	<b>Apollonia</b> , after B.C. 400 . . .	277	1
79, 80	<b>Arcadia</b> , B.C. 370-362 . . .	445	2
81-86	<b>Argos</b> , B.C. 421-322 . . .	438	6
87	B.C. 322-229 . . .	439	1
88-90	<b>Aspendus</b> , B.C. 400-300 . . .	700	3
91-96	<b>Athens</b> , B.C. 594-527 . . .	368	6
97-100	before B.C. 527 . . .	368	4
101-108	B.C. 527-430 . . .	371	8
109-112	B.C. 430-322 . . .	372	4
113, 114	2nd cent. B.C. . . .	380	2
	<b>Babylon</b> , see under Seleucus I in next section.		
115-116	<b>Barce</b> , before B.C. 431 . . .	873	2
117	B.C. 431-321 . . .	873	1
118	<b>Bisaltæ</b> , B.C. 500-480 . . .	200	1
119	<b>Boeotia</b> , B.C. 387-374 . . .	351	1
120-125	<b>Bruttii</b> , B.C. 282-203 . . .	92	6
126-132	<b>Camarina</b> , B.C. 461-405 . . .	128	7
	<b>Carpthus</b> , see under Poseidium below.		
133-134	<b>Catana</b> , before B.C. 476 . . .	131	2
135	B.C. 476-461 . . .	131	1
136-138	B.C. 461-413 . . .	132	3
139-143	B.C. 413-404 . . .	132	7
146	B.C. 404 . . .	134	1
147	<b>Caunus</b> , 6th cent. B.C. . . .	612	1
148	<b>Celenderis</b> , B.C. 450-400 . . .	718	1
149	<b>Ceos</b> , Carthæa, c. B.C. 600 . . .	483	1
150	„ Coressia, B.C. 600-480 . . .	483	1
151	<b>Cephalenia</b> , Pale, B.C. 430-370 . . .	427	1
152-162	<b>Chalcidice</b> , B.C. 392-358 . . .	209	11
163	<b>Cherronesus</b> , B.C. 300-200 . . .	279	1
164	<b>Chios</b> , 6th cent. . . .	599	1
165	B.C. 478-412 . . .	600	1
166	B.C. 412-350 . . .	600	1
167	after B.C. 84 . . .	601	1
	<b>Citium</b> , see under Cyprus in next section.		
168-170	<b>Cius</b> , B.C. 330-302 . . .	513	3
171	<b>Clazomenæ</b> , B.C. 545-494 . . .	567	1
172-179	B.C. 387-301 . . .	568	8
180-181	B.C. 352-345 . . .	568	2
182	<b>Cnidus</b> , 7th cent. B.C. . . .	615	1
183	B.C. 650-480 . . .	615	1
184	B.C. 412-400 . . .	615	1
185-188	B.C. 390-300 . . .	616	4
189	<b>Colophon</b> , 6th cent. B.C. . . .	570	1
190	4th cent. B.C. . . .	570	1
191-192	<b>Corinth</b> , before B.C. 500 . . .	400	2
193-194	B.C. 500-431 . . .	400	2
195	B.C. 431-400 . . .	401	1
196-199	B.C. 400-338 . . .	401	4
200-210	B.C. 338-300 . . .	402	11
211	<b>Coroneia</b> , B.C. 456-446 . . .	345	1
212	B.C. 387-374 . . .	345	1
213	<b>Cos</b> , 5th cent. B.C. . . .	632	1
214-215	B.C. 300-190 . . .	633	2
216	<b>Cragus</b> , B.C. 168-43 A.D. . . .	695	1
217, 218	<b>Crete</b> , Aptera, B.C. 400-300 . . .	458	2
219-221	„ Cnossus, B.C. 500-400 . . .	460	3
222	B.C. 400-350 . . .	461	1
223-224	B.C. 350-200 . . .	461	2
225-226	B.C. 200-67 . . .	462	2
227-229	„ Cydonia, B.C. 400-300 . . .	463	3

		See <i>Historia</i> <i>Numorum</i> (2nd edit.) page	Number of specimens in collection.
	<b>Crete, Gortyna, see under Gortyna below.</b>		
230, 231	„ Itanos, 5th cent. B.C. . . . .	469	2
232, 233	„ Lyttus, B.C. 450-300 . . . . .	471	2
234	„ Olus, B.C. 330-200 . . . . .	472	1
235-241	„ Phaestus, B.C. 430-300 . . . . .	473	7
242	„ Phalasarna, B.C. 400-300 . . . . .	474	1
243	„ Priansus, B.C. 430-200 . . . . .	476	1
244	„ Rhaucus, B.C. 430-300 . . . . .	477	1
245, 246	„ Sybrita, 4th cent. . . . .	477	2
247-250	<b>Croton, B.C. 550-480 . . . . .</b>	95	4
251-257	„ B.C. 420-390 . . . . .	96	7
258	„ B.C. 390 . . . . .	97	1
259	„ B.C. 370-330 . . . . .	98	1
260-265	<b>Cumae, B.C. 480-423 . . . . .</b>	36	6
266	<b>Cyme, B.C. 293-190 . . . . .</b>	554	1
	<b>Cyprus, see Cyprus in next section.</b>		
267	<b>Cyrene, B.C. 631-530 . . . . .</b>	865	1
268-269	„ B.C. 530-480 . . . . .	867	2
270-271	„ B.C. 480-431 . . . . .	868	2
272-278	„ B.C. 431-323 . . . . .	869	7
279-280	„ B.C. 323-285 . . . . .	871	2
281	<b>Cyzicus, before 500 B.C. . . . .</b>	523	1
282-298	„ B.C. 500-450 . . . . .	524	17
299-321	„ B.C. 450-400 . . . . .	524	23
322-333	„ B.C. 400-350 . . . . .	526	12
334-337	„ B.C. 400-280 . . . . .	526	4
338	„ B.C. 200-100 . . . . .	527	1
339	<b>Delos, 6th cent. B.C. . . . .</b>	485	1
340	<b>Delphi, B.C. 520-480 . . . . .</b>	340	1
341	„ B.C. 346-339 . . . . .	342	1
342	<b>Derrones, before B.C. 480 . . . . .</b>	202	1
343	<b>Dicaea, B.C. 500-480 . . . . .</b>	252	1
344, 345	<b>Edoni, King Getas, before B.C. 500 . . . . .</b>	201	2
346	<b>Eleusis, B.C. 339-322 . . . . .</b>	391	1
347-358	<b>Elis, B.C. 471-421 . . . . .</b>	419	12
359-369	„ B.C. 421-400 . . . . .	422	11
370-373	„ B.C. 400-365 . . . . .	423	4
374-376	„ B.C. 365-323 . . . . .	424	3
377	<b>Ephesus, B.C. 700-545 . . . . .</b>	571	1
378	„ B.C. 494-469 . . . . .	572	1
379-380	„ B.C. 394-295 . . . . .	573	2
381	„ B.C. 280-258 . . . . .	574	1
382	„ B.C. 258-202 . . . . .	575	1
383	<b>Epidaurus, B.C. 350-323 . . . . .</b>	441	1
384	<b>Eryx, before B.C. 480 . . . . .</b>	138	1
385	„ B.C. 413-400 . . . . .	138	1
386-390	<b>Etruria, uncertain mint . . . . .</b>	13-16	5
391-392	<b>Euboea, Carystus, B.C. 411-336 . . . . .</b>	356	2
393	„ B.C. 197-146 . . . . .	357	1
394-396	„ Chalcis, before B.C. 507 . . . . .	358	3
397-398	„ B.C. 369-336 . . . . .	358	2
399	„ B.C. 197-146 . . . . .	360	1
400	„ Eretria, B.C. 511-490 . . . . .	362	1
401	„ B.C. 378-338 . . . . .	362	1
402	„ B.C. 197-146 . . . . .	363	1
403, 404	<b>Feniseris, B.C. 400-335 . . . . .</b>	37	2
405	<b>Gargara, B.C. 420-400 . . . . .</b>	545	1
406-408	<b>Gela, before B.C. 466 . . . . .</b>	140	3
409-411	„ B.C. 466-413 . . . . .	141	3
412-414	„ B.C. 413-405 . . . . .	141	3
415-416	<b>Gortyna, B.C. 480-430 . . . . .</b>	465	2
417-419	„ B.C. 430-300 . . . . .	466	3
420	„ B.C. 200-67 . . . . .	467	1
	<b>Halicarnassus, see Caria in next section.</b>		
421	<b>Heraclea, B.C. 432-380 . . . . .</b>	71	1
422-423	„ B.C. 400-370 . . . . .	71	2

		See <i>Historia</i> <i>Numorum</i> (2nd edit.) page	Number of specimens in collection.
424-431	<b>Heraclea</b> , B.C. 370-281 . . . . .	72	8
432-433	<b>Heraea</b> , B.C. 490-417 . . . . .	448	2
434	<b>Haliartus</b> , 5th cent. B.C. . . . .	345	1
435	<b>Himera</b> , before B.C. 482 . . . . .	144	1
436-439	B.C. 472-413 . . . . .	144	4
440, 441	<b>Hyria</b> , B.C. 400-335 . . . . .	37	2
442	<b>Ichnae</b> , B.C. 500-480 . . . . .	199	1
443-447	<b>Ionian</b> , uncertain mints, c. B.C. 700-500	565	5
448-449	<b>Lacedaemon</b> , B.C. 310-266, King Areus	434	2
450	B.C. 266-207 . . . . .	435	1
451	B.C. 192-146 . . . . .	435	1
452	temp. C. Julius Lacon. (Claudian)	436	1
453	<b>Lamia</b> , B.C. 400-344 . . . . .	296	1
454	B.C. 302-286 . . . . .	297	1
455-456	<b>Lampsacus</b> , c. B.C. 500 . . . . .	529	2
457	B.C. 500-450 . . . . .	529	1
458-465	B.C. 394-350 . . . . .	530	8
466	B.C. 394-330 . . . . .	530	1
467	<b>Larissa</b> , B.C. 430-400 . . . . .	298	1
468-473	B.C. 400-344 . . . . .	299	6
474	<b>Laüs</b> , B.C. 550-500 . . . . .	74	1
475	B.C. 500-450 . . . . .	74	1
476-478	<b>Leontini</b> , B.C. 500-466 . . . . .	148	3
479-482	B.C. 466-422 . . . . .	149	4
483	<b>Lesbos</b> , B.C. 550-440 . . . . .	558	1
484	B.C. 440-350 . . . . .	559	1
485	„ <b>Methymna</b> , B.C. 500-450 . . . . .	560	1
486	B.C. 420-377 . . . . .	561	1
487	„ <b>Mytilene</b> , c. B.C. 500 . . . . .	558	1
488-489	B.C. 440-400 . . . . .	561	2
490-491	B.C. 350-250 . . . . .	562	2
492	<b>Lete</b> , before B.C. 500 . . . . .	198	1
493	c. B.C. 500 . . . . .	198	1
494	after B.C. 500 . . . . .	198	1
495	<b>Leucas</b> , before B.C. 250 . . . . .	329	1
496	after B.C. 167 . . . . .	330	1
497	<b>Locri</b> , Epizephyrii, B.C. 350-332 . . . . .	102	1
498	B.C. 332-326 . . . . .	103	1
499	B.C. 300-280 . . . . .	103	1
500	B.C. 280-268 . . . . .	104	1
501-507	„ <b>Opuntii</b> , c. B.C. 400 . . . . .	336	7
508-509	<b>Lycia</b> , B.C. 520-480 . . . . .	689	2
510-511	B.C. 500-450 . . . . .	689	2
512-514	uncertain Lycian see also next section.	689	3
515	<b>Macedonia</b> , B.C. 500-480 . . . . .		1
516-518	3rd cent. A.D. . . . .		3
	see also under Macedon in next section.		
	<b>Magnesia</b> (Ionia), see under Themistocles in next section.		
519-520	<b>Mallus</b> , B.C. 425-385 . . . . .	723	2
521-522	B.C. 385-333 . . . . .	723	2
523, 524	<b>Malta</b> , after B.C. 218 . . . . .	883	2
525	<b>Mantineia</b> , after B.C. 370 . . . . .	449	1
	<b>Marium</b> , see under Cyprus in next section.		
526	<b>Maroneia</b> , B.C. 450-400 . . . . .	249	1
527-528	shortly before B.C. 400 . . . . .	250	2
529	B.C. 400-350 . . . . .	250	1
530, 531	<b>Massalia</b> , c. B.C. 350 . . . . .	6	2
532-533	<b>Megara</b> , c. B.C. 350 . . . . .	393	2
534	after B.C. 307 . . . . .	393	1
535	<b>Melos</b> , c. B.C. 500 . . . . .	486	1
536	<b>Mende</b> , B.C. 500-450 . . . . .	211	1
537	B.C. 450-424 . . . . .	211	1
538	<b>Messana</b> , B.C. 491-461 . . . . .	152	1
539	B.C. 480-461 . . . . .	153	1

		See <i>Historia</i> <i>Numorum</i> (2nd edit.) page	Number of specimens in collection.
540	<b>Messana</b> , B.C. 461-396 . . .	153	1
541	<b>Messene</b> , B.C. 369-330 . . .	431	1
542	after B.C. 330 . . .	431	1
543-545	<b>Metapontum</b> , B.C. 550-470 . . .	75	3
546-547	B.C. 470-400 . . .	76	2
548-554	B.C. 400-350 . . .	77	7
555-557	B.C. 350-330 . . .	78	3
558-560	B.C. 330- . . .	79	3
561-564	<b>Miletus</b> , before B.C. 500 . . .	584	4
565-566	4th cent. B.C. . . .	585	2
567-571	after B.C. 350 . . .	585	5
572	<b>Myndus</b> , 2nd cent. B.C. . . .	623	1
573	<b>Nagidus</b> , B.C. 374-333 . . .	726	1
574	<b>Naxos</b> (Sicily), before B.C. 480 . . .	159	1
575-576	B.C. 461-413 . . .	160	2
577	B.C. 413-404 . . .	160	1
578	„ (island), before B.C. 490 . . .	479	1
579-581	<b>Neapolis</b> (Campania), B.C. 450-340 . . .	38	3
582	before B.C. 241 . . .	39	1
583	„ (Macedonia), B.C. 500-411 . . .	196	1
584-586	B.C. 411-350 . . .	196	3
587-588	<b>Nola</b> , B.C. 360-325 . . .	40	2
589	<b>Olbia</b> , early 5th cent. B.C. . . .	701	1
590-592	<b>Olynthus</b> , after B.C. 479 . . .	208	3
593	<b>Orchomenos</b> (Arcadia), after B.C. 370 . . .	451	1
594	„ (Boeotia), B.C. 387-374 . . .	346	1
595-598	<b>Orescii</b> , before B.C. 480 . . .	195	4
599	<b>Orthagoreia</b> , B.C. 350 . . .	203	1
600	<b>Pandosia</b> , B.C. 450-400 . . .	106	1
601-602	B.C. 400 . . .	106	2
603-606	<b>Panticapæum</b> , before Alexander . . .	281	4
607	after Alexander . . .	281	1
	<b>Paphos</b> , see under Cyprus in next section.		
608-610	<b>Parium</b> , c. B.C. 400 . . .	531	3
611	B.C. 190 . . .	531	1
612	<b>Paros</b> , c. B.C. 300 . . .	489	1
613	<b>Peparethus</b> , B.C. 500-480 . . .	312	1
614	<b>Perga</b> , B.C. 190 . . .	702	1
	<b>Pergamon</b> , see Pergamon in next section.		
	<b>Persia</b> , see Persia in next section.		
	<b>Persis</b> , see Persis in next section.		
615	<b>Pharsalus</b> , B.C. 480-344 . . .	306	1
616, 617	<b>Pheneus</b> , after B.C. 362 . . .	452	2
618	<b>Pherae</b> , B.C. 480-450 . . .	307	1
619-621	Alexander, B.C. 369-357 . . .	308	3
622	<b>Philippi</b> , B.C. 358 . . .	217	1
623	<b>Phlius</b> , B.C. 430-322 . . .	408	1
624	<b>Phocaea</b> , 7th cent. B.C. . . .	587	1
625	B.C. 600-544 . . .	588	1
626-629	<b>Phocis</b> , B.C. 550-421 . . .	338	4
630-631	B.C. 339-146 . . .	339	2
632	<b>Pisa</b> , c. B.C. 360 . . .	426	1
633-634	<b>Poseidonia</b> , B.C. 550-470 . . .	80	2
635-636	B.C. 470-400 . . .	81	2
637	<b>Poseidium</b> , 6th cent. B.C. . . .	631	1
638	<b>Potidaea</b> , B.C. 500-429 . . .	212	1
639	<b>Rhegium</b> , B.C. 480-466 . . .	108	1
640-641	B.C. 466-415 . . .	109	2
642-647	B.C. 415-387 . . .	110	6
648-653	<b>Rhodes</b> , before B.C. 333 . . .	638	6
654-656	„ after B.C. 333 . . .	639	3
657	„ Camirus, B.C. 500-408 . . .	636	1
658, 659	„ Ialysus, B.C. 500-408 . . .	636	2
660-663	<b>Romano-Campanian</b> , B.C. 335-312 . . .	32	4
664-666	B.C. 312-286 . . .	33	3
667	B.C. 286-268 . . .	34	1



		See <i>Historia</i> <i>Numorum</i> (2nd edit.) page	Number of specimens in collection.
	Salamis, see under Cyprus in next section.		
668-669	<b>Samos</b> , 6th cent. B.C. . . . .	602	2
670-673	5th cent. B.C. . . . .	603	4
674	4th cent. B.C. . . . .	604	1
675	<b>Sardes</b> , B.C. 189-133 . . . . .	534	1
676	<b>Scepsis</b> , B.C. 460-400 . . . . .	548	1
677	<b>Segesta</b> , B.C. 480-461 . . . . .	165	1
678-679	B.C. 461-415 . . . . .	165	2
680-681	B.C. 415-409 . . . . .	165	2
682	<b>Selinus</b> , B.C. 480-466 . . . . .	167	1
683-687	B.C. 466-415 . . . . .	168	5
688	B.C. 415-409 . . . . .	169	1
689-698	<b>Siculo-Punic</b> , Carthage, B.C. 410-310 . . . . .	878	10
699-701	B.C. 340-242 . . . . .	879	3
702-706	B.C. 241-146 . . . . .	880	5
707-708	Cephaloedium, B.C. 409-396 . . . . .	136	2
709-711	Panormus, after B.C. 409 . . . . .	162	3
712	<b>Sicyon</b> , 5th cent. . . . .	409	1
713-714	B.C. 400-323 . . . . .	410	2
715-716	<b>Side</b> , 5th cent. B.C. . . . .	703	2
717-718	4th cent. B.C. . . . .	703	2
719	<b>Sidon</b> , B.C. 400-384 (unknown king) . . . . .	794	1
720	B.C. 111 . . . . .	797	1
721	<b>Sinope</b> , B.C. 453-375 . . . . .	508	1
722-723	<b>Siphnos</b> , 5th cent. B.C. . . . .	491	2
724-725	4th cent. B.C. . . . .	491	2
726	<b>Soli</b> , B.C. 450 . . . . .	728	1
727-729	<b>Stymphalus</b> , c. B.C. 362 . . . . .	454	3
730, 731	<b>Sybaris</b> , 6th cent. B.C. . . . .	84	2
732-733	<b>Syracuse</b> , before B.C. 485 . . . . .	171	2
734-736	B.C. 485-480 . . . . .	172	3
737-738	Demarateion, etc. . . . .	173	2
739-747	Tetradrachms, B.C. 478-466 . . . . .	174	9
	„ Tetradrachms, B.C. 466-413 :—		
748-753	by Eumenes . . . . .	175	6
754	by Phrygillos and Euth . . . . .	175	1
755	by Euth . . . . .	175	1
756-757	by Sosion . . . . .	175	2
758-759	by Euaenetus . . . . .	175	2
760-770	unsigned . . . . .	175	11
771-783	„ Dekadrachms by Euaenetus . . . . .	176	13
	„ Tetradrachms, B.C. 413-346		
784-785	by Eucleides . . . . .	177	2
786	by IM . . . . .	177	1
787-795	unsigned . . . . .	177	9
796-799	„ gold coins by Cimon . . . . .	176	4
800-802	„ tetradrachms by Cimon . . . . .	176	3
803-812	„ dekadrachms by Cimon . . . . .	176	10
813	„ „ by New Artist . . . . .	176	1
814	„ „ unsigned . . . . .	176	1
815	„ Bronzo litra . . . . .	178	1
816	„ Gold coin, B.C. 357-317 . . . . .	178	1
817-823	„ Timoleon, c. B.C. 345 . . . . .	179	7
824-827	„ Agathocles, B.C. 317-310 . . . . .	180	4
828	„ „ B.C. 310-304 . . . . .	181	1
829	„ „ B.C. 304-289 . . . . .	182	1
830	„ c. 300 B.C. . . . .	182	1
831	„ Democracy, B.C. 289-288 . . . . .	182	1
832-834	„ Hiketas, B.C. 288-279 . . . . .	183	3
835	„ temp. Pyrrhus . . . . .	183	1
836-839	„ Hieron II, B.C. 274-216 . . . . .	183	4
840-841	„ Philistis, Queen of Hieron II . . . . .	184	2
842	„ Gelon, son of Hieron II . . . . .	184	1
843-845	„ Democracy, B.C. 215-212 . . . . .	186	3
846	<b>Tanagra</b> , B.C. 387-374 . . . . .	348	1
847-850	<b>Tarentum</b> , 6th cent. B.C. . . . .	54	4

XCV

		See <i>Historia</i> <i>Numorum</i> (2nd edit.) page	Number of specimens in collection.
851-854	<b>Tarentum</b> , c. B.C. 500 . . . . .	54	4
855-863	B.C. 473-420 . . . . .	55	9
864-878	4th cent. B.C. . . . .	59	15
879-890	B.C. 340-281 . . . . .	57	12
891-894	3rd cent. B.C. . . . .	63	4
895-896	<b>Tarsus</b> (temp. Mazaëus), B.C. 361-333 . . . . .	731	2
897	Alexandrine coinage . . . . .	732	1
898, 899	<b>Tenedos</b> , B.C. 450-387 . . . . .	550	2
900	<b>Tenos</b> , 4th cent. B.C. . . . .	492	1
901-905	<b>Teos</b> , 5th cent. B.C. . . . .	595	5
906	4th cent. B.C. . . . .	595	1
907	<b>Terina</b> , early 5th cent. B.C. . . . .	112	1
908-914	before B.C. 400 . . . . .	113	7
915	after B.C. 400 . . . . .	113	1
916	<b>Terone</b> , B.C. 424-420 . . . . .	207	1
917-918	<b>Thasos</b> , 6th cent. B.C. . . . .	264	2
919-920	B.C. 463-411 . . . . .	264	2
921-928	B.C. 411-350 . . . . .	265	8
929	<b>Thebes</b> , B.C. 550-480 . . . . .	349	1
930-935	B.C. 446-426 . . . . .	349	6
936-939	B.C. 426-387 . . . . .	350	4
940	(Epaminondas) 371-362 . . . . .	351	1
941-942	B.C. 338-315 . . . . .	352	2
943	<b>Thera</b> , 7th-6th cents. B.C. . . . .	203	1
944	<b>Therma</b> , B.C. 480 . . . . .	203	1
	<b>Thrace</b> , see Thrace in next section.		
945-947	<b>Thurium</b> , 5th cent. B.C. . . . .	86	3
948-953	4th cent. B.C. . . . .	86	6
954	3rd cent. B.C. . . . .	86	1
955	<b>Tlos</b> , B.C. 400-390 . . . . .	692	1
956	<b>Troezen</b> , 4th cent. B.C. . . . .	443	1
957	<b>Tyre</b> , B.C. 126-A.D. 196 . . . . .	800	1
958	<b>Velia</b> , B.C. 500-450 . . . . .	89	1
959-960	c. B.C. 450 . . . . .	89	2
961-965	4th cent. B.C. . . . .	89	5
966	<b>Volsinii</b> , B.C. 300-265 . . . . .	12	1
967, 968	<b>Zacynthus</b> , c. B.C. 456-370 . . . . .	429	2
969, 970	<b>Zancle</b> , before B.C. 490 . . . . .	152	2

Dynasties, etc.

<i>Bactria.</i>			
1001	<b>Sophytes</b> , B.C. 316-306 . . . . .	835	1
1002-1006	<b>Diodotus</b> , c. 250 B.C. . . . .	836	5
1007-1009	<b>Euthydemus I</b> , B.C. 222-187 . . . . .	837	3
1010, 1011	<b>Agathocles</b> , c. B.C. 200 . . . . .	838	2
1012	<b>Antimachus</b> , c. B.C. 200 . . . . .	838	1
1013-1015	<b>Eucratides</b> , B.C. 200-150 . . . . .	838	3
1016	<b>Demetrius</b> , c. B.C. 180 . . . . .	837	1
1017	<b>Euthydemus II</b> , c. B.C. 150 . . . . .	837	1
1018, 1019	<b>Heliocles</b> , B.C. 150-125 . . . . .	840	2
<i>Bithynia.</i>			
1020	<b>Prusias I</b> , c. B.C. 238-183 . . . . .	519	1
1021	<b>Prusias II</b> , c. B.C. 183-149 . . . . .	519	1
<i>Cappadocia.</i>			
1022	<b>Ariobarzanes I</b> , B.C. 95-62 . . . . .	751	1
1023	<b>Archelaus</b> , B.C. 36-17 . . . . .	752	1
<i>Caria.</i>			
1024, 1025	<b>Mausolus</b> , B.C. 377-353 . . . . .	629	2
1026, 1027	<b>Pixodarus</b> , B.C. 340-334 . . . . .	630	2
<i>Cyprus.</i>			
1028-1029	<b>Amathus</b> , B.C. 450-400 . . . . .	737	2
1030	<b>Citium</b> , Baalmelek I, B.C. 479-449 . . . . .	737	1

		See <i>Historia Numorum</i> (2nd edit.) page	Number of specimens in collection.
1031-1032	<b>Marium</b> , Stasioecus I and Timocharis, B.C. 450-400	739	2
1033-1034	<b>Paphos</b> , B.C. 460 . . . . .	740	2
1035	B.C. 450-400 . . . . .	740	1
1036	c. B.C. 400 . . . . .	741	1
1037	Timocharis, B.C. 385 . . . . .	741	1
1038	<b>Salamis</b> , Euclthon, before 500 B.C. . . . .	742	1
1039	Euanthes, c. B.C. 450 . . . . .	743	1
1040-1041	Euagoras I, B.C. 411-374 . . . . .	743	2
1042	Phytagoras, B.C. 351-332 . . . . .	744	1
1043	<b>Uncertain</b> mint, c. B.C. 480 . . . . .	745	1
<i>Egypt.</i>			
1044-1049	<b>Ptolemy I</b> (Soter), B.C. 323-285 . . . . .	848	6
1050	<b>Ptolemy II</b> (Philadelphus) B.C. 285-246 . . . . .	851	1
1051-1053	<b>Arsinoe II</b> , Queen of Ptolemy II . . . . .	850	3
1054, 1055	<b>Ptolemy III</b> (Euergetes), B.C. 246-221 . . . . .	853	2
1056, 1057	<b>Berenice II</b> , Queen of Ptolemy III . . . . .	852	2
1058	<b>Arsinoe III</b> , Queen of Ptolemy IV . . . . .	854	1
1059	<b>Ptolemy V</b> (Epiphanes), B.C. 204-181 . . . . .	855	1
1060-1062	<b>Ptolemy VIII</b> (Euergetes II), B.C. 170-116 . . . . .	857	3
1063, 1064	<b>Cleopatra VII</b> , B.C. 51-30 . . . . .	859	2
<i>Epirus.</i>			
1065-1068	<b>Alexander</b> , B.C. 342-326 . . . . .	322	4
1069-1071	<b>Pyrrhus</b> , B.C. 295-272 . . . . .	323	3
	See also under Syracuse.		
<i>Lycia.</i>			
1072-1073	<b>Kuprlli</b> , c. B.C. 480-410 . . . . .	690	2
1074	<b>Khariga</b> , c. B.C. 410 . . . . .	691	1
1075	<b>Artumpara</b> , c. B.C. 400-390 . . . . .	691	1
1076	uncertain, c. 400 . . . . .		1
<i>Macedon.</i>			
1077-1079	<b>Alexander I</b> , B.C. 498-454 . . . . .	219	3
1080, 1081	<b>Archelaus I</b> , B.C. 413-399 . . . . .	220	2
1082	<b>Pausanias</b> , B.C. 390-389 . . . . .	221	1
1083-1085	<b>Amynatas III</b> , B.C. 389-369 . . . . .	221	3
1086	<b>Perdiccas III</b> , c. B.C. 365-359 . . . . .	222	1
1087-1093	<b>Philip II</b> , B.C. 359-336 . . . . .	223	A7
1094-1099		223	A6
1100-1104	<b>Alexander the Great</b> , B.C. 336-323 . . . . .	226	A5
1105-1111		227	A7
1112	<b>Philip III</b> , B.C. 323-316 . . . . .	228	1
1113-1118	<b>Demetrius Poliorcetes</b> , B.C. 306-283 . . . . .	229	6
1119, 1120	<b>Antigonus</b> (Doson or Gonatas) 3rd cent. B.C. . . . .	231	2
1121-1124	<b>Philip V</b> , B.C. 220-179 . . . . .	233	4
1125, 1126	<b>Perseus</b> , B.C. 178-168 . . . . .	235	2
<i>Paeonia.</i>			
1127	<b>Lycceius</b> , B.C. 359-340 . . . . .	236	1
1128	<b>Patraus</b> , B.C. 340-315 . . . . .	236	1
1129	<b>Audoleon</b> , B.C. 315-286 . . . . .	237	1
<i>Pergamon.</i>			
1130	<b>Philetaerus</b> , B.C. 284-263 . . . . .	532	1
1131, 1132	<b>Eumenes I</b> , B.C. 263-241 . . . . .	533	2
1133	<b>Attalus I</b> , B.C. 241-197 . . . . .	533	1
<i>Persia.</i>			
1134-1136	<b>Darics</b> . . . . .	827	3
1137	<b>Daric</b> (double) . . . . .	828	1
1138	<b>Vahšuvār</b> (King of N.E. Persia) 4th-3rd cent. B.C. . . . .	824	1

		See <i>Historia</i> <i>Nunorum</i> (2nd edit.) page	Number of specimens in collection.
1139, 1140	Unattributed satrapal coins . . . . .	829-31	2
	see also under Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes below.		
	<i>Persis.</i>		
1141-1143	<b>Bagadat</b> , 3rd cent. B.C. . . . .	824	3
1144	<b>Andragoras</b> , c. B.C. 250 . . . . .	825	1
1145	<b>Autophradates</b> , B.C. 150-100 . . . . .	825	1
	<i>Pontus.</i>		
1146	<b>Mithradates III</b> , c. B.C. 220-185 . . . . .	500	1
1147	<b>Pharnaces I</b> , c. B.C. 185-169 . . . . .	500	1
1148, 1149	<b>Mithradates VI</b> (The Great), B.C. 120-63 . . . . .	501	2
	<i>Syria.</i>		
1150-1154	<b>Seleucus I</b> (Nicator), B.C. 312-280 . . . . .	755	4
	as ruler of Babylonia . . . . .	817	1
1155-1158	<b>Antiochus I</b> (Soter), B.C. 281-261 . . . . .	757	4
1159-1161	<b>Antiochus II</b> (Theos), B.C. 261-246 . . . . .	759	3
1162	<b>Antiochus Hierax</b> , B.C. 246-227 . . . . .	760	1
1163	<b>Seleucus II</b> (Callinicus, Pogon), B.C. 246-226 . . . . .	760	1
1164	<b>Seleucus III</b> (Soter, Ceraunus), B.C. 226-223 . . . . .	760	1
1165-1167	<b>Antiochus IV</b> (Epiphanes), B.C. 175-164 . . . . .	763	3
1168	<b>Antiochus V</b> (Eupator), B.C. 164-162 . . . . .	763	1
1169	<b>Demetrius I</b> (Soter), B.C. 162-150 . . . . .	764	1
1170	<b>Alexander I</b> (Bala), c. B.C. 150-145 . . . . .	764	1
1171	<b>Demetrius II</b> (Nicator), B.C. 146-140 . . . . .	766	1
1172	<b>Antiochus VI</b> (Dionysus), B.C. 145-142 . . . . .	766	1
1173	<b>Tryphon</b> (Diodotus), B.C. 142-139 . . . . .	767	1
1174	<b>Antiochus VII</b> (Sidetes), B.C. 138-129 . . . . .	767	1
1175	<b>Alexander II</b> (Zebina), B.C. 128-123 . . . . .	768	1
1176	<b>Cleopatra</b> , B.C. 125-121 . . . . .	769	1
1177-1179	<b>Antiochus VIII</b> (Grypus), B.C. 121-96 . . . . .	769	3
1180	<b>Demetrius III</b> (Philopator), B.C. 95-88 . . . . .	772	1
1181	<b>Tigranes I</b> , of Armenia (ruled Syria, B.C. 83-69) . . . . .	772	1
	<i>Thrace.</i>		
1182-1186	<b>Lysimachus</b> , B.C. 323-281 . . . . .	284	5
	<i>Individual Rulers, alphabetical.</i>		
	<b>Agathocles</b> , see Syracuse.		
	<b>Alexander</b> , see Pherae.		
1187	<b>Amastris</b> , of Paphlagonia, c. B.C. 300 . . . . .	505	1
	<b>Areus</b> , see Lacedaemon.		
1188, 1189	<b>Croesus</b> , of Lydia, time of, B.C. 561-546 . . . . .	646	2
	<b>Epaminondas</b> , see Thebes.		
	<b>Gelon</b> , see Syracuse.		
	<b>Getas</b> , see Edoni.		
	<b>Hieron II</b> , see Syracuse.		
	<b>Hiketas</b> , see Syracuse.		
1190	<b>Jugurtha</b> , of Numidia . . . . .	884	1
	<b>Julius Lacon</b> , see Lacedaemon.		
	<b>Mazaeus</b> , see Tarsus.		
1191, 1192	<b>Mithradates II</b> , of Parthia, B.C. 123-88 . . . . .	819	2
1193	<b>Pharnabazus</b> , satrap, c. B.C. 410 . . . . .	597	1
	<b>Philistis</b> , see Syracuse.		
1194	<b>Themistocles</b> (Struck at Magnesia), B.C. 465-449 . . . . .	581	1
	<b>Timoleon</b> , see Syracuse.		
1195	<b>Tissaphernes</b> , satrap, before B.C. 395 . . . . .	597	1

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1-2. ATHENS 11725.



3. BOSTON 98. 988.



4. LONDON.





1-2. WÜRZBURG, H 627.



3-4. GENEVA, DR. HIRSCH.

OINOCHOAI.







1-2. OXFORD, 1920. 106.



3-4. ATHENS, 2061.

OINOCHOAI.





1-2. WÜRZBURG, 163.

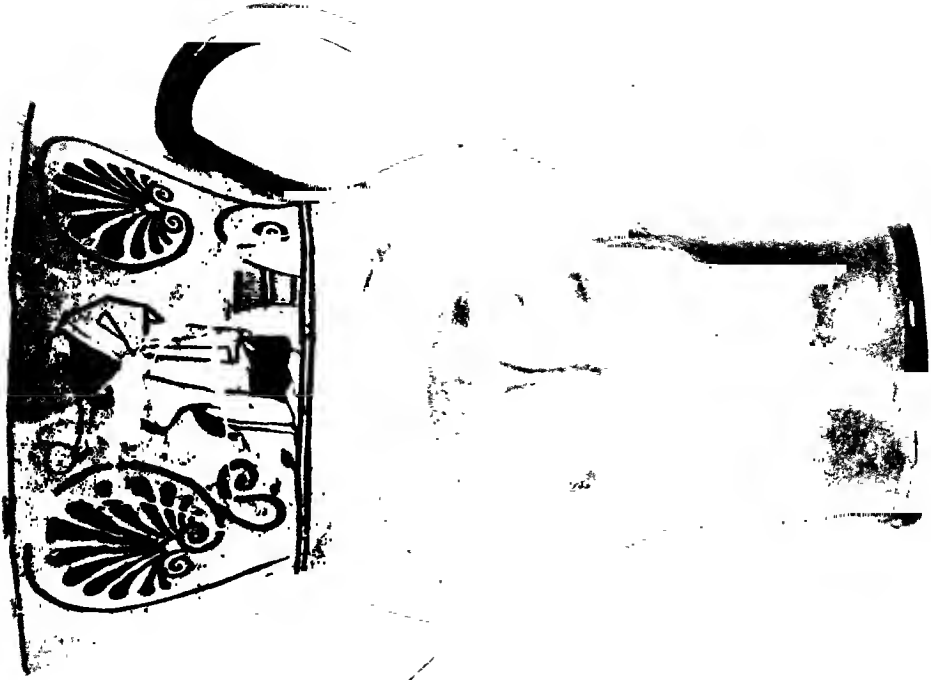


3. NEW YORK.

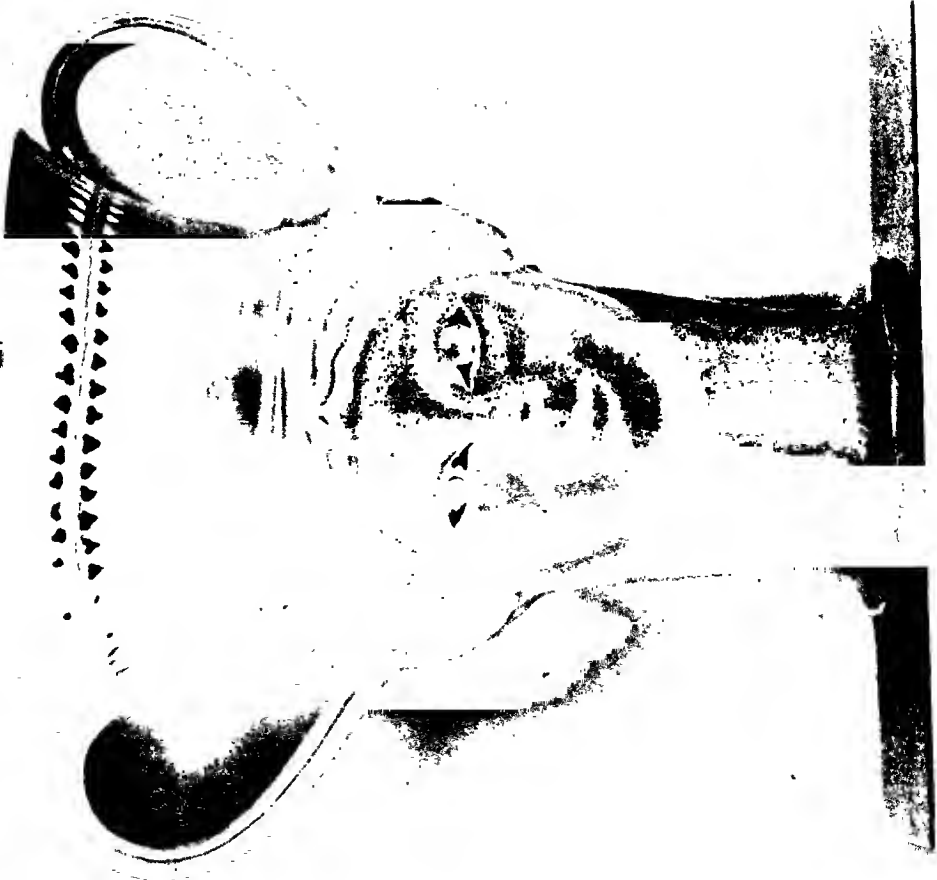


4. LONDON.





2. BOSTON.



1. BOSTON.

KANTHAROI.





1-2. LONDON, E 786.



3-4. YONDER WREYLAND, MR. TORR.

KANTHAROI.





## THE FIND FROM THE SEA OFF ARTEMISION

[PLATES VII, VIII.]

It is a well-known fact, of which proof in recent years has not seldom been forthcoming, that the sea, on the rare occasions on which it has revealed to us its archaeological secrets, has nearly always given us beautiful works, for the most part in bronze, far better preserved than the discoveries on dry land. That, however, it should one day have presented us with what is certainly one of the most perfect works of just the most obscure period of Greek art in the fifth century B.C., belonging to those years of the *Pentekontactia* from which we should have so much desired to have an original statue, was beyond even the most optimistic of hopes. Such is the principal find made in the sea off Artemision in Euboea in October 1928 (Pl. VII).

There is no doubt that we have before us the figure of a god. That is shown not merely by its height (*ca.* 2.10 m.), but also by the character and spirit incorporated in it. Its stance, the manner of its movement (a movement which has also at the same time an inner balance and poise), various details of the body and the hair—all show that it is a work belonging to about 460 B.C. It is easy for us to distinguish figures spiritually and stylistically analogous on other monuments of this period (*cf. e.g.* a Poseidon on an amphora at Würzburg: Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, xi. 1). Even if the preservation of the statue had been less good, and we had consequently been forced to content ourselves with merely following its outline or the execution of the hair and the beard or the modelling of the surfaces of its body, our satisfaction would have been unusually great. But fortunately the two arms with the hands are also preserved and give us as a whole a composition of exceptional beauty (see the reconstruction in the plaster cast, Fig. 1). And the crown of all, the head: the spirit of Olympia has not yet been extinguished, but we can now see that the Parthenon is not far distant.

The problems raised go hand in hand with the importance of the work. First, what god is represented? Both Zeus and Poseidon might have been represented in this manner; but I think that the slack position of the fingers of the right hand excludes the Thunderbolt and far rather indicates the Trident. I believe that this latter conclusion is also confirmed by the terracotta relief from Munich illustrated below (*cf.* also a later coin of Haliartos, *B.M.C. Central Greece*, Pl. VII, 16, which is perhaps not unrelated to our statue). From a formal view the work is not purely Attic, though its artist has surely not been untouched by the rays of the Attic spirit of those times. Those who first saw the statue discerned the close relationship which binds it to another work,

likewise not purely Attic, the 'Apollo on the Omphalos,' and the works belonging to that cycle (*e.g.* a head in the Louvre, *Arch. Jahrbuch*, 1926, p. 254, Fig. 8). May we hope that further study will succeed in determining more accurately the location of its studio and its school of art, as well as the personal part played by its artist—and possibly even his name?



FIG. 1.—FROM A PLASTER CAST.

There is no doubt that the work will have been, for its period, as it is for us, one of exceptional significance. It is therefore unlikely that it did not have some repercussion on its contemporaries and on the copyists of Roman times who knew the history of the art. Research may even bring to light copies of it. As far as I know up to the present, the most faithful reminiscence of the work has been preserved in a terracotta relief in the Glyptothek of Munich (No. 185; Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*<sup>2</sup>, p. 74 f., No. 62, here Fig. 2); it comes from Porcigliano in Italy, and forms one of a series of five reliefs, which

decorated the sunk panels of the ceiling of a Roman villa; these bear heads of gods and heroes and obviously reproduce statues of the same period as our Poseidon, probably also belonging to the same school of art as the 'Apollo on the Omphalos' (it is well known that a sunk panel of marble from the ceiling of the Serapeion of Miletus has preserved for us a good copy of the hand of the Philesian Apollo of Canachos). Similarly—as far as the photograph allows us to judge—it appears that a badly preserved bearded head in the Villa Albani at Rome (Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, 1109–1110) is fairly close to the Poseidon.



FIG. 2.—TERRACOTTA RELIEF IN MUNICH.

After the discovery of the Poseidon the position was searched further, and the objects which came to light were perhaps of less significance, though not less beautiful: an exquisite bronze horse of the severe style, and a youth, of a non-Hellenic type, a wonder of fresh conception, of the Hellenistic period (second half of the second century B.C.).

It may be that this is not the first occasion on which the sea off the northern shores of Euboea has given us bronze statues. The German traveller of the last century, K. G. Fiedler, when he visited the island of Sciathos in 1834, heard that 'vor einigen Jahren wurde eine bronzene Statue gefunden und in Syra an einen Engländer für 2000 spanische Taler verkauft' (*Reise durch alle Teile des Königreiches Griechenland*, 1841, Vol. II, p. 2). It is not impossible that the statue may not have been found in Sciathos, but by

fishermen off the opposite coast of Euboea, and that it was afterwards conveyed by them to Sciathos. The same thing happened to the left arm of our Poseidon, which three years ago was accidentally drawn up by fishermen of Sciathos and likewise conveyed to Sciathos. Perhaps a search among their antiquities by the authorities of the English Museums and private collectors might discover which is the statue spoken of by Fiedler.

CHR. KAROUZOS.

## HOMER'S USE OF THE PAST

OF the sources of Homer in the literary sense we can know nothing. There is no antecedent, no contemporary literature extant; and no analysis of later works will yield anything that can be proved to represent a literary tradition earlier than Homer. Archaeology, however, which has made the origins of Hellenic culture in some degree intelligible, has at least furnished a solid stage and a veritable background for the action of the *Iliad*. How much did Homer know of the past? A systematic examination of the archaeological data which the poems offer suggests that he knew a great deal; knew it with a precision which cannot be explained away as fortuitous, and about so remote a past that we must postulate a stream of tradition traceable much further back than the siege of Troy. For the purposes of this paper Homer means the author of the *Iliad* in substantially its present form, whose *floruit* the present writer would not put earlier than the ninth century, and the term is used, without prejudice, for the author of the *Odyssey* also. Eratosthenes' date of 1184 for the fall of Troy is assumed less because it came to be accepted as the standard date in antiquity than because it fits so well into what we know of the history of the Mediterranean world at that time.<sup>1</sup> As regards archaeological dating, though the chronology of Mycenae, the most important prehistoric site for the present purpose, is in some points the subject of controversy, the dates which are here used are fixed within narrow limits. Thus, whatever the history of the Shaft-graves, the bulk of their contents is generally held to date from the sixteenth century;<sup>2</sup> and after half a century of elucidation and the collection of much fresh evidence, this material still offers some of the best parallels to certain descriptions in the Homeric text. We must account as best we can for the fact that they are earlier by some 200 years than the earliest date proposed in antiquity for the fall of Troy, and at least 350 years earlier than that arrived at by Eratosthenes. The description of Nestor's cup in *Iliad* XI. 632-5 is now generally admitted to tally with the unique gold vessel from the Fourth Shaft-grave at Mycenae, which is itself an elaboration of the typical Middle Minoan mug.<sup>3</sup> The form is unknown in Hellenic Greece, and was a puzzle to the Alexandrian commentators.

Reichel's identification of the boar's tusk helmet of *Iliad* X. with the type worn by the ivory heads of Mycenae. Spata and Enkomi is also accepted. As slices of prepared tusk have been found in a number of Mycenaean tombs<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Klio*, xiv.: = Myres and Frost, *The Historical Background of the Trojan War*.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Arthur Evans now brings down the lower limit of the period to 1450, *The Shaft Graves of Mycenae*, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Bossert, *Altgriech.*, p. 202.

<sup>4</sup> At Mycenae (shaft-grave and chamber-tomb), Asine, Dendra, Kakovatos, Spata,

Menidhu, Dhuni. They have occurred once only in Crete, in a tomb at Zafer Papoura (Evans, *Prch. Tombs of Knossos*, p. 67) and may therefore be regarded as belonging to the mainland culture. For illustrations see Reichel, *Homrische Waffen*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 103-5, and Bossert, *Altgriech.*, p. 169.

on the mainland, but nowhere at any later period, we have again an accurate description in the poems of an object which, first found in the Shaft-graves, ceased to exist after 1100 B.C. or thereabouts.

The most elaborately described work of art in Homer, the shield of Achilles, is strongly reminiscent of the great age of Crete. Its technique finds a precise parallel in the art of the inlaid dagger blades, which even if they were made at Mycenae are certainly a product of Minoan art. The lion-hunt dagger blade exhibits a complex composition on a tiny scale. Figures of gold and silver, outlined by a delicate thread of black niello, are let into a field of bronze; parts of a blackish colour are believed to consist of an alloy of copper and silver. Gold, silver and black are the principal colours of the shield of Achilles. All three are combined in the representation of the vineyard of gold with its poles of silver and black grape-bunches; the earth of the fallow field is black where it is turned, and the young men in the dance have gold daggers hanging on silver straps. This exquisite art appears for a short time only in the Aegean world. It was copied in contemporary Egypt; the tomb of Aahotep, mother of Aahmes, who expelled the Hyksos and reigned from 1580-1557, contained an inlaid axe-head and dagger blade, both of which show a close dependence on Minoan models. Nothing similar is known at any later date in Egypt, and at Mycenae a single cup with a row of monotonous and somewhat clumsily inlaid bearded heads<sup>5</sup> found in a tomb later than the Shaft-graves, but ascribed to the same century, already suggests the incipient degeneration of the art.<sup>6</sup> Granting that it might continue to the end of the fifteenth century, for which period our evidence is scanty on the mainland, the general decline of craftsmanship which characterises the fourteenth century both on the mainland and in Crete seems to preclude its further survival.

The simile in the *Odyssey* (3 234 = ψ 159) which compares Athena's transformation of Odysseus to the work of a craftsman who χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ would seem also to allude to this art; it might almost be the echo of a compliment devised by a Minoan bard to please a golden-haired, fair-skinned Achaean employer.

It has often been remarked that there is nothing specifically Greek about Achilles' shield except the names of Athene and Ares, but there is a good deal that is Minoan.

<sup>5</sup> Bossert, *Altcrete*, p. 205. It is possible that the epithet ἀμφίθερος (Ψ. 270 and 616) also describes a cup of this type. See Bechtel, *Lexilogus Zu Homer*, sub voc.

<sup>6</sup> There are isolated examples from the Vaphio tomb (sixteenth century) and (with no dating material) from Melos and Thera. See *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, pp. 63 ff.; Tsountas-Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, p. 200. The example recently found by the Swedes at Dendra is still unpublished; see Mr. Wace's article in *The Times* of Sept. 10th, 1926. The earliest known example of the technique is afforded by the three ἀρπαι found in the tombs of the kings

of Byblos, on which hieroglyphs of gold are let into a layer of niello. (See Montet, *L'Art Phénicien au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle avant J.C.*, *Mon. Piot*, xxvii., Pl. I. 1, pp. 3, 4, 5, Figs. 1, 2, 3.) These weapons are dated to the Twelfth Dynasty by the associated Egyptian objects. Vases of Cretan type show that Byblos was also in contact with the Aegean. To the Egyptian examples quoted above may be added the socket-ring of the spear of King Kames, dating from the first decade of the sixteenth century, which has a design of lilies inlaid in gold. See Evans, *The Shaft Graves of Mycenae*, p. 38, Fig. 30.

It is worth while to mention the sun and moon, now that they are illustrated not only by the Goddess ring from Mycenae <sup>7</sup> but also on the Demon ring from the hoard recently discovered at Tiryns <sup>8</sup> (Fig. 1) and the votive bronze tablet from the cave of Psychro.<sup>9</sup> On the tablet we have, further, a fish and a bird, which might be taken to typify sea and air; on the Goddess ring a being whom the Greeks would naturally have called Demeter, Kore or Ge. How these first items in the decoration of the shield were supposed to be portrayed we have no hint, but, variously represented or symbolised, they seem to have been a recurrent theme in Minoan art.

The beleaguered city apparently finds an analogy at Knossos, in a series of fragmentary faience inlays of M.M. date which probably formed the decoration of an inlaid chest.<sup>10</sup> The central part represents the towers and houses of a fortified town; on the more fragmentary are found trees and water, goats and oxen, marching warriors. The same theme is found in a more perfect



FIG. 1.—THE 'DEMON RING' FROM TIRYNS.



FIG. 2.—LION DRAGGING DOWN A BULL; OXFORD.

though still fragmentary form on the well-known silver vase from the Fourth Shaft-grave. Like all the finer objects from the Shaft-graves, the siege vase is a product of Minoan art.

For the dance of young men and maidens on the shield we have no parallel either at Mycenae or in Crete; but the poet's comparison of it to that which Daedalus wrought for Ariadne was surely no random shot, and though the chitons of the young men belong to the mainland, they are not therefore late, for the completely Minoan Siege Vase provides an example. A better acquaintance with Cretan art would probably furnish parallels to other subjects in the shield, but we have to depend largely on seals or their impressions, which admit only of very simplified scenes. Among these the lion pulling down his prey<sup>11</sup> is a favourite theme, and the victim is sometimes a bull, which brings part at least of another scene on the shield (ll. 579-90) within the sphere of Minoan-Mycenaean art (Fig. 2). The capacity to produce extensive and complicated compositions on a small scale and the practice of representing landscape are

<sup>7</sup> *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 108.

<sup>8</sup> *Parartema, Eph. Arch.*, 1916; *Arch. Anz.*, 1916, p. 147.

<sup>9</sup> Evans, *P. of M.*, I. p. 632, Fig. 470.

<sup>10</sup> Evans, *P. of M.*, I. pp. 301 ff., Fig. 228.

<sup>11</sup> Bossert, *Alt-kreta*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 176, 229a, 235b.



postulated by the shield and exhibited in such works of art as the faience inlays, the Vaphio cups, the Siege vase, one or two of the Shaft-grave dagger blades, and some Cretan vases, of steatite, but certainly imitations of metal-work.

One of the most remarkable properties of the shield is that it can be and has been rendered graphically. That it has been adapted to the round shield of Hellas and to both varieties of the Mycenaean shield is true but irrelevant. The point is that the description bears some kind of relation to a space to be filled. We have only to compare Virgil's *clipei non enarrabile textum* to feel the difference. Some of the Roman poet's subjects were doubtless suggested to him by works of art, but they are not and could not be combined into a consistent whole capable of being rendered in metal on a limited space. The shield of Achilles is quite different. If we assume the convention of the continuous narrative style as we find it, *e.g.* on one of the Vaphio cups, according to which the same actors are repeated in fresh situations, then every scene can be rendered pictorially; in many of them—the dance, the vineyard, the ploughing—the pictorial qualities are insisted on. What we have is for the most part not the observation of life, but the observation, expert and appreciative, of art. Of course it is not possible to say how much of the material is traditional, though the absence of mythological scenes, the general agreement with the naturalistic tendencies of the best period of Minoan art, and the repeated insistence on just those colours and materials which were used by the craftsman of the dagger blades incline one to think that very much of it is. The point is the tact and restraint which lead the poet so to restrict his material as to leave us with a credible, visualisable work of art. Neither the author of the Hesiodic *Scutum* nor Virgil himself is capable of this. Still, it is hardly to be thought that we have here an actual Minoan or Mycenaean description of a Minoan work of art come down by the hazard of poetical tradition. By poetical tradition it has surely come, but as a great commonplace, an often-handled theme, or rather one whose scenes were chosen from a repertory partially controlled by a still strong convention, but receiving additions while preserving much ancient material. If we attempt any division into ancient and later material, we are obviously on extremely speculative ground; but one may hazard the guess that the famous trial-scene, for which no parallel has been found in the representative art of any period, is the original work of Homer himself.

The Ker on the battle-field may be a figure of Homer's own day; she has at any rate no counterpart in Minoan or Mycenaean art. She may equally well be a later borrowing from the Hesiodic school, which likes this sort of monster; her blood-bedabbled raiment is described by a colour adjective, *δαφνειός*, which is not linked with a material, and this is exceptional.<sup>12</sup> When we turn to the Hesiodic poem, we find that the controlling tradition has broken down, and that while ancient material is still preserved, scenes of quite a new

<sup>12</sup> No material is associated with the black of the grape-bunches, but the daggers show that niello was used to give a black outline.

*Κυάνεος* (564) presumably indicates the material, though it does not occur on the daggers.

type are freely admitted. φοινικόεις and χλωρός have been added to the colour words. χλωρός is applied to adamant, an improbable ingredient, and φοινικόεις is surely derived from dye. Turning to the themes, we find five which are common to the two poems—the beleaguered city, the marriage scene from the city in peace, ploughing, reaping, vintage—but their treatment is in the main independent. The figure of the venerated βασιλεύς has, in the true spirit of Hesiod, been removed from the harvest-field, and in the marriage scene a curious local touch has been embodied: the bride is conveyed to her new home seated on a cart as we see her on certain fifth-century Attic and Boeotian vases.<sup>13</sup> The poet is not following tradition, but has gone back to life to vivify his imagery. On the other hand, mythology is now laid under contribution, and some of the subjects could be admirably rendered in the forms of seventh- or early sixth-century art, which cannot be done with any of the Homeric scenes. The description of the combat of Lapiths and Centaurs is perhaps a trifle earlier than any representation extant; but it presents the scheme of the earliest vase-paintings, where the combatants fight in ranks and not in pairs. The episode of Perseus and the Gorgons, foreign to Homer, and in all probability an eighth- or seventh-century invention, is illustrated with great vigour by seventh-century Attic vase-painters,<sup>14</sup> and recorded by Pausanias as occurring both on the throne of Bathykles at Amyklai and the chest of Cypselus at Olympia. (III. 18. 11, V. 18. 5.) The hare hunt, too, is a favourite motive on seventh-century vases and apparently new in art, though we should not forget that it occurs in a simile in the tenth book of the *Iliad*. In Hesiodic hands the Minoan repertory seems to be going the way of Sir John Cutler's silk stockings; yet the Shield of Herakles has preserved a fragment for which no place was found in the Shield of Achilles. The harbour in which dolphins pursue the smaller fry, while a man stands on the bank ready to make a cast with a net, strikes a note of freshness and reality in that world of unpleasant spectres and goblins which appears to be the Hesiodic poet's own. In the Dolphin fresco of the Queen's Megaron at Cnossos the naturalistic art of Crete supplies a parallel, so far as the dolphins and fish are concerned.<sup>15</sup> Though the motive is not found in the Shield of Achilles, it does occur in the *Iliad*, in a simile at the beginning of the twenty-first book (II. 22-24), where Achilles is pursuing the Trojans in the river. Did the Hesiodic poet turn to a Homeric simile to find a fresh scene for his shield? It seems unlikely; when he wanted one he sought it in the mythology or daemonology of his own day. Moreover, the man with the casting net does not appear in Homer. The Hesiodic passage is a late-strayed waif of the Minoan repertory, and the rhapsodist of the first century B.C. who tacked it on to his papyrus copy of the Shield of Achilles was not so far out after all. One more such waif we may suspect in the couplet which Athenaeus<sup>16</sup> quotes from the second book of the *Titanomachia*. Most people at any rate will accept the acute verdict of Welcker that the lines come from the descrip-

<sup>13</sup> v. *J.H.S.* xxiii, pp. 133 and 137.

<sup>14</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Pl. IX.; *Ant. Denkm.* i. 57.

<sup>15</sup> Bossert, *Attkreta* 2, p. 41, partially *Palace of Minos*, I. p. 542.

<sup>16</sup> 277 D. Kinkel, *Ep. Gr. Fr.*, p. 7.

tion of a shield. They tell how scaly (or 'mute') fish, golden-eyed, swim merrily through the ambrosial water, and the marine subject points again to Minoan art.<sup>17</sup> The description of Achilles' armour in a chorus of the *Electra*<sup>18</sup> of Euripides may well be derived in part from a late stage of the epic repertory. His shield has Perseus and the Gorgons in common with the Shield of Herakles, the sun and stars in common with that of Achilles; the Chimaera is Homeric, though not as a motive in art. But one touch, if traditional, takes us back to very early times. The sword of Achilles is inlaid or engraved with a design of racing chariots, and though we have a fair series of ancient swords, we know of none with comparable decoration save the daggers of the Shaft-graves. Blades with a spiral design and a hilt with a figure subject were found in the Chieftain's grave at Zafer Papoura, but even this is still considerably earlier than the end of the Minoan Age. Later blades from the Greek world are without exception plain.

The scenes of the shield have often been compared to the similes which are so frequent an ornament of the poems, and the similes in their turn to the miniature art of Crete. There would indeed appear to be a close and deep though obscure connexion between this art and certain Homeric similes. The fact that the Shield of Herakles offers as a scene a motive which the *Iliad* uses as a simile has already been noted; and part at least of it finds a prototype in Cretan art. Another simile of the *Iliad*, brief and unemphasised, recalls yet another product of sixteenth-century art. In Book XIII (571-2) the transfixed victim of Meriones, following the spear, struggled like the bull which herdsmen in the mountains bind and lead off sore against his will. The lines read like a description of the bull of the Vaphio cup, an indignant captive amid the rugged scenery of Crete. Again, the Besieged City figures in a simile, almost the only one in the *Iliad* drawn from war.<sup>19</sup>

The typical Homeric simile with its detailed descriptions of features that do not enter into the comparison has often a very marked pictorial quality. This now universal poetic ornament is not the simple device on which any literature might hit independently. Simile in a simple form may be universal, though it is remarkable how few there are in European poetry which is independent of classical models. The *Beowulf* and the *Chanson de Roland* allow themselves only one apiece, and that of the most obvious sort. The Homeric simile finds its way into European literature solely through Dante,<sup>20</sup> who, of course, takes it from Virgil, as Virgil took it from his predecessors. Here as so often the Greek mind evolved a simple-seeming form, which, if it has not been in absolutely continuous use ever since, has never been long forgotten and whose capacity to yield fresh delight does not yet seem to be exhausted. For us the mind is Greek; but was the originator Greek after all? At any rate the Homeric simile was the creation not of Homer, but of his predecessors; it is evident that many of the similes in Homer are worn

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the inlaid work, presumably from a dagger, representing flying-fish and swimmers, Marinatos, *Essays in Aeg. Arch.*, pp. 63 ff.

<sup>18</sup> 452-478.

<sup>19</sup> Σ 207 ff.

<sup>20</sup> See W. P. Ker, *Essays on Mediaeval Literature*, pp. 32 ff.

currency that has felt the handling of generations, and others which do not lack freshness are admitted not quite to fit their place. This last type is much concerned with animals, and very predominantly with lions, deer, bulls, cows and boars.

The lions have often been praised for their vividness and truth to nature, and so far as I am aware only one writer, Miss Agnes Clerke, has called attention to the curious fact that they are dumb; Homer has not a word to say about the lion's roar. This is remarkable in the case of a poet so sensitive to sound and possessed of such a large and finely differentiated vocabulary regarding it; put his sound words alongside of his colour words and there is no question in which his interest is greater. His bulls bellow and his goats bleat; yet his lions, although they attain to being perhaps rather perfunctorily tawny, remain voiceless; they become βαρύφθογγοι only in the Hymn to Aphrodite, at a date when the Aegean has re-established contact with the East. We are not told by Homer of any single hero who has taken part in a lion hunt; only nameless βουκόλοι suffer their depredations or keep them at bay with firebrands. The most plausible explanation of these facts is that offered by Sir A. Evans to account for the representation of lions on Early Minoan seal stones in Crete. The lion similes in Homer are not derived from nature, but from works of art, of which the supreme example that remains to us is the Lion Hunt dagger blade.



FIG. 3.—BOAR HUNT; PELOPONNESE.

This solution would remove one of the rare blots on Homer's natural history;<sup>21</sup> the simile of the hungry lion who perturbed the Alexandrians by its joy at finding a carcass is pardonable if it was derived from a representation of a lion disturbed at the meal which in the artist's intention he had killed for himself. Not only the lion, whether by himself or engaged with his prey, is a subject favoured by Minoan and Mycenaean artists. The bull and the deer are common subjects; and the boar hunt has a long life in this art, occurring in a simple form on a M.M. II. dagger blade from Crete,<sup>22</sup> and several centuries later as a great composition among the frescoes which decorated the walls of the later palace at Tiryns.<sup>23</sup> Of course the bull and the boar are not quite on the same footing as the lion. Homer had personal knowledge of both, and Odysseus actually took part in a boar hunt. But for the chance correspondence of the bull simile with the Vaphio cup, we should have no reason to suspect a parallelism between similes involving these animals and representative art. The

<sup>21</sup> If indeed it is a blot. I have seen in print a denial of the alleged fact by a big-game hunter, but unfortunately cannot recover the reference.

<sup>22</sup> *Palace of Minos*, I. p. 718, Fig. 541a. Cf. the LM. gem from Peloponnese, Bossert, *Altikreta*<sup>2</sup>, p. 234, Fig. 325a; here Fig. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, II. Pl. XIII.

parallelism, however, once granted, may help to explain the peculiar form of the Homeric simile. This unique ornament coexists in the epic with ornaments of a different but kindred sort, viz. descriptions of works of fine craftsmanship, descriptions not imaginary or extravagant, but checked and controlled at the time of their origin by a knowledge of concrete prototypes. This would be no surprising feature in the poetry of a people who could produce the works of art, and it might beget a preference for similes which were also pictures complete and finished. The study of these literary models in succeeding generations would help to develop that gift for clear, strong, and precise description which is as marked in Homer as his mastery of the art of narrative. Homer, it is hardly necessary to say, whatever he took over from his predecessors, had no need to go to works of art for his own similes. The lions and deer, the bulls and boars, are relegated to the fighting scenes over which he relaxes his mind, which his audience expected of him, which he did admirably, and no doubt enjoyed; relegated as on seventh-century vases the string of conventional animals which once formed the principal ornament is pushed up on to the shoulder or down towards the foot of the vase into inconspicuous retirement, yielding the main field to human actors. Those Homeric similes which recur spontaneously to the memory are mostly taken from life and are dramatic rather than pictorial in interest. We can see the female spectators of the wedding procession on the Shield inserted in the neat Minoan architecture of some town mosaic or vase of steatite or inlaid metal; but the ladies who rush out into the middle of the road to prosecute a quarrel adequately were observed from life. The donkey with difficulty belaboured out of the standing crop, the child trampling on his sand-castles, the little girl tugging at her mother's gown—these were never subjects of Minoan art. So, too, the Trial-scene, representing a legal procedure not resorted to by the heroes themselves in cases of homicide, may well be derived from Homer's own observation.

The Homeric poems stand at the culmination of a long period. The mass of heroic material which underlies them has evidently undergone some systematising process, especially from the point of view of chronology; the hexameter conforms to a number of subtle prescriptions; the ornament is governed by a strict convention and shows a remarkable acquaintance with a distant past. Homer's predecessors as well as himself must have been men of a very definite culture, handing on some part at least of a great tradition and jealously preserving it from certain forms of contemporary contamination. The earliest element that we can trace in it is the impression which the brilliant civilisation of the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries produced on the minds of contemporary poets. The sudden flowering of Minoan culture—whether as the result of conquest or conversion—on the rocky knob of Mycenae is for us something of a mystery, and to the contemporary inhabitants of the Argolid must have seemed almost a miracle: it did not afterwards fade from memory. The great cycles of myths spring, as Professor Nilsson has lately reminded us, from the great centres of Mycenaean culture; on the whole, the richer the site archaeologically, the more luxuriant is the crop of myth. The heroic poetry of Greece must, it would seem, have had its origin on the Greek mainland. After the migrations

some regions on the Asiatic side must have favoured the unbroken continuance of the tradition; did not an Agamemnon reign at Cyme as late as the seventh century, a Hector in Chios and an Aegisthus in Cyprus? Only when literature returns with Hesiod to the Western side is the memory of the past really dimmed and troubled. The school of the Boeotian farmer had never received the sincere milk of the word: they knew Homer more or less, but they could not write Homeric hexameters; Homeric culture is for them a thing as remote and mythical as the good βασιλεύς, and a work of art is a portent to be gaped at. The scenes of the shield of Herakles are presented in a muddled sequence, and are not clearly separated; the shield itself has the property of making mysterious and alarming noises. Pandora's crown in the Theogony is no better; it is a Noah's ark of all the κνώδαλα nurtured by the earth. We have no example of such unreality in the Homeric poems; the description of the telamon of Herakles, in a part of the *Odyssey* which not even the most ardent unitarian claims for Homer, perhaps comes nearest to it. Boars and lions, mellays, battles, murders and slayings of men in irrational juxtaposition are to be found in the earliest Hellenic, or at least in Geometric art, and perhaps justify the poet's aspiration that the artist may never make another such work. Incidentally, the passage contains the only Homeric allusion to bears other than celestial; and bears are also lacking in the repertory of Minoan and Mycenaean art.

There is another set of allusions, not strictly speaking archaeological, which seem to give a glimpse into the Minoan world. Of the fairly numerous Homeric references to Egypt two contain indications of a date. Once in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey* the Egyptian Thebes is described as a place of exceptional wealth, and the passage in the *Iliad* also ascribes to it exceptional military strength. The passage in the *Odyssey* records the entertainment of Menelaus and Helen by the king of Egypt and his wife, from whom they receive magnificent gifts. The great age of Thebes begins in the sixteenth century, and in a tomb painting of the fifteenth we find an unmistakable representation of Cretans, visiting the great capital on a friendly footing, though as the bearers, not the recipients, of gifts,<sup>24</sup> gifts which in several cases bear the closest resemblance to Minoan works of art. Early in the fourteenth century Akhenaton, as is well known, transferred the court elsewhere, and though his successors returned to Thebes the place did not regain its former importance. Ramses II, whose reign covers the greater part of the thirteenth century, finally abandoned it as the royal residence. Moreover, in this same century Egypt suffered severely from the sea-raids of the Northerners, and it is not conceivable that princes from the Northern Sea would be allowed in such circumstances to penetrate as far as Thebes. It looks, therefore, as if the references to Thebes must be derived from the fifteenth century. Of the later period we have a vivid picture in the

<sup>24</sup> This is the unnamed group from the tomb of Senmut (*B.S.A.* xvi., frontispiece). Even if the Keftiu are not the Minoans whom they so closely resemble, they still testify that Egypt was accessible to visitors:

and Egyptian tombs of the fifteenth century have yielded pottery, perhaps rather Mycenaean than Minoan, which bears witness to relations with the Aegean.

false yarn of Odysseus, where he appears as the soldier of fortune, the good man of his hands who did not like work, made prisoner in the course of a badly handled raid on Egypt, but capturing the favour of the Egyptian king. So, in Egyptian representations of the thirteenth and early twelfth centuries, we find another group of Northerners, the Shardana, in the double character of mercenaries in the service of Egypt and assailants of her territory. Homer could draw on a twelfth- as well as a fifteenth-century tradition, and also apparently on that of the dark interval between the Mycenaean age and the rediscovery of Egypt by the Greeks—or why should Nestor (γ 321) think that it would take a year for a bird to get to Pylos from the east end of the Mediterranean?

Knowledge of Egypt could be transmitted only by tradition, presumably poetical tradition; and this supports the view put forward above that Homer's knowledge of Minoan-Mycenaean art was derived from the same source. It is possible, in fact probable, that treasures of the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries survived down to the sack of Mycenae; we know that the users of the rock-cut chamber tombs in the later period were in the habit of removing for another spell of life above ground valuable objects deposited at earlier interments. We must wait for the Swedish publication of the Dendra tomb, dated by the pottery to the middle of the fourteenth century at earliest, to know whether the inlaid and the gold cup and other valuables of fine workmanship from the two unviolated pits were heir-looms, or the product of an art preserved perhaps in the hands of a few artist-families and stereotyped in the forms in which it had been transplanted from its Cretan home. In any case the Dendra tomb shows that we must reckon with the existence of *chefs-d'œuvre* in the fourteenth century, and presumably to the close of the Mycenaean age; but that any such survived the period of impoverishment and disintegration which succeeded is highly improbable, nor does the continuity observable in the ceramic tradition avail to support this view.

The mixed type of armature depicted in the poems appears to embody elements earlier than the events described.<sup>25</sup> The survival in them of some traces of the Mycenaean body-shield and the tactics connected with it is generally accepted. It is less generally realised that our evidence for the use of this armature on the mainland<sup>26</sup> comes almost entirely from the sixteenth century, and again chiefly from the Shaft-graves. Leaving out of account cases where the shield appears as a decorative or religious motive, as it does on the frieze of the palace at Tiryns, there are some seven or eight representations of its use

<sup>25</sup> The subject of defensive armour in Homer has been treated in greater detail by the present writer in *Liverpool Annals*, 1928.

<sup>26</sup> Crete appears to be (in the Minoan Age) the home of the body-shield in both its forms, and here its use later than 1400 is attested by monuments. A gem from Crete representing a duel with the old armature (Furtwängler and Loeschke, *Myk. Vaseu, Textb.* Pl. E 30) belongs to the L.M. III. period, and another found by Mr.

Forsdyke in a cemetery of Knossos in 1927 to the very end of that period (*B.S.A.* xxviii. Pl. XIX. vii b. 5). It is, of course, possible that the Cretans carried their big shields to Miletus and that they lingered there till supplanted by the Ionian panoply in the seventh century. The ring from Boeotia now in the Ashmolean (*J.H.S.* xlv. p. 26, fig. 30) is ascribed to the L.M. III. period.

by ordinary human beings, and there is no instance during this period, or during the fifteenth century, of any other type of equipment in Greece. But at some point in the Late Mycenaean period, and not quite at the end of it, hardly earlier than 1250 or later than 1150, we have the famous Warrior Vase, with the corroborative evidence of the less well-preserved Warrior Stele.

Here a new type of armature appears, of which the characteristic feature is a small shield, which is seen in one instance to have a hand-grip; whether it also has an arm-loop or is carried on a baldric cannot be determined, but the position of the hand-grip suggests the former alternative. Other fragments of Late Mycenaean ware exhibit a warrior with a small round shield and another with a strange stiff garment which also suggests some kind of thorex (Fig. 4).<sup>27</sup> On a sherd of the sub-Mycenaean period from Tiryns<sup>28</sup> we have two barbaric figures armed with very small round shields which have hand-grips but neither baldrics nor arm-loops. The evidence is scanty, but for the mainland it is uniform. If we turn to other parts of the Mediterranean world, we find that in the thirteenth century and round about 1200 a similar though not identical armature was current. The Shardana mercenaries of Ramses II have round shields with arm-loop and hand-grip, and with bosses which recall the shield symbol of the Phaistos disk.<sup>29</sup> As the disk goes back to the M.M. period, the small round shield is presumably very ancient in S.W. Anatolia, and in the warfare which affects so large a part of the Eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth and early twelfth centuries it becomes the standard type. It is also illustrated on an ivory mirror handle<sup>30</sup> from the Late Minoan site of Enkomi in Cyprus, found in a tomb whose date is about 1200 B.C., and on the reliefs of the temple erected by Ramses III at Medinet Habu to commemorate his campaigns and among them the repulse about the year 1194 of the great mixed host that sought to invade Egypt by way of the Palestinian coast. Here the round shield is carried by Pulesati or Philistines and Tsakkara,<sup>31</sup> whom there is good reason to connect with Lycia and with Crete; they generally wield it by a single hand-grip, and sometimes carry it slung behind by a baldric like the griffin-slayer on the mirror handle. There is another point of similarity with this latter. A corslet of peculiar type is worn by the figure on the mirror handle, by some of the Pulesati and Tsakkara, and more regularly by the Shardana; it is short, stopping at the



FIG. 4.—SHERD FROM MYCENAE.

<sup>27</sup> *Eph. Arch.* 1891, Pl. III. 2. Possibly a type of Semitic origin to which further reference will be made below.

<sup>28</sup> Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 132.

<sup>29</sup> Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos*<sup>2</sup>, p. 324.

W. Max Muller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 374.

<sup>30</sup> *Excavations in Cyprus*, Pl. II.

<sup>31</sup> W. Max Muller, *op. cit.*, pp. 364-5. Hall, *Civilisation of Greece in the Bronze Age*, pp. 241-2.



waist, where it is secured by a belt, and it is formed of parallel strips, sometimes horizontal, sometimes rising into points on the chest. It has been aptly described as a lobster corslet.

Yet another type of corslet is known from this end of the Mediterranean, where it had been in use among the Semites for some considerable time. It consists of a short-sleeved leather shirt, completely covered by bronze scales, and was adopted by the Egyptian kings of the XIXth dynasty and the officers of their army. It is worn by a king who drives a hunting on an ivory draught-box from Enkomi, and may possibly be represented by the stiff shirt-like garment alluded to above. (See Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres*, pp. 96-8.)

We have thus a respectable body of evidence for the prevalence of the small shield equipment at the date of the siege of Troy in the Peloponnese, Cyprus, parts of Asia Minor and perhaps Crete: the inference appears irresistible that it was the dominant if not the only type used by the actual combatants on the Trojan plain. If this is so, Homer's tradition of the body-shield must be derived from still earlier times, in fact from the centuries which supplied him with the description of Achilles' Shield and of Nestor's Cup; while the small shield and the corslet, so long as it is not definitely described as a plate-corslet of metal, may well have been already established in the heroic poetry of the twelfth century.

The formal arming scenes in Homer offer several points of interest. The arming of Odysseus for the last act in the *Mnestero-phonia* gives us without alteration or blur the preparation of the Minoan warrior for the fight. He put his fourfold shield about his shoulders and set on his mighty head a helmet with horse-hair crest. The word for shield is *σάκος*, which is in the main appropriated to the body shield, and Odysseus assumes it before his helmet because of the difficulty of passing the telamon of a monstrous shield over a tall plumed helmet: this order is preserved throughout the more elaborate arming scenes into which greaves and corslet have been introduced. Though the presence of the corslet implies a small shield, the order may still be true to fact if it was common for such a shield to have a telamon. Our monuments (*e.g.* the Enkomi mirror-handle) suggest that it was: and Agamemnon's shield is expressly stated to have had one. The shields of Paris, Patroklos, and Achilles are still called *σάκος*, but this is probably a matter of tradition. Paris and Patroklos fling them round their shoulders as they do their swords: this clearly betokens the telamon. Achilles *ἔλατο*, 'grasped' his as he does his spear, which indicates a hand-grip, and as the shield itself is compared to the moon, it is to be supposed that the poet thought of it as round. The most elaborate arming-scheme, that of Agamemnon, contains many peculiarities; but for the moment it is enough to note that for the first time the shield is called *ἀσπίς* and the verb is *ἔνδ' ἔλατο*. The noun is now the word which survives in ordinary Greek prose, and the verb unmistakably means to pick up. Whatever archaic epithets cling to this singular shield, it is at least no body-shield. The order of the arming, as already noted, is unchanged. Zenodotus knew of a variant rendering of the arming of Paris which makes the hero assume his helmet before he flings his

shield round his shoulders; but a scholion doubtless derived from Aristarchus notes the impropriety. Herakles in the Hesiodic poem set his helmet on his head and then took his shield with his hands (χερσί γε μὴν σάκος εἴλε παναίολον); further, his sword is of iron. The break with Homeric tradition is definite; σάκος or ἄσπίς, it is Herakles the hoplite who arms.

To return to the armour of Agamemnon; he has a singular corslet, sent him by Kinyras from Cyprus. The allusion probably records relations which really existed. The king of, say, Enkomi, whose late Minoan culture links it to the Aegean world, might well be asked to support Greece against Troy; and it is not surprising that when a vast host, including, possibly, a contingent from Ilium, was threatening an invasion of Egypt by way of Syria, a Cypriot king should have confined himself to good wishes whether sincere or not. Kinyras, who left a priestly family behind him, is probably a real person; the corslet also seems to have a foundation in fact. The οἶμοι or strips of which it is composed (the word is unique in Homer) find an illustration in the horizontal strips of the lobster corslet which we have found to be worn by Pulesati, Tsakkara and Shardana and by the griffin-slayer of Enkomi. Agamemnon's corslet shares with these the peculiarity of unusual shortness. The normal Homeric corslet is more than once described as covering γαστέρα μέσσην: lower down comes the ζωστήρ which protects the νειαίρην γαστέρα. But when a little further on in Book XI (234) Iphidamas attacks Agamemnon, he hits him on the waist below the corslet, κατὰ ζώνην θώρηκος ἔνερθε, and the blow encounters the ζωστήρ. The griffin-slayer and some of the Pulesati wear round the waist a belt which covers the lower edge of the short corslet, and no doubt extends a little below it. Agamemnon's corslet and belt agree with this type.

His shield is no less peculiar. There is nothing Minoan about it: its best prototypes are to be found in that mixed Orientalising art which arises, as is commonly believed, in the ninth century, whose head-quarters are generally supposed to be in Cyprus or on the Syrian coast, and whose products, in the form of metal bowls, are found in Nimrud, Cyprus, Crete, Greece and Italy. Closely allied to these are the partly contemporary Idaean shields from Crete. These are doubtless of Cretan manufacture, for one of them represents Zeus and the Kouretes, but their style is merely a dialect of that of the bowls. The most striking peculiarity of the shields is the central ornament which most of them possess—an animal or the head of one beaten out from the back, in one piece with the shield itself and projecting boldly from its surface. Round this the rest of the decoration is sometimes disposed in concentric zones of guilloche or of bosses, alternating with lines of running or walking animals; but this arrangement is tending to break up, and larger figures surrounding the central boss invade a great part of the field. The Snake shield with its great central eagle in relief, and its still surviving zones of rosettes and small bosses, is a good illustration of the conflict of systems.<sup>32</sup> Agamemnon's shield with its central boss of the Gorgon's head seems to belong to this type; it is perhaps just

<sup>32</sup> Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, pp. 79, 80.  
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worth noting that there is reason to think that the Gorgoneion originates among the Hittites, and that this mixed art includes Hittite as well as Egyptian and Assyrian elements. What Deimos and Phobos are is uncertain : if the preposition were ἀμφί, one might think of a pair of Assyrian demons flanking the Gorgoneion as the Kouretes in purely Assyrian form flank Zeus on the Zeus shield. But περί suggests something which goes right round the shield; and Professor Myres' suggestion that the nouns are collectives is attractive. They would then designate a zone of little apotropaic masks which might take the place of the rosette zone on the Snake shield. It will be noted that Agamemnon's shield is, like his corslet, partly composed of cyanus, an article produced in Cyprus, and that a snake common in archaic Cypriot art appears not indeed on the shield itself but on its telamon.<sup>33</sup>

The fifth book of the *Iliad* is distinguished, amongst other peculiarities, by the fact that only in it is Aphrodite called Cypris, which suggests some connexion with the island; only in the eighth book of the *Odyssey* is the goddess treated so disrespectfully, and she is there said after her humiliation to retreat to Cyprus. Book V of the *Iliad* is linked to Book XI by the description of Athene's aegis (738-42), which appears to be conceived as a shield (it is sometimes so represented in archaic art), and has points in common with Agamemnon's, viz. the Gorgon's head and the zone of Phobos. Other demon figures are present, Eris, Alke and Ioke, and suggest an ill-managed composition like the Cretan Snake-shield.<sup>34</sup>

These curious if slight indications seem best accounted for if we suppose that there was a body of Cypriot heroic poetry in existence and that Homer was acquainted with it. Nowhere had the ἄοιδός as we meet him in the *Odyssey* a better chance of surviving. There is solid evidence for the early advent in Cyprus of Achaean settlers, driven out doubtless in the troubled times that followed the war of Troy: royalty survived there, to offer shelter and encouragement to bards.

The Cretan shields cannot as yet be dated with precision; Poulsen suggests tentatively a date late in the ninth century. Should they be shown definitely to be later, it does not follow that their type is not that described in the shield of Agamemnon. If the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are works of the ninth century, it would indeed be rash to assert that their author could not have written them down, but it is certain that he could not establish a sacrosanct text. Pointed amphorae such as those 'leant against' the bier of Patroklos appear first in the eighth century; plate-corslets, as these possessing γύαλα appear to be, cannot be traced higher than the seventh. There is no real parallel for the fibula of Odysseus, save the Minoan gem to which Sir Arthur Evans long ago compared it,<sup>35</sup> but fibulae with figure subjects whose existence is presupposed belong to

<sup>33</sup> The lobster corslet disappeared before the Idaean type of shield came into being. If the interpretation suggested above is correct, Agamemnon's arming contains anachronistic elements of its own.

<sup>34</sup> Helen's wheeled work-basket (δ. 131),

though acquired in Egypt, seems to be a product of Cyprus, where various articles are mounted on wheels in the Early Iron Age (cf. *I Kings* vii. 30).

<sup>35</sup> *J.H.S.* xxxii. p. 293, fig. 4.

the seventh century, and no poet is likely to have described such a type before its concrete prototype was in existence. If, then, Homer lived in the ninth century, passages which mention these things are what is rather misleadingly called interpolations. But no one who believes in a 'personal' Homer will put him as late as the seventh century, or even, given the relation of the poems to the Epic Cycle, the eighth.

We shall never be able to analyse the *Belesenheit* of Homer, but in early days the poet is generally the best-read man of his time, and we may feel sure that Homer was abreast of contemporary literature, as well as deeply versed in the tradition of the past. Was this latter purely Greek? It is improbable that the influence of the Minoan on the early Greek civilisation was exerted solely through the medium of art and commerce. The culture revealed at Mycenae and Tiryns is for two centuries dominated by Minoan influences whose appearance coincides with the rise of these cities to wealth and power. There is no evidence for the influx of a new population, but the appearances are consistent with the establishment of a Minoan dynasty under which a mixed culture arose comparable in some respects to our own Anglo-Norman. This would involve some mixture of languages. The proportion of non-Hellenic words in Greek is very high; their origin no doubt is various, but certain classes of them are with probability, a few with something approaching certainty, ascribed to the Minoan language.

In such circumstances a struggle to assimilate the alien culture and reconcile it with native elements is likely to develop and may prove to be an invigorating experience. Authors may arise able, like our own Gower, to compose in either language; many will have an intimate knowledge of two literatures: a great poet coming in the fullness of time may create forms of beauty undreamed of by either. Chaucer's verse, as a French *savant* has shown, has a flexibility, variety and resource unparalleled in contemporary France, because his predecessors had toiled over two wholly different systems of metre and rhythm, whereas French verse had proceeded in a straight line from the accentual Latin poetry exemplified for us in the later mediaeval hymns, and had never encountered any difficulties to speak of. Professor Meillet, discussing the origin of the hexameter, a non-popular metre, and certain of its peculiarities which are not reconcilable with the forms of Indo-European verse, asks whether the poets who created it were not using a foreign model,<sup>36</sup> and seeks it in the literature which must have corresponded to the older Aegaeon civilisation.

If some such fusion of Minoan and Greek elements lies in the past, far behind Homer, we can better account for the startling apparition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* after a period of marked decline in material culture, at the end of one age and the beginning of another. The thesis is not new; but the working-out of detail may still afford confirmation.

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<sup>36</sup> A. Meillet, *Les Origines Indo-Européennes des Mètres Grecs*, *passim*, esp. p. 62. K. Meister, *Die Homerische Kunstsprache*,

also maintains the foreign origin of the hexameter, but supposes the Greeks of Asia Minor to have borrowed it from Phrygia.

## BOEOTIAN GEOMETRICISING VASES.

[PLATES IX–XIII.]

IN 1908 there was excavated at Rhitsona a particularly richly furnished single-interment grave that included among the 400 odd items of its furniture two comparatively insignificant black-figure vases, a little spout vase and a lekythos,<sup>1</sup> the interest of which was not immediately recognised. Recent work on the black-figure pottery of Boeotia shows that these two vases belong to the same fabric as the famous lekane in the British Museum, B 80, which has been the subject of much controversy in the matter of its origin and date as well as of the interpretation of the scenes upon it.<sup>2</sup>

It is an archaising fabric where the painter, led perhaps by the Boeotian instinct for the grotesque, has gone for his inspiration not so much to the contemporary Attic ware as back to the Geometric, with excursions into Corinthian and Proto-Corinthian spheres of influence. The fullest discussion of the fabric is that of Dr. Pfuhl,<sup>3</sup> who points out its importance from the historical point of view and the need for further publication. I venture, therefore, to return to the two vases from Rhitsona, to enlarge Dr. Pfuhl's list from six to twenty, and to figure here illustrations of the unpublished examples.<sup>4</sup>

The vases of this 'geometricising' class known to me are given in the following list. The subjects can be seen in the illustrations and need not be set out here.

### *Lekanai.*

(1) British Museum, B 80. *J.H.S.* I. Pl. 7; *C.V.A.*, Gr. Brit., Pl. 65, No. 4. Diam. .298 m.

(2) Heidelberg University Collection, I. 44. Pl. IX. and Fig. 1. Diam. .24 m.

(3) Heidelberg, I. 43. Pl. IX. and Fig. 2. Diam. .227 m.

(3a) Kassel, T 448. *Arch. Anz.* 1898, p. 191, Sammlung Habich No. 2. Figs. 3 and 4. Diam. .235 m. The interior, which is very badly worn, has apparently two panthers, or a lion and a panther; below them a bull.

<sup>1</sup> Grave 50, Nos. 28, 275, *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 257 f.

<sup>2</sup> *C.V.A.*, Brit. Mus., fasc. 2, Pl. 65, 4. For a bibliography of this vase see *ibid.*, Group III. He, p. 3, and *B.M. Cat. Vases*, II. p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Mal. und Zeich.*, p. 207. More recently I have called attention to this series in *Sixth- and Fifth-cent. Pottery from Rhitsona*,

p. 57. It is classified under the heading II. B<sup>3</sup>. i. a. by P. N. Ure, *Boeotian Pottery of the Geometric and Archaic Styles*.

<sup>4</sup> For photographs, permission to publish them, and for much kindness besides I am greatly indebted to Geh. Boehlav, Miss Brants, Prof. L. Curtius, Mr. Heurtley, Mr. Karouzos, M. Mayence, Dr. Möbius, Miss Pappaspyridi, Mr. Rhomaïos, and Prof. Zahn.

- (4) British School at Athens, II. A. 4. Pl. X. Diam. .20 m.
- (5) Athens Nat. Mus., CC 617<sup>5</sup>. Pl. X. Diam. .26 m.
- (6) Athens, CC 1130. Pl. X. Diam. .09 m.
- (7) Athens, CC 1131. Pl. XIII. Diam. .095 m.

*Skyphoi.*

- (8) Berlin, Antiquarium inv. 3320. Pl. XI. *Arch. Anz.*, 1895, p. 34, No. 21, Figs. 6, 7. Ht. .14 m. In the lower zone beneath the handles: *A*, man between two sphinxes; *B*, lion and panther pulling down a goat.
- (9) Heidelberg, I. 42. Pl. XII. Ht. .11 m.
- (10) Heidelberg, unnumbered. Pl. XII. Ht. .105 m.

*Tripod-pyxis.*

- (11) Athens, CC 617<sup>4</sup>, described and fully illustrated in *Ber. sächs. Gesell.* 1893, Pl. III, and p. 64 f. Ht. .135 m.

*Lekythoi.*

- (12) Thebes, Rhitsona 50-275. *Sixth- and Fifth-century Pottery from Rhitsona*, Pl. XIII and p. 56 f. Ht. .11 m.
- (13) Brussels, A 2145, *Sixth- and Fifth-century Pottery*, Pl. XIII. Ht. .115 m.
- (14) Leyden. Holwerda, *Cat. Rijks-museum*, XIII. 8. Fig. 4. Ht. .11 m.
- (15) Athens, CC 617<sup>8</sup>. Fig. 5. Ht. .11 m. On the extreme left, not seen in the photograph, is a naked man running to r. gesticulating and looking back.

*Spout Vases.*

- (16) Thebes, Rhitsona 50-28. Pl. XIII, and *B.S.A.*, xiv. p. 258, Fig. 9. Ht. .05 m. Scarcely visible in the photographs is the pattern, just below the rim, of a zigzag with a dot in each angle. There are four dancing figures, one in each of the four fields of the vase.
- (17) Heidelberg, unnumbered. Pl. XIII. Ht. .055 m. The top of the rim is ground colour with black blobs upon it similar to those on the rim of the little lekane No. 7, with a small duck where the rim projects over each of the side handles.

*Kantharoi.*

- (18) Athens, CC 617<sup>9</sup>. Pl. XIII; *B.C.H.*, xxv. p. 152, Figs. 5, 6. Ht. .09 m.
- (19) Athens, CC 617<sup>3</sup>. Pl. XIII. Ht. .05 m.

The miniature vases 6, 7, 16, 17, and 19 are less carefully decorated than the others. 19 is particularly untidy and hastily done. Nevertheless it certainly belongs to the series.

The favourite vase shape is the lidless lekane of the Vourva type but shallower. The figure decoration on the exterior is placed in a single zone.

Inside the figures are contained in a medallion generally placed horizontally in relation to the axis of the handles, twice vertically (1, 3*a*). The foot is low. The skyphoi, like the lekanai, have ribbon handles and are of a shape found closely associated with lekanai in at least one other Boeotian fabric.<sup>5</sup> The lekythoi grow broader towards the base and are heavy and clumsy as compared with typical Attic lekythoi of the same period.

The ground is buff with a tinge of red, the glaze is normally a fairly good black. No accessory colours are used. The decoration consists in the main of either animal and bird friezes or groups, or of men in processions or groups



FIG. 1.—LEKANE IN HEIDELBERG (2).

Often both subjects are combined on one vase (3, 4, 8, 11, 19), and even in the same frieze (3, 3*a*, 8, 11, 19). Women are rare, occurring only twice (1, 8). The men are mostly naked, tall and thin and given to gesticulation, much in the manner of the 'affected' b.f. vases. The animals—lion, panther, stag, goat, sphinx, and centaur—have a distinct character of their own, as can be seen in a glance at the plates. The birds, which are not drawn with any care, seem to represent three or four different kinds of water-birds, some resembling the stork, others the duck.<sup>6</sup> The field ornaments, apart from the dot-rosette, are of a very individual character. In most of the vases decorated entirely with animals they are plentiful, coarse, and heavy.

<sup>5</sup> *Sixth- and Fifth-century Pottery*, pp. 21 f., 32.

<sup>6</sup> The one important exception is the bird on the altar on lekane 1, discussed below.

The most characteristic shape is a polygon with concave sides which project considerably at their points of junction so as to form a sort of star (*e.g.* 5). Sometimes the projecting points are thickened so that they obscure the original polygon (*e.g.* 2), and on some vases a similar effect is produced by a circle with blobs dabbed roughly round it (*e.g.* 9 and the interior of 1). A number of other peculiar field ornaments, all of a geometrical nature, are to be found, especially on 5, 7, and 9. The most noteworthy are those with the appearance of an elaborated W (9, 16), which are abbreviations of the peculiar spidery lotus that forms the main decoration of two of the lekythoi (12, 13) and



FIG. 2.—LEKANE IN HEIDELBERG (3).

which is travestied in the medallion of 2. In vases where the animal friezes are associated with scenes of human interest they become scantier and lighter, including stars, composed simply of intersecting straight lines, and small horse-shoes (*e.g.* 3, 3*a*, 11), or else disappear (4). The dot-rosette is confined to human figures, though these normally are not accompanied by field ornament (14, 15, 18 and the interiors of 3, 4). The Berlin skyphos (8) is peculiar in having a very liberal filling of small birds, elsewhere found only rarely in the field (5, 19). In the miniatures 6, 7, 19, dots, singly or in groups of three or four, and small circles predominate. Incision is used most erratically. Normally there is none; one skyphos (9) has one single stag incised in the midst of a score of unrelieved silhouettes; two lekanai (2, 4) use it in the interior but not at all on the exterior, while the British Museum lekythos (1) uses it fairly



liberally in the interior, but on the exterior only for the pillar and for the man walking beside the bull, and then only for the parts where he overlaps the bull: on the Berlin skyphos (8) it is found on the animals beneath the handles and seemingly the most important of the human figures, that is, the three persons reclining at table and the leaders of the two opposing processions on the lower frieze. Springing from the base there are in most cases radiating bars, clumsily drawn. True tapering rays are found twice (3, 3a). Immediately below the rim of the larger lekanai (scarcely visible in the photographs) is an inverted Z pattern (5) or conventional ivy leaves standing stiffly on vertical stalks with dots between each pair of leaves, the dots placed either singly (1, 2, 3a) or in pairs (4) or in the form of a cluster of berries standing on a vertical stalk (3), while of the miniatures one has a sprawling S pattern (6; cp. the exergue of 4) and the other vertical black lines (7). The upper zone of 10 is filled with an unusual lotus band. Elsewhere the patterns used for borders are simple and geometrical—tongues (1), chevrons (11), Z pattern (11), zigzags (16), and simple bars (5, 11, 17).

Development of style cannot be traced with any certainty, but the vases may be roughly divided into two classes, one with animal decoration and one, perhaps later, with men as well as animals or men alone. As has been said above, the former class has heavy and plentiful field ornament (2, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13); in the latter it is lighter and dwindling in quantity (11, 3). In the lekythoi 12 and 13 we probably have examples of the earliest stage. The stork and the polygonal field ornament relate them to the animal frieze vases with heavy and plentiful filling such as 5, but among them they should probably be placed early, since they show careful drawing of the lotus design which is treated with such disrespect in the interior of 2 and 5 and corrupted into a field ornament in 9. The interiors of the small lekanai with bird friezes (6, 7) relate them to the same group, though they would seem to come late in it, since their exteriors relate them to the careless miniature kantharos 19, which must be late. The British Museum lekane (1) belongs to the second group, but is not late in it. These two rough divisions need not indicate a strict chronological sequence. It should be noted that the only two examples known to have been in use on the same day are one with stork and lotus (12) that seems to be as early as any in the series, and the other a carelessly drawn miniature vase with human figures and dot-rosettes and little water birds (16), which one would be inclined to place late. The fabric does not seem to have been long-lived, and while external evidence is so scanty it would be rash to attempt any exact chronology.

The British Museum lekane (1) when first published as an isolated vase was regarded as Attic, and its representations were explained as having reference to Attic festivals and customs. Very soon, however, this vase and such of its companions as were known were rightly recognised as Boeotian. Clay and glaze, the unrelieved silhouette, the style of drawing verging upon caricature, the shapes of the vases, all point to Boeotia. There are curious affinities to be traced between several of our vases and the Boeotian black-figured vases, amongst them the Kabeiric and related fabrics, of the close of

the fifth century, which may well be signs of an unbroken tradition, though continuity cannot at present be established. The evidence of provenance, as far as it goes, supports this view. Unfortunately the vases with known provenance are few, but with the one rather surprising exception of the Leyden lekythos, which is reputed to have been found at Assos, all were found in Boeotia,<sup>6a</sup> three of them (11, 18, 19) at Tanagra and two (12, 16) at Rhitsona (Mykalessos) in the near neighbourhood of Tanagra.

These two little vases from Rhitsona though not spectacular are nevertheless useful, since they provide all the external evidence there is as to the date of the fabric. Associated with them in a single burial were seven Attic b.f. lekythoi, five of the type A 1 of *Sixth- and Fifth-century Pottery*, pp. 40 f. (*B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. X. i.), of a date not later than that of the François vase. The two examples of type B (*ibid.*, p. 42 and Pl. XIII) do not suggest a later date. Neither does the solitary b.f. skyphos with affronted sphinx and panther (*ibid.*, Pl. XVII). The kylikes and kantharoi of the Boeotian Kylix style are of the earliest types found at Rhitsona (Class I. i. a, I. ii. d, I. ii. e; see *Sixth- and Fifth-century Pottery*, pp. 13–15, 19), and the black glaze kantharoi of the earliest deep-bottomed type (*Black-Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona*, p. 14 and Pl. 1). More than half of the total of the tomb furniture consists of Corinthian aryballoi and bombylioi, over two hundred and thirty in number (*J.H.S.* xxix. pp. 309–10; *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 259). These latter vases relate our grave closely to the rich unpublished grave 86, where Corinthian still reigns undisputed, and to which it is scarcely possible to assign a date much later than Periander. Boeotian b.f. other than the vases in question is represented by a tripod vase (*B.S.A.* xiv. Pl. X. c, d, e) and a kantharos (*ibid.*, Pl. X. a, f, g), both of the Atticising style II. B<sup>3</sup>. i. c. of *Classification of Boeotian Pottery of the Geometric and Archaic Styles*. There was also one Naukratite chalice (*J.H.S.* xxix. Pl. XXV) regarded by Miss Price as transitional between her classes A and B (*J.H.S.* xlv. p. 219). The complete inventory of the grave furniture is to be found in *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 257 f., supplemented in *Black-Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona*, p. 14. The cumulative evidence of all the finds points to a date well before 550 B.C.<sup>7</sup> As we have seen, the lekythos 12 may belong to the earliest phase of the style, but the spout vase 16 does not. The date of grave 50 may therefore be taken as the date not of the first beginnings but of the *floruit* of the style.

A question which naturally presents itself is whether the scenes on the other vases of the series do anything towards solving the problems of the British Museum lekane. Several times we have competitors in games with the prize tripods beside them, three times boxers (18 twice, 8 once) and once a horseman (11). Other athletic events may be represented by the two horsemen, the two-horse chariot and the running hoplite on the lid of the pyxis 11, though these are not accompanied by tripods, and a foot-race is possibly

<sup>6a</sup> But see also Note, p. 171.

<sup>7</sup> The dating originally given for the grave—a little after 550 B.C. (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 306 f.)

—was unduly late; cp. *Sixth- and Fifth-century Pottery*, p. 12.

depicted on one side of the lower frieze of 19.<sup>8</sup> The commonest scene (3, 8, 11, 14, 15, 19) represents men dancing to the sound of flutes round a krater which stands on the ground (the flutes do not occur on the hastily drawn 19). They carry kantharoi and oinochoai and are sometimes in the act of dipping

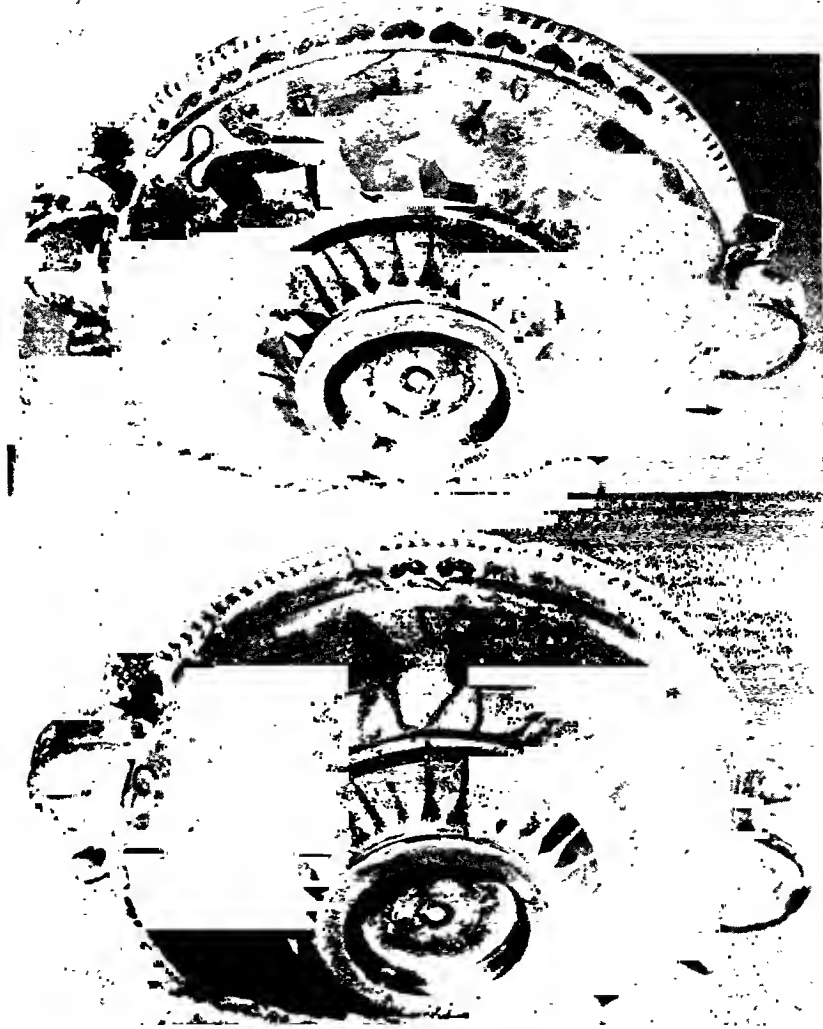


FIG. 3.—LEKANE IN KASSEL (3a).

an oinochoe into the krater. This jollification around a krater of wine is familiar enough. Occurring as it does here on the same vases with athletic

<sup>8</sup> The four single figures on the Rhitsona spout vase (16) are capering rather than running, since they hold garlands and one possibly a kantharos. The runner who

occurs in the midst of the animal frieze on 3 may or may not have been thought of as competing in a race.

contests (8, 11), it probably has a special reference to the festivities that celebrate victory.<sup>9</sup> Flute-players are seen performing before an audience (4, 8), but in the absence of tripods this should perhaps be regarded as a concert and not a competition. A lyre-player carrying a garland is the central figure of one side of 3a. Processions of men with garlands fill more than half the field on the Berlin skyphos (8). One in the upper zone led by a flute-player advances towards a place where a banquet is in progress, while in the lower zone four men led by a woman meet another band, this time of five men, led by a man wearing a short chiton indicated only by incisions.<sup>10</sup>

All of the vases (apart from those with purely animal decoration) of this remarkably homogeneous series are occupied then with scenes appropriate to



FIG. 4.—LEKYTHOS IN LEYDEN (14).

some festival at which competitive games were held, accompanied by processions, banqueting, drinking bouts and music. On the British Museum lekane, the largest and most ambitious of the set, we see a procession of men leading a bull to an altar. This would seem to be the great sacrifice of the festival. Preceded by a priestess they approach an Athena in full panoply, who stands behind the altar. She must be the presiding deity. In the *Corpus Vasorum*, where the lekane has been most recently published, the old interpretation of the sacrificial scene as a Panathenaic procession is still adhered to. When the vase was considered in isolation there was a certain probability in this view, but it

<sup>9</sup> Schneider, *Berichte sächs. Gesell.* 1893, p. 64 f., sees in the pyxis from Tanagra (11) the victory of a young aristocrat in a chariot race, his reception after his victory and the consequent merry-making; Laurent, *B.C.H.*,

1901, p. 153, a victory in a horse-race.

<sup>10</sup> The second and the third men are separated by the group of sphinxes, etc. that decorate the region under the handle.

is difficult to regard the whole series of vases as representing the Panathenaea.<sup>11</sup> It is more reasonable to look to Boeotia for the festival that inspired such a characteristically Boeotian fabric,<sup>12</sup> and I would suggest that the scenes illustrate events in the Pamboeotia, the annual gathering of the Boeotian League held at the temple of Athena Itonia in the vicinity of Coronea. 'Itonia of the golden aegis'<sup>13</sup> is, as far as we know, the only Athena of a predominantly military character who was worshipped in Boeotia at the early period to which our vases belong and with whose worship games were associated. The cult of Itonia is said by Strabo<sup>14</sup> to have been established at Coronea at a very early date<sup>15</sup> by settlers who founded there a sanctuary named after that of the Itonia of their old home in Thessaly. Alcaeus<sup>16</sup> speaks of her in words that accord well with the scene painted on the British Museum lekane:

ὦ 'νασσ' Ἀθανάα πολεμαδόκος  
 ἃ ποι Κορωνίας ἐπὶ πίσειον  
 ναύω πάροιθεν ἀμφιβαίνεις  
 Κωραλίω ποταμῷ παρ' ὄχθαις.

Alcaeus lived more than a generation earlier than the makers of our vases. About a century later Pindar<sup>17</sup> and Bacchylides tell of her fame, and her cult still flourished in Roman times. We do not know in precisely what aspect the goddess was represented at Coronea beyond the fact that she was a war-goddess, but coins of the Thessalian League of the second century B.C.<sup>18</sup> show her counterpart, the Thessalian Itonia, fully armed and striding forward with her spear lifted horizontally above the shoulder in precisely the attitude of the Athena of the vase-painting.<sup>19</sup> She shared her temple at Coronea with another divinity, called by Pausanias<sup>20</sup> Zeus, but by Strabo<sup>21</sup> Hades. This Zeus Chthonios is said by Strabo to have been associated with Itonia 'for some mystical reason.' He may well have been some primitive under-world deity who was on the spot before Itonia came down from Thessaly.

About the Pamboeotian games our information is scanty and mostly late. The date of their origin is not known, but they were already ancient in Pindar's time.<sup>22</sup> Like so many of the Greek festivals they may well have been founded or refounded in the earlier half of the sixth century, and our

<sup>11</sup> Athenian games are rather to be looked for in the very similar scenes on Tyrrhenian amphorae, e.g. Thiersch, *Tyrrh. Amph.* nos. 7, 19, 22, 37, 39, 42, 47, 53, 54, 58.

<sup>12</sup> The only suggestion I have seen that the ceremony on the Brit. Mus. vase should be referred to a Boeotian festival is that of Miss Harrison, *C.R.*, 1894, p. 271 n. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Bacchylides, *Frag.* xi. (Jebb).

<sup>14</sup> Strabo, 411.

<sup>15</sup> By inference from Thucydides (I. 12) sixty years after the fall of Troy; see Frazer on Pausanias IX. 34. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Bergk, *Frag.* ix.

<sup>17</sup> *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iv. p. 55.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I., Pl. A, 24.

<sup>19</sup> It has been maintained (Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 114) that a copy of the cult image at Coronea made by Agoracritus is to be seen in the Albani Athena with the wolf-skin cap. That may be so, but it is not necessary to assume that the eminent sculptor copied in detail the image which his own statue was to depose. In Thessaly, on the other hand, it is quite possible that the original conception of Itonia remained unmodified through the centuries.

<sup>20</sup> IX. 34. 1.

<sup>21</sup> 411.

<sup>22</sup> *Oxy. Pap.* iv. p. 55 (τὰ πάλαι).

vases may be an expression of the enthusiasm that greeted their inception. Inscriptions<sup>23</sup> having reference to the festival have been found at Mamoura, the modern village which occupies the site of the Itonium, and elsewhere in Boeotia, amongst them a victor list and dedications by victors, mostly dating from the third century or later, when the contests were military rather than athletic in character.<sup>24</sup> In earlier times athletics and music would be more in evidence. We know nothing of the nature of the contests in the sixth century, but in the fifth we have the authority of Pindar for chariot racing, as at Onchestus, and that of Bacchylides for music. Flute music was in Boeotia specially associated with Athena,<sup>25</sup> and would naturally figure largely in her festival as it does on our vases.

If we assume that the scenes on our vases are derived from the Pamboeotia, the interpretation of the exterior of the British Museum lekane will be as follows. Athena Itonia stands behind a flaming altar in the forecourt of her εὐδαιδαλον ναόν.<sup>26</sup> represented by a Doric column, to receive the great sacrifice of the Pamboeotia, a ceremony of such importance that the day of the sacrifice was used as a date in legal transactions.<sup>27</sup> Her pose and equipment correspond in every detail with the only known representations of Itonia in Thessaly, whence she came. Immediately behind her rises a magnificent snake. This snake has hitherto been regarded as the Erichthonios snake, the οἰκουρὸς ὄφις of the Athenian Acropolis, poised above the sacred olive. But it is very unusual to find Athena Polias accompanied by the Erichthonios snake before the time of Pheidias. There is no snake on the Panathenaic amphorae (except as a shield emblem), nor on similar representations of Athena.<sup>28</sup> Further, the volutes upon which the serpent rests bear little resemblance to an olive. As Dr. Zahn has pointed out,<sup>29</sup> they form a stand such as is often seen

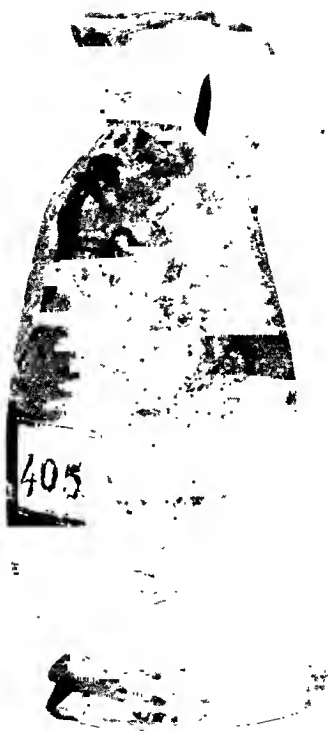


FIG. 5.—LEKYTHOS IN ATHENS (15).

<sup>23</sup> A recent account of the epigraphical evidence for the Pamboeotia is that of Prof. Pappadakis, *Arch. Delton*, 1923, p. 228 f. Mr. Pappadakis tells me that in the trial excavations that he has made at Coronea and on the site of the Itonium he has so far found no remains of a date earlier than Hellenistic.

<sup>24</sup> Pappadakis, *ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>25</sup> Farnell, *Cults*, I. p. 315 f.

<sup>26</sup> Bacchylides, *Frag.* xi.

<sup>27</sup> *B.C.H.* iii. (1879), p. 460, line 23 (late third century).

<sup>28</sup> *E.g.* Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 457, Fig. 53; Benndorf, *Gr. u. sic. Vascul.*, 31. 2.

<sup>29</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, 1898, p. 61, note 3.

supporting the water vessels at the fountain in the episode of Troilus.<sup>30</sup> This is, therefore, the image of a snake, presumably of bronze, placed upon a stand, and, together with its pedestal, towering almost as high as Athena herself. It is no mere attribute and plays no negligible part in the proceedings. It is the image of the Zeus-Hades of Coronea, the primitive god whom Athena did not quite succeed in dispossessing,<sup>31</sup> akin no doubt to the chthonic Zeus Meilichios<sup>32</sup> who was worshipped at, amongst other places, Orchomenos, only a few miles from Coronea, and who was represented in Attica at any rate in the form of a large bearded snake.<sup>33</sup> On the altar in front of Athena sits a crow, a bird most repugnant to the Athena Polias of Athens.<sup>34</sup> There is no evidence as to whether the people of Coronea adopted the κορώνη as a punning emblem of their city and made it the attendant of the local goddess, but we know that the colonists they sent out did. On the acropolis of Corone in Messenia, a town refounded in the time of Epaminondas by Epimelides, a native of Boeotian Coronea, was a bronze statue of Athena holding a crow in her hand.<sup>35</sup> It is highly probable that in thus associating the bird and the goddess the daughter was following the tradition of the mother-city.<sup>35a</sup> Approaching the altar is a priestess, a sixth-century Iodama,<sup>36</sup> dressed like Athena in a peplos and bearing a tray. She precedes the bull, which is secured with ropes and led by two attendants. A flute-player wearing a short cloak leads a procession of four men who carry garlands, short sticks or branches, and one an oinochoe. This ends the scene of the sacrifice. Under the handle is a rustic mule cart containing a party of four. Anyone who has seen families of χωρικοί driving in to Thebes for a πανήγυρις will not find it hard to recognise in this a party from, say, Lebadea. Thebes, Thespieae, or Tanagra, off to the festival in the sixth-century equivalent of a σοῦστα. Behind it stands a marshal with his long staff controlling the traffic. On the other side six men are busied with a goat. They are preparing for a second sacrifice, this time of a lesser victim, in honour of the older deity who shared Athena's precinct. The

<sup>30</sup> *E.g.* Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, III. 185: *A.J.A.*, 1907, pp. 429-432, Figs. 1, 2, 3. Cp. also Johansen, *Vases Sicyoniens*, Pl. XXII, 2 d. and p. 147.

<sup>31</sup> Cp. Kuster, *Die Schlange in der gr. Kunst*, p. 116.

<sup>32</sup> Bursian, *Geogr.* I., p. 235, note 2, compares the Zeus-Hades of Coronea with Zeus Trophonios whose cave, inhabited by snakes, was the seat of the potent oracle at Lebadea.

<sup>33</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II., Appendix M, especially Figs. 944 and 945 and pp. 1149 f. The statue made for the temple at Coronea by Agoracritus was, of course, anthropomorphic, and so is the figure on a gem which has been taken by some to represent Itonia and Hades (Roscher, *s.v.* Itonia), but that does not affect the question. Meilichios also was portrayed sometimes in human form.

<sup>34</sup> See Frazer on Paus. II. 11. 7, and the references there quoted. The claim of the

crow who addresses Cadmus in Nonnus, *Dionys.* III. 97 f., to be δρωις Ἀθήνης may well be a piece of learned Boeotian local colour.

<sup>35</sup> Paus. IV. 34. 4. The position of the crow in our picture, on the altar instead of in the hand of the goddess, is probably due to the influence of representations of the Troilus story, which our vase strongly resembles in point of composition, cp. Zahn, *op. cit.* There a raven sits on the fountain vainly warning Polyxena of impending danger (Schneider, *Der troische Sagenkreis*, pp. 114 f.).

<sup>35a</sup> The view that our vase depicts the Athena of Coronea and her crow was put forward long ago by Bochlau, *Bonner Studien*, p. 131, but his suggestion has received little notice, and I came upon it only after this paper was in proof.

<sup>36</sup> Pausanias, IX. 34. 2.

object above the goat is a field ornament similar to those of the animal friezes (e.g. 10). The stork just under the handle that looks as though it were perched upon the leg of the man on the extreme left of the goat scene is probably purely decorative, as it has many parallels. Accompanied by angular field ornaments it is taken over direct from the animal vases, where its position is generally under or close to a handle (3, 3a, 5, 9, and, more swan-like, 2, 4.<sup>37</sup> 17). It occupies a precisely similar position next to the handle and behind a group of men in 8 (both sides) and 19. Such birds must have been a familiar sight to dwellers near the shores of Copais.<sup>38</sup>

The scene in the interior medallion is baffling. A man clothed in a short chiton, holding in his left hand a sword which he has drawn from its sheath, and in his right a rope, is restrained by a naked unarmed man behind him from attacking another unarmed man who escapes to the right. One is tempted to see in it some ritual dance, but the theme remains obscure. The object between the legs of the last-named figure is not a tortoise but, like the branch behind the man on the left and the volutes beneath his feet, mere field ornament. Similar rosettes are used as filling on 9.

The interpretation here offered rests upon meagre evidence, but so do all earlier attempts at interpreting this curious vase, and, unlike that which is here put forward, they do not take into account a whole family of vases from the same pottery. The new material makes it at least possible that here we have a fabric associated with one particular shrine and having reference to local cults and observances. Just as in the fifth and fourth centuries the Theban Kabeirion was the home of a distinctive local b.f. fabric, so in the sixth the no less famous shrine of Itonia may have provided some Coronean potter with a subject while its *πανήγυρις* furnished a market for his goods.

ANNIE D. URE.

#### NOTE.

Since writing this paper I have personally examined, thanks to the kindness of Senator Orsi, the little skyphos (ht. .042 m.) found by him in grave 24 at the Predio La vricella, Gela (*Mon. Lincei* XVII, p. 287. Fig. 212), and I am inclined to think that it should be added to this series. Each side has two affronted birds; between them and beneath the handles an ornament which seems to be derived from our peculiar linear lotus: in the field dots and blurred polygons which have become almost circular. Its context of grave furniture is unfortunately very meagre, consisting of only a coarse lekythos and a scated figurine, not figured. If it is really an example of our fabric it is interesting that it should have travelled so far as Sicily. Its position by the right hand of the skeleton suggests that it was a cherished possession.

A. D. U.

<sup>37</sup> Repainted; the wing much too large.

<sup>38</sup> In connexion with the water-birds, both long-legged and short-legged, that are found in such abundance on some of these vases it should be remembered that ancient writers emphasise the importance of the river that flowed past the precinct of Itonia; cp. Alcaeus, quoted above; Strabo,

411; Callimachus, *Lar. Pall.* 63:

ἡ 'ἐπὶ Κερωνείας ἵνα οἱ τεθνωμένων ἄλσος  
καὶ βωμοὶ ποταμῷ κείνῳ' ἐπὶ Κουραλίῳ.

It would perhaps be rash to suggest that the bird is shorthand for the Kouralios even as the pillar is shorthand for the temple.



## THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1927-1928

THE years 1927 and 1928 have borne fresh and eloquent testimony to the vitality and interest of epigraphical studies in the unabated stream of books and articles dealing with Greek inscriptions, whether newly discovered or previously known but imperfectly read, restored or interpreted. Once more, therefore, I essay the difficult task of presenting a brief survey of the progress made during these two years, following, as before, the order of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* so far as Europe is concerned and that of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* for Asia and Africa. I have made no attempt to mention all reviews, but have included references to those which summarise works not widely accessible or make important contributions to the subjects under discussion, even though in some cases they did not appear until 1929.

Death has again robbed our science of several of its leading representatives, among whom the veteran Italian Domenico Comparetti,<sup>1</sup> the Cretan ephor Stephanos Xanthoudides,<sup>2</sup> the eminent Greek excavator Panagiotis Kavvadias,<sup>3</sup> the distinguished French scholars Théodore Reinach<sup>4</sup> and Georges Lafaye,<sup>5</sup> and the indefatigable Roumanian archaeologist Vasile Pârvan<sup>6</sup> claim special mention.

### I. GENERAL

My own summary for 1925 and 1926 was published in this *Journal* (xlvii. 182 ff.), except the section relative to Egypt and Nubia, which appeared in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.<sup>7</sup> Despite his exacting duties as Director of the French School at Athens, P. Roussel continues to provide admirable surveys<sup>8</sup> of current epigraphical literature, frequently containing valuable original contributions. E. Ziebarth has concluded,<sup>9</sup> with the aid of H. Kasten, his *Bericht* relating to the twenty-five years 1894-1919 (with the inclusion of some later literature as far as 1925) in an instalment which deals principally with the Aegean islands, *i.e.* with the area covered by *I.G.* xii. Other useful bibliographies, consisting solely of lists of titles, will be found in the annual *Bibliographie zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*<sup>10</sup> and in the *Bibliotheca Philologica Classica*,<sup>11</sup> while students of philology will profit by

<sup>1</sup> *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1927, 28 ff.; *Aegyptus*, viii. 117 ff.; *Rendic. d. Lincei*, iii. 357 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Gnomon*, iv. 596, 706 ff.; *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 589.

<sup>3</sup> *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1928, 269 ff.; *Rev. Arch.* xxviii. (1928), 128 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1928, 321 ff.; *Rev. Arch.* xxviii. (1928), 319 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 354.

<sup>6</sup> *Gnomon*, iv. 596; *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 354.

<sup>7</sup> xiii. 247 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxix. 255 ff., xli. 360 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Bursians Jahresbericht*, cexiii. 1 ff.

<sup>10</sup> 1925, 77 ff., 1926, 96 ff., 1927, 96 ff.

<sup>11</sup> li. 102 ff., liii. 108 ff., liv. 92 ff.

P. Kretschmer's 'Literaturbericht'<sup>12</sup> and those of Byzantine history by the epigraphical section of the exhaustive bibliography periodically published in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.<sup>13</sup> The 'Chronique des fouilles' which appears yearly in the *B.C.H.*<sup>14</sup> records the discovery of many inscriptions which meanwhile await fuller publication.

Progress is being made towards the completion of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* with such rapidity as is compatible with the very high standard of fullness and accuracy which must be maintained. Reference will be made below, in the appropriate places, to the issue, in 1927, of a new fascicule of *I.G.* ii et iii (*editio minor*)<sup>15</sup> and of the plates illustrating *I.G.* xi. 3. J. Kirchner is employed in the exacting task of preparing the remaining material for *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. F. Hiller von Gaertringen has been for some time engaged in the study of the Epidaurian texts, which are to appear as a first instalment of the *editio minor* of *I.G.* iv. The same scholar has also dealt with the inscriptions of Coreyra, and H. Klaffenbach with those of the rest of the field covered by *I.G.* ix. 1, with a view to the publication of a supplementary section of that volume.<sup>16</sup> A. Rehm continues his researches in the islands off the Ionian coast,<sup>17</sup> collecting and verifying the material which will appear in *I.G.* xii. 6. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's masterly survey<sup>18</sup> of the whole undertaking contains a clear statement and justification of the principles on which it is at present conducted.

Two fascicules,<sup>19</sup> containing the remainder of the index together with a *conspectus operis* and a *recensus locorum*, have brought the fourth volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* to its completion, only two months after the regretted death of its editor, G. Lafaye. C. Michel's admirable *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, which since 1900 has by common consent ranked among the best selections of epigraphical texts, has been brought to a close by a second supplementary fascicule<sup>20</sup> containing 317 Attic inscriptions, mostly religious or private, together with additions and corrections, tables of concordance and indexes. The first half of a third volume of J. J. E. Hondius' *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* has appeared,<sup>21</sup> recording 357 newly discovered texts (several of which have been corrected or restored by the editor and his collaborators) or recently proposed emendations: of these, 308 belong to Attica and most of the remainder to Argolis and Boeotia. A number of original contributions, mostly due to A. Wilhelm, are noted below in their several places.

C. D. Buck's standard work on the Greek dialects, based upon materials both literary and epigraphical, has appeared in a second and enlarged edition,<sup>22</sup> which contains a selection of 117 inscriptions illustrative of all the principal

<sup>12</sup> *Glotta*, xv. 161 ff., xvi. 161 ff., xvii. 191 ff.

<sup>13</sup> xxvi. 471, xxvii. 215 f., 472 f., xxviii. 229 f.

<sup>14</sup> l. 536 ff., li. 469 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Hereinafter denoted, according to accepted usage, by *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1927, xxxvi f.

<sup>17</sup> *Verhandlungen der 55. Versammlung J.H.S.*—VOL. XLIX.

*deutscher Philologen* (Leipzig, 1926), 45.

<sup>18</sup> *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1928, xxiv ff.

<sup>19</sup> iv. 8, 9, Paris, 1927.

<sup>20</sup> Brussels, 1927. Cf. *Rev. Belge Phil. Hist.* vii. 163 f.

<sup>21</sup> Leyden, 1927.

<sup>22</sup> *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects*<sup>2</sup>, Boston, 1928.

dialects of the Greek world.<sup>23</sup> In the sphere of grammar attention may be called to two remarkable articles by J. Zingerle, in which the author's industry and his ingenuity are alike strikingly attested: in one<sup>24</sup> he deals with some characteristics of the Greek popular speech as represented in inscriptions, notably the Phrygian pronunciation of ἄωρος as αῶρος and the frequent substitution of α for αι in words like γυναικός, χᾶρε, etc., while in the other<sup>25</sup> he discusses the phenomenon of telemetathesis ('reziproke Vernversetzung'), i.e. the transposition of non-consecutive sounds, as in the writing of Αὐλήριος for Αὐρήλιος. In the field of epigraphical textual criticism fresh ground has been broken by R. G. Kent,<sup>26</sup> who has sought to discover and classify the types and causes of corruption by means of a careful analysis of the errors found in certain well-known texts, not only Greek (*I.G.* ix. 1. 333, 334) but also Persian, Oscan, Umbrian and Latin: by 'error' he understands 'a writing which is at variance with the normal orthography of the inscription and is not common enough in practice to be regarded as a permissible variation.'

Among recent researches into ancient beliefs and practices in the realm of religion a prominent place belongs to E. Peterson's work entitled Εἰς θεός,<sup>27</sup> in which all the formulae expressing the divine unity are collected and discussed as well as the various forms of acclamation. A bibliography<sup>28</sup> which will prove invaluable to all serious students of ancient superstition and magic has been compiled by K. Preisendanz, who, after his admirable description and bibliography of the magical papyri,<sup>29</sup> has now dealt similarly with the Greek and Latin magical tablets of lead, silver and gold, and has given the welcome promise that he will publish a collection of the texts which have come to light since the appearance of A. Audollent's *Defixionum Tabellae* in 1904. F. Cumont has completed<sup>30</sup> his recent list<sup>31</sup> of grave-monuments in which a pair of upraised hands symbolises an appeal to the avenging deity, and R. Ganszyniec has suggested<sup>32</sup> a possible reading and interpretation of the text on a sculptured stone of unknown provenance now in Vienna,<sup>33</sup> which he regards as a prayer addressed to Acon. Inscriptions also supply valuable material to A. D. Nock's 'Notes on Ruler-Cult'<sup>34</sup> and to I. C. Ringwood's thesis on the Greek local festivals, of which only the first part, dealing with the Greek mainland and adjacent islands with the exception of Attica and Euboea, has yet appeared.<sup>35</sup> Of L. Blau's article<sup>36</sup> on 'Early Christian Epigraphy from the Jewish Point of View' I know nothing save the title.

<sup>23</sup> Reviewed *Class. Rev.* xli. 229 f.; *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 155; *Rev. Arch.* xxviii. (1928), 166; *Rev. Fil.* lvi. 579 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Glotta*, xvi. 138 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* xiii. 161 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *The Textual Criticism of Inscriptions*, Philadelphia, 1926. Cf. *J.H.S.* xlvii. 265 f.; *J.R.S.* xvi. 275; *Gnomon*, iv. 354 f.; *Class. Phil.* xxii. 234; *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 1041 ff.; *Rev. Ét. Lat.* v. 210 f.; *Indog. Forsch.* xlvii. 345 f.

<sup>27</sup> Gottingen, 1926. Cf. *Or. Lit-tg.* xxx. 960 ff.; *Mélanges Beyrouth*, xii. 290 ff.;

*Syria*, viii. 72.

<sup>28</sup> *Arch. Pap.* ix. 119 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 104 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *Rendic. Pont. Accad. Rom.* v. 69 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Memorie Pont. Accad. Rom.* i. 1. 76 ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Eos*, xxix. 100.

<sup>33</sup> *Arch. Rel.* xii. 32 ff.

<sup>34</sup> *J.H.S.* xlviii. 21 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Agonistic Features of Greek Local Festivals*, New York, 1927. Cf. *Class. Rev.* xlii. 74 f.

<sup>36</sup> *Hebrew Union College Annual*, i. 221 ff.

Students of epigraphy will find much of interest and value in M. Cary's *Documentary Sources of Greek History*,<sup>37</sup> which, though dealing also with papyri, coins and the 'unwritten documents' provided by archaeological discovery, relates primarily to Greek inscriptions prior to 146 B.C., classified as laws, decrees, executive and judicial records, official correspondence and private documents: the work, though short, is eminently stimulating and supplies an admirable introduction to the study of Greek historical documents, together with a useful bibliography to encourage and direct further reading. W. Ruppel has carried out a detailed investigation of the history and meaning of the word *πολίτευμα* both in literature and also in inscriptions.<sup>38</sup> F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson illustrate their discussion of the municipal administration of the towns comprised in the Roman Empire<sup>39</sup> by a collection of 207 documents, which forms the greater part of the book: the first section of this (p. 247 ff.), relating to Italy and the provinces, contains 162 texts, of which eighty-three are Greek and thirteen bilingual inscriptions, while the second (p. 507 ff.), dealing with Egypt, is composed of three Greek inscriptions and forty-two papyri.

In a stimulating and valuable, if perhaps occasionally over-ingenious, book<sup>40</sup> R. Laqueur has analysed a large number of decrees of various states with a view of determining what parts of them belong to the original *προβουλευματα* and to what extent and for what reasons these were supplemented or modified before ratification by the assemblies concerned. F. Cumont's examination<sup>41</sup> of the formula *non fui, fui, non sum* ends with a collection of inscriptions, including eleven Greek texts, in which this or some similar phrase occurs. A. Wilhelm has called attention<sup>42</sup> to seventeen passages in Greek inscriptions, mainly of Asia Minor and the Greek islands, where proper names have been misread or wrongly transcribed: I have not attempted to register each of them separately in the present bibliography. W. Vollgraff has discussed<sup>43</sup> the Eretrian name *Τήχιππος*, which recurs at Calymnus in the form *Τάχιππος*.

Among the recent accessions of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, published by G. M. A. Richter, are a fifth-century bronze hydria<sup>44</sup> bearing the name Sopolis and a fourth-century dedication<sup>45</sup> to Hermes, the Nymphs and Achelous. P. Marconi's article<sup>46</sup> on Greek reliefs in Venetian collections contains no genuine ancient inscriptions. A. M. Woodward and R. P. Austin have given a full account<sup>47</sup> of some note-books of Sir William Gell recently acquired by the British School at Athens: Woodward contributes an intro-

<sup>37</sup> Oxford, 1927.

<sup>38</sup> *Philol.* lxxxii. 294 ff., 433 ff.

<sup>39</sup> *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, Princeton, 1926. Cf. *Gnomon*, v. 231 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Volksbeschlüssen*, Leipzig, 1927. Cf. *J.H.S.* xlviii. 262; *Class. Rev.* xlii. 204 f.; *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 590 ff.; *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxx. 235 ff.; *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 538 f.;

*Deutsche Litzg.* iv. 2358 ff.; *Zts. d. Savigny-stiftung*, Rom. Abt. xlviii. 755.

<sup>41</sup> *Musée Belge*, xxxii. 73 ff.

<sup>42</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 16 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Mnemosyne*, lvi. 102 ff.

<sup>44</sup> *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xxii. 17 ff.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* xxi. 259.

<sup>46</sup> *Dedalo*, viii. 589 ff. Cf. *ibid.* ix. 252 ff.

<sup>47</sup> *B.S.A.* xxvii. 67 ff.

ductory note and deals with the eighteen Attic inscriptions, three of them hitherto unpublished, contained in one of the note-books, while Austin gives a description of the Diary, a list of fifty-nine inscriptions in it of which equally good or better versions have been published, and an edition of twelve texts previously unknown and nineteen of which Gell's copy is of some value.

I cannot here register all publications or discussions of inscriptions upon pottery, as the attempt to do so would practically involve the compilation of a bibliography of Greek ceramics: I may, however, mention briefly some of the vase-inscriptions published or emended in works which are not exclusively or mainly devoted to Greek vases. Especially noteworthy is J. D. Beazley's article,<sup>48</sup> in which fifteen such inscriptions, occurring on various types of vases in British, European and American collections, are read for the first time, corrected or interpreted. The same scholar's article<sup>49</sup> on the Antimenes Painter, H. Pagel-Lesser's dissertation<sup>50</sup> on Epictetus and W. Blawatski's publication<sup>51</sup> of a new amphora signed by Polygnotus, now preserved in Moscow, also call for special mention. Vases bearing καλός-inscriptions figure among the recent acquisitions of the Museums at Populonia,<sup>52</sup> Leningrad,<sup>53</sup> Toronto<sup>54</sup> and Providence,<sup>55</sup> while a terracotta bobbin with a similar text<sup>56</sup> has been added to the Metropolitan Museum, New York. The same Museum has also come into possession of a sixth-century Corinthian crater bearing a number of heroic names<sup>57</sup> and a fourth-century crater from S. Italy portraying a theatrical scene.<sup>58</sup> E. Pernice has discussed and restored<sup>59</sup> a fragment of a Homeric bowl at Athens and W. Müller has commented<sup>60</sup> upon two Illyrian names occurring on terracotta objects in the Dresden collection.

During the period under review L. Robert has tirelessly pursued<sup>61</sup> the task of restoring numerous passages in decrees and other documents—mostly, but by no means exclusively, of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands—which had previously been wrongly restored, if restored at all. *Nihil tetigit quod non ornarit*: his suggestions—always acute, often convincing—are too many to be recorded fully here, but the most important of them will be found below in their appropriate places.

Investigation into the origin of alphabetic writing has received a fresh impetus of late in consequence of the publication of the 'Sinaitic' texts from Serâbit el-Khâdem and the recent discoveries of early Phoenician inscriptions, notably that of Aḥiram, at Byblus. I must not attempt to summarise here the articles dealing with these subjects—such as H. Jensen's discussion<sup>62</sup> of the source of Semitic writing and the Sinai inscriptions, S. Grill's article<sup>63</sup> on

<sup>48</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxi. 345 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *J.H.S.* xlvii. 63 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *Epiktet: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der griechischen Vasenmalerei*, Rostock, 1924. Cf. *Arch. Anz.* xli. 467 ff.

<sup>51</sup> *Arch. Anz.* xlii. 75 ff.

<sup>52</sup> *Notizie*, 1926, 368 f.

<sup>53</sup> *J.H.S.* xlviii. 11 f.

<sup>54</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 52.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* 442 ff.

<sup>56</sup> *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xxiii. 303 f.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 48 f.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 54 ff.

<sup>59</sup> *Arch. Anz.* xlii. 244 ff.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* xli. 439 ff. Cf. 'Αρχ. Δελτίον, ix. 3 f., 44 f.; *Zhizn' Muzeia*, ii. 13.

<sup>61</sup> *B.C.H.* 1. 250 ff., 469 ff., 582; *Rev. Phil.* i. 97 ff.; *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xl. 208 ff., 214 ff.

<sup>62</sup> *Or. Litztg.* xxxi. 650 ff.

<sup>63</sup> *Korrespondenzblatt für den Katholischen Klerus*, xlvii. 73 ff.

early Hebrew inscriptions at Sinai, J. M. P. Smith's estimate <sup>64</sup> of the character, date, affinities and value of the script therein employed, L. W. Jack's summary <sup>65</sup> of the chronological sequence of the earliest extant Semitic inscriptions in alphabetic writing, R. Savignac's able review <sup>66</sup> of H. Grimme's work <sup>67</sup> on the solution of the problem presented by the Sinaitic script, A. Hertz's paper <sup>68</sup> on the origin of the Sinaitic writing and of the Phoenician alphabet, P. S. Ronzevalle's examination <sup>69</sup> of the alphabet used in the epitaph of Aḥiram and M. Lidzbarski's contribution <sup>70</sup> to the study of the Byblus inscriptions—for, though they have a real bearing upon the question of the ancestry of Greek writing, they are not directly concerned with Hellenic studies. For a somewhat similar reason I only mention in passing J. Sundwall's brief but valuable discussion <sup>71</sup> of the script used on the Greek mainland in late Mycenaean times, based primarily upon recent discoveries made on the Cadmea at Thebes, but also taking into account the scantier evidence from Tiryns and Orchomenus. In a work entitled *The Aryan Origin of the Alphabet* <sup>72</sup> L. A. Waddell seeks to trace back all the chief alphabets, ancient and modern, to their source in the Sumerian linear pictographs, the work of an Aryan folk. The author claims to have established in his previous works 'the Aryan racial nature of the Phoenicians' and announces that a forthcoming book 'proves conclusively that Menes, the First of the Pharaohs, was an Aryan Phoenician.' 'The gifted scientist who invented the epoch-making alphabetic system was presumably a Hittite or Hitto-Phoenician and thus an Aryan in race,' and he may be identified with Cadmus and dated about 1200 B.C. I am not qualified to pronounce upon Sumerian questions, but the author's astonishing errors with regard to Greek writing hardly inspire confidence in his leadership in other domains.

To B. L. Ullman we owe three valuable articles. The longest of these <sup>73</sup> deals with 'The Origin and Development of the Alphabet' in the light of recent discussions alike of the Sinaitic script and of the early Phoenician inscriptions from Byblus. The author of the first alphabet, Ullman holds, was a Semite with some, yet by no means a perfect, knowledge of Egyptian hieroglyphs, whose date he is inclined to carry back to 2000 B.C. or even earlier: the invention of the Greek alphabet may be as early as the fourteenth, and cannot in any case be later than the twelfth, century. A second article <sup>74</sup> discusses 'The Added Letters of the Greek Alphabet' and the relation between the eastern and western groups of alphabets as regards the complementary letters: the writer concludes that these were developed in the western alphabets and that their starting-point was Achaea or perhaps some other Peloponnesian district, and he seeks to trace the process by which various parts of the Greek

<sup>64</sup> *Journ. Rel.* vi. 195 ff. Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxi. 363.

<sup>65</sup> *Expository Times*, xxxviii. 264 ff. Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.*, loc. cit.

<sup>66</sup> *Rev. Bibl.* xxxvi. 275 ff.

<sup>67</sup> *Die Lösung des Sinaischriftproblems*, Münster, i. W., 1926.

<sup>68</sup> *Journ. Soc. Or. Res.* xii. 131 ff.

<sup>69</sup> *Mél. Beyrouth*, xii. 1 ff.

<sup>70</sup> *Or. Lit-tg.* xxx. 453 ff.

<sup>71</sup> *Klio*, xxii. 228 ff.

<sup>72</sup> London, 1927. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxvii. (1928), 356.

<sup>73</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxi. 311 ff.

<sup>74</sup> *Class. Phil.* xxii. 136 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lv. 559 f.

world accepted some or all of them in different orders and with varying forms. Ullman's third essay<sup>75</sup> is only partially relevant to our present purpose. He here treats of the origin of the Roman alphabet and the evidence of the Roman letter-names, follows Hammarström in deriving the Latin alphabet from the older Etruscan as represented by the early *abecedaria* of Marsiliana, Formello and Caere, but criticises his view that certain letters were directly derived from the Greeks. In a suggestive article,<sup>76</sup> which it would take too long to recapitulate here,<sup>77</sup> M. Hammarström agrees with Ullman that the aspirate-signs are older than the monoliteral representation of ξ, but believes that the complementary aspirate-signs were invented in the eastern rather than in the western group of alphabets. He further discusses the original existence of an aspirate-sign corresponding to *qoppa* and the relation between the different signs for ξ. Other valuable treatments of problems relative to the early Greek alphabet are those of A. N. Modona, who, by reference to the new Phoenician discoveries and a comparison of their forms with those of the early *abecedaria*, supports<sup>78</sup> the priority of the western group: he further devotes a detailed study<sup>79</sup> to the Greek sibilants, especially λ and τ. In an article<sup>80</sup> dealing in detail with the evidence of the 'proto-Etruscan' *abecedaria*, Modona pays special attention to the new example from Viterbo recently added to the Metropolitan Museum in New York, which he dates about 650 B.C., between the alphabets of Marsiliana and of Caere. These *abecedaria* were, he believes, didactic rather than magical or symbolical and support the view that the alphabet came to Etruria direct from the Greek Orient, not by way of Cyme or Taras, and from Etruria passed to Rome.

An admirably clear and concise account of the origin and early development of the Greek script, illustrated by a series of eight facsimiles and accompanied by a brief but useful bibliography, has been contributed by F. Hiller von Gaertringen to M. Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*.<sup>81</sup>

## II. ATTICA

A number of noteworthy books and articles have appeared during the last two years in which Attic inscriptions play the principal, or at least a prominent, part. F. Noack's magnificent volumes on Eleusis<sup>82</sup> deal with the temple and the cult from every point of view—historical, architectural and religious. The section (p. 112 ff.) on the Portico of Philon opens with a survey of the relevant inscriptions, and one of these (*I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1671), dated about 330 B.C., receives careful treatment from J. Kirchner in Appendix XIII (p. 283 ff.): a number of technical terms used in building-inscriptions, especially ἀρχιτέκτων and ἐργολάβος, are discussed in Appendix XXI (p. 300 ff.), and A. Körte deals in

<sup>75</sup> *Class. Phil.* xxii. 372 ff.

<sup>76</sup> *Studia Orientalia*, ii. 186 ff.

<sup>77</sup> See A. Cuny's summary, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxx. 333 f.

<sup>78</sup> *Riv. indo-gréco-ital.* xi. 239 ff.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* 242 ff., xii. 69 ff. Cf. *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1927, 795 ff.

<sup>80</sup> *Rendic. d. Lincei*, ii. 492 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lv. 558 f.

<sup>81</sup> iv. 357 ff.

<sup>82</sup> *Eleusis: Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtumes*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927. Cf. *Gnomon*, iv. 548 ff.; *Gött. Gel. Anz.* cxc. 497 ff.

Appendix XXIV (p. 313 ff.) with the date of the Eleusinian tithe-law (*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 76), maintaining his earlier view that it belongs to 418 B.C. Of no less importance is the long-awaited work on the Erechtheum,<sup>83</sup> edited by J. M. Paton. The masons' marks of the temple are described in the chapter dealing with the construction of the temple (p. 186 f.), and a long chapter (pp. 277-422) by L. D. Caskey contains texts, translations and exhaustive discussions of the twenty-nine inscriptions which relate directly to the Erechtheum, viz. the report of the Commission and fragments of specifications (I-VII), the accounts of 409-8 and 408-7 B.C. (VIII-XXV) and four fragments of accounts which may be subsequent to the latter year (XXVI-XXIX); the last of these, assigned to the Erechtheum by Lolling in 1888 but overlooked since then, is separately discussed (p. 648 ff.) by W. B. Dinsmoor. A. H. Smith has given<sup>84</sup> an interesting survey of the contribution of inscriptions to our knowledge of the buildings erected on the Acropolis in the second half of the fifth century B.C., showing that 'it is the inscriptions that give definition and prove to us that the works of the fifth century were not unexplained miracles, but the products of infinite skill and minutest care and attention to detail.' In an article<sup>85</sup> on the Athenian public cemetery, L. Weber rejects the main result reached by A. von Domaszewski in his treatment<sup>86</sup> of that subject, and maintains that only four extant monuments can be certainly equated with those described by Pausanias.

[*I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>.] *Down to 403 B.C.*—B. D. Meritt has re-examined<sup>87</sup> the thorny question of the Athenian calendar in the fifth century on the basis of i<sup>2</sup>. 324, to which he assigns i<sup>2</sup>. 306 and several unpublished fragments. He concludes that the 'senatorial' year was a solar year and establishes a number of equations between civil and senatorial dates, which enable us to determine the beginnings of both years during most of the period of the Peloponnesian War. This dualism of the calendar disappears towards the close of the century, perhaps in 403-2, and thenceforward the first prytany commences on the first of Hecatombaeon. Though some minor corrections and adjustments may have to be made,<sup>88</sup> Meritt's work marks a new epoch in this study, while his reconstruction of i<sup>2</sup>. 324 is a triumph of acumen and patient thought. S. Luria has devoted an interesting study<sup>89</sup> to the development of the prescripts and postscripts of Athenian decrees down to 403 B.C. P. Haggard has written a paper, of which only a summary has yet been published,<sup>90</sup> collecting and tabulating information, derived mainly from epigraphical sources, about the Athenian Secretaries of Council in the fifth century.

Few new inscriptions of this period have recently come to light. A. Brueckner's researches in the Ceramicus<sup>91</sup> have led to the discovery of two further ostraka, one given against Thucydides the son of Melesias and the

<sup>83</sup> *The Erechtheum*, Harvard U.P., 1927. Cf. *Gnomon*, iv. 533 ff.

<sup>84</sup> *Journ. R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 127 ff.

<sup>85</sup> *Philologus*, lxxxiv. 35 ff.

<sup>86</sup> *Sitzb. Heidelberg*, 1917, 7.

<sup>87</sup> *The Athenian Calendar in the Fifth Century*, Harvard U.P., 1928. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxix. (1929), 196.

<sup>88</sup> See especially a review (*Class. Rev.* xliii. 20 f.) by J. K. Fotheringham, who had to some extent anticipated Meritt's method and results.

<sup>89</sup> *Hermes*, lxii. 257 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lv. 564 f.

<sup>90</sup> *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvii. p. xxxi f.

<sup>91</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 128 ff.



other against Cleïppides, and of a fifth-century stele with a fragmentary text, perhaps of a decree, on the front and a list of women's names on the side. The great work on the Erechtheum already mentioned contains two unpublished fragments—one (VB; p. 319 ff.) of a specification, the other (XII; p. 342 ff.) of the accounts of 409–8 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum in New York has acquired a sixth-century marble sphinx bearing an epitaph, published<sup>92</sup> by G. M. A. Richter, and a tomb-inscription of the following century has been unearthed at Athens.<sup>93</sup>

In view of the supreme interest of Athenian history in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., I append a brief survey of the work done in correcting, supplementing or interpreting the relevant inscriptions, following the order of *I.G.* 12.

1. S. Luria supports<sup>94</sup> his previous restoration of the 'Salaminian Decree,' which he assigns to the period of the tyrants.

3–4. The 'Hekatompedon Inscriptions' are discussed by J. M. Paton,<sup>95</sup> who proposes a new restoration of l. 8 ff., and also, mainly from the chronological point of view, by S. Luria.<sup>96</sup>

6. The Athenian law relating to the Eleusinian mysteries is also considered, and the accepted restoration challenged at a crucial point, by J. M. Paton.<sup>97</sup>

16. P. Haggard dates<sup>98</sup> the 'Phaselite Decree' after 462–1 on the ground of its introductory formula.

20, 22. S. Luria discusses<sup>99</sup> the restoration of the prescripts of the Segestan Alliance and the 'Milesian Decree.'

24, 25. A. H. Smith deals with<sup>100</sup> these two decrees relative to Athena Nike.

28. A. Wilhelm denies<sup>101</sup> that the two fragments here united belong to the same text.

50. S. Luria argues,<sup>102</sup> on the ground of the formula, that fragment *a* belongs to a decree passed in the period of Clisthenes.

63. C. Alexander publishes<sup>103</sup> a photograph of part of the assessment-list of 425–4, recently brought to New York. We eagerly await from West and Meritt the new light which they are peculiarly qualified to throw on the assessment-lists (63, 64) and cognate documents.

70. A. Wilhelm maintains<sup>104</sup> that the order of the two fragments of this text should be reversed.

76. F. Noack and A. Körte discuss in detail<sup>105</sup> the date of the measure demanding the dedication of first-fruits to the Eleusinian deities.

80. J. M. Paton deals<sup>106</sup> with this decree in connexion with the history of the Acropolis.

<sup>92</sup> *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xxi. 126 ff.

<sup>93</sup> *Rev. Arch.* xxviii. (1928), 137 f.; *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 142.

<sup>94</sup> *Hermes*, lxii. 270 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lv. 564 f.

<sup>95</sup> *Erechtheum*, 438 ff.

<sup>96</sup> *Hermes*, lxii. 270 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lv. 565.

<sup>97</sup> *Erechtheum*, 450 f.

<sup>98</sup> *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvii. p. xxxi f.

<sup>99</sup> *Hermes*, lxii. 259 f.

<sup>100</sup> *Journ. R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 128 ff.

<sup>101</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 6.

<sup>102</sup> *Hermes*, lxii. 266 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lv. 564.

<sup>103</sup> *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xxi. 176 f.

<sup>104</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 13.

<sup>105</sup> *Eleusis*, 197 f., 313 ff.

<sup>106</sup> *Erechtheum*, 449 f.

88. A. H. Smith gives <sup>107</sup> a summary of the content of the recently discovered decree regarding the temple of Athena Nike.

91, 92. In a noteworthy article <sup>108</sup> W. Kolbe reopens the crucial questions of the date of the 'Decree of Callias' and the interrelation of the texts engraved on the obverse and on the reverse of the stele. He maintains that the institution of the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν was the outcome of this decree and that οἱ νῦν ταμίαι, referred to in l. 18, are not the members of this college but the treasurers of individual sanctuaries. The two texts are, he concludes, contemporaneous and belong to 434 B.C., the provisions on the reverse constituting an amendment added by the ἐκκλησία to the προβούλευμα, which occupies the obverse of the stone.<sup>109</sup>

103. W. Bannier suggests <sup>110</sup> a restoration of l. 13 ff. of this proxeny-decree.

111. A. B. West discusses <sup>111</sup> this fragment and assigns it to 427-6 rather than to 410-09 B.C.

117. A. Wilhelm calls attention <sup>112</sup> to his previous statement, <sup>113</sup> that *I.G.* ii. 99 belongs to this decree.

135. W. Bannier offers <sup>114</sup> a restoration of this fragment, which he regards as part of a proxeny-decree.

144. A. Wilhelm contributes <sup>115</sup> to the restoration of this honorary decree.

145. P. Haggard confirms <sup>116</sup> Ferguson's conjectures regarding the names of the secretary and the φυλή πρυτανεύουσα and dates the fragment to about 420-19 B.C.

181. See under 363-7.

191 ff. The brilliant work of A. B. West and B. D. Meritt in the reconstitution of the Attic quota-lists, of which I gave a summary account in my last Bibliography (*J.H.S.* xlvii. 187 ff.), has won the appreciation of a wide circle of scholars, including M. A. Levi,<sup>117</sup> W. Bannier<sup>118</sup> and P. Cloché.<sup>119</sup> For the past two years there is less to record: the pace must needs slacken as the limit of that which can be achieved with the very fragmentary materials available is approached. Appreciable progress has, however, been made and it is hoped that the definitive publication of the lists will take place in the sixth volume of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. In an article <sup>120</sup> on 'Correspondences in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 196 and 198' West and Meritt examine the quota-lists for 449-8 and 447-6 and revise them in the light of their mutual relationship, thus getting rid of some anomalies in the previously published versions and proving several new contacts of fragments. Consequential adjustments are made <sup>121</sup> in the texts of 194, 203 and 205. Elsewhere <sup>122</sup> Meritt gives a

<sup>107</sup> *Journ. R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 130.

<sup>108</sup> *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1927, 319 ff.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. F. Noack, *Eleusis*, 309.

<sup>110</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 667 f.

<sup>111</sup> J. M. Paton, *Erechtheum*, 647 f. Cf. *Journ. R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 134.

<sup>112</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 20.

<sup>113</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* xxviii. 446.

<sup>114</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 668.

<sup>115</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 21.

<sup>116</sup> *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvii. p. xxxi.

<sup>117</sup> *Boll. fil. class.* xxxiv. 108 f.

<sup>118</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 1244 ff.

<sup>119</sup> *Rec. Ét. Gr.* xl. 456 f.

<sup>120</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 281 ff.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.* 287 f., 295 ff.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.* xxxi. 180 ff.

revised version of *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. 216, which he assigns to 430–29, and the two collaborators deal <sup>123</sup> fully with the special problems presented by i<sup>2</sup>. 218, of which they provide a photograph and a transcript, dating it in 427–6 or 426–5.

296. To these accounts of 432–1 A. Wilhelm <sup>124</sup> adds the fragment 309a.

301, 302, 305. W. Bannier comments on, <sup>125</sup> and suggests restorations in, these three accounts. The first thirty-four lines of 302 (*S.I.G.* <sup>3</sup> 94), relating to payments made in 418–17 and 417–16, are revised <sup>126</sup> by A. B. West and B. P. McCarthy on the basis of a line of eighty-five letters; they have read some letters not shown in *I.G.* and so confirm or correct the text. In l. 20, for example, Nicias' colleague in the στρατηγία is found to be Callistratus instead of Lysistratus (see under 310).

309a. See under 296.

310. In l. 89 P. Haggard restores <sup>127</sup> Κ[α]λλίστρατος Ἐμπίδο Ὀἴθεν] from 302 l. 20 (see above).

313–316. W. Bannier makes a suggestion <sup>128</sup> for the restoration of these *traditiones*.

324. The famous accounts of the λογισταί form the basis of B. D. Meritt's work, already mentioned, on the Attic calendar, in which the text is restored. In l. 26 P. Haggard reads <sup>129</sup> [Ἐπί]λυκος as the secretary of Council in 424–3.

325, 326, 330. W. Bannier explains and restores <sup>130</sup> these sale-lists of the property of the Hermocopidae.

338. He also makes <sup>131</sup> a number of restorations in the accounts of a work identified by Dinsmoor with the Athena Promachos of Phidias.

339–353. A. H. Smith gives a summary, <sup>132</sup> based upon these accounts published by the Commissioners of the Parthenon, of the building of that temple. For the restoration of 350 l. 39 f. W. Bannier makes a suggestion. <sup>133</sup>

354–362. The construction of Phidias' chryselephantine Athena is examined <sup>134</sup> by A. H. Smith in the light of the Commissioners' accounts.

363–367. He deals similarly <sup>135</sup> with the building of the Propylaea. W. Bannier restores <sup>136</sup> 363 l. 24 ff. and points out that i<sup>2</sup>. 363 *P* = i<sup>2</sup>. 181.

368. Bannier seeks to restore <sup>137</sup> l. 28 f. of these accounts.

370, 371. A. H. Smith reviews, <sup>138</sup> on the basis of these accounts, the making of statues of Athena and Hephaestus shortly after the Peace of Nicias. W. Bannier proposes <sup>139</sup> a restoration in 371 *B*.

372–374. The construction of the Erechtheum is traced <sup>140</sup> by A. H. Smith by the aid of these reports, specifications and accounts. The texts themselves

<sup>123</sup> Ἀρχ. Ἐπ. 1925–6, 46 ff.

<sup>124</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 33.

<sup>125</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 669 f.

<sup>126</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 346 ff.

<sup>127</sup> *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvii. p. xxxii.

<sup>128</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 670.

<sup>129</sup> *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvii. p. xxxii.

<sup>130</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 670.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.* 670 f.

<sup>132</sup> *Journ. R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 131 f.

<sup>133</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 781 f.

<sup>134</sup> *Journ. R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 132 f.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.* 133.

<sup>136</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 781.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.* 782 f.

<sup>138</sup> *Journ. R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 133 f.

<sup>139</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 782.

<sup>140</sup> *Journ. R.I.B.A.* xxxiv. 134 ff.

are republished, translated and exhaustively treated <sup>141</sup> by L. D. Caskey in the volume on the Erechtheum already noticed.

410. K. J. Beloch puts forward <sup>142</sup> a new reading of this archaic dedication.

463. E. H. S[mit] and P. M[oens] accept in part and partly criticize <sup>143</sup> the treatment in *S.E.G.* iii. 46 of their restoration of this votive inscription.

919. P. Kretschmer has a note <sup>144</sup> on recent readings of this, the oldest extant Attic inscription.

944. A. Wilhelm makes a correction <sup>145</sup> in l. 3 of this casualty-list.

954, 957, 964 belong, according to Wilhelm, <sup>146</sup> to a single monument.

967 is claimed <sup>147</sup> by L. D. Caskey as belonging to the Erechtheum report.

A. Wilhelm points out <sup>148</sup> that *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 174 belongs to the fifth century and so claims a place in *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>. W. Bannier restores <sup>149</sup> a phrase in the accounts of the Eleusinian deities about 420 B.C. (*S.E.G.* iii. 35), C. A[lexander] notes <sup>150</sup> T. Reinach's correction of the archaic epitaph of Chaeredemus (*ibid.* 55) and A. Brueckner examines <sup>151</sup> in detail the style of the inscribed stele of Leontius, which he assigns to one of the immediate pupils of Phidias.

[*I.G.* ii.] *From 403 to 31 B.C.*—One of the outstanding events of the past two years has been the issue of a fresh instalment <sup>152</sup> of the second edition of *I.G.* ii. and iii., containing the *tabulae magistratum* ranged in nine classes, of which the most important are the records of the treasurers of Athena and the other gods (Nos. 1370 ff.), those of the *πωληταί* and the Delian amphictyones (1579 ff., 1633 ff.), those of the curators of the Brauronium (1514 ff.), the temple of Asclepius (1532 ff.), the Eleusinian sanctuary (1540 ff.) and the arsenal (1604 ff.), the *catalogi paterarum argentearum* (1553 ff.), and the laws, contracts and accounts relative to the building or repair of temples or other public works (1654 ff.). In all, 326 inscriptions are here presented, and although only thirty of them, mostly insignificant fragments, <sup>153</sup> were hitherto unpublished, every page of the work attests the care and devotion with which the editor, J. Kirchner, has carried out his exacting task. But no man's work is final, and it is the merit of a volume like this that it stimulates rather than stifles further inquiry. Thus W. Bannier suggests <sup>154</sup> restorations in several of the texts contained in it (1388, 1396, 1443, 1493, 1590 f.), W. Kolbe restores <sup>155</sup> the prescript of 1421, and C. Alexander announces <sup>156</sup> the arrival of 1688 in New York. R. Vallois examines <sup>157</sup> the specification for the *σκευοθήκη* (1668), G. Glotz comments on and restores <sup>158</sup> a passage relating to the door of the

<sup>141</sup> J. M. Paton, *Erechtheum*, 277-422, 452 ff.

<sup>142</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 45.

<sup>143</sup> *Mnemosyne*, lvi. 107 f.

<sup>144</sup> *Glotta*, xvi. 167 f.

<sup>145</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 52.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.* 53.

<sup>147</sup> J. M. Paton, *Erechtheum*, 281.

<sup>148</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 80.

<sup>149</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 670.

<sup>150</sup> *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xxi. 58.

<sup>151</sup> *Antike Plastik*: W. Amelung zum 60. Geburtstag (Berlin, 1928), 35 ff.

<sup>152</sup> *I.G.* ii et iii ed. minor, Pars ii, fasc. 1, Berlin, 1927. Cf. W. Kolbe, *Deutsche Litztg.* v. 1551 ff.; J. Sundwall, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* xcvi. 156 ff.; E. Ziebarth, *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 739 ff.; A. Körte, *Gnomon*, iv. 236 ff.

<sup>153</sup> The most considerable are Nos. 1525, 1555, 1583, 1594, 1598 B.

<sup>154</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 783 f.

<sup>155</sup> *Philologus*, lxxxiv. 263 f.

<sup>156</sup> *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xxi. 176 f.

<sup>157</sup> *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxx. 71 ff.

<sup>158</sup> *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1928, 149 ff.

Eleusinium at Athens (1672, l. 129 ff.), and F. Noack's history of Eleusis makes special use <sup>159</sup> of 1666, 1671, 1673, 1675 and 1680, and in an appendix <sup>160</sup> contains a full publication by J. Kirchner of 1671.

A number of other Attic texts of this period have been published for the first time recently, though few of them are of special interest. E. Ziebarth has copied <sup>161</sup> a fourth-century phratry-decree, and a fragment of a decree of a deme has been found <sup>162</sup> on Cape Zoster. G. Klaffenbach has published <sup>163</sup> a boundary-stone of a Heracleum, found at Irakli, W. of Kephisia and Marousi, and a boundary of the Εἰκοθεῖς, from Koropi, exactly like *I.G.* ii. 1098. The sanctuary of Artemis Kalliste, excavated by A. Philadelphus, <sup>164</sup> has been identified by four dedications, three of which bear the goddess' name, while two epitaphs and a ὄρος μνήματος have come to light near by. W. Vollgraff and J. J. E. Hondius have edited <sup>165</sup> a votive epigram of the fourth or third century B.C., while a fourth-century dedication to Asclepius has been unearthed at Eleusis by K. Kourouniotes <sup>166</sup> and one to Zeus Philios has been found on the slope of the Acropolis by G. Welter. <sup>167</sup> J. Sundwall has published <sup>168</sup> a fragment of a third-century list of names arranged under their demes, and J. Kirchner <sup>169</sup> nine fragments belonging to five ephebe-lists, the earliest of which goes back to 315, or even to 334 B.C. B. D. Meritt has identified <sup>170</sup> two further portions of *I.G.* ii. 959, a naval list which he thinks may perhaps be connected with the battle of Arginusae. A fourth-century *tessera iudicialis*, now at Utrecht, has been published <sup>171</sup> by J. J. E. Hondius from a photograph supplied by G. van Hoorn. M. Guarducci has found <sup>172</sup> in the Asclepieum a fourth-century votive to Asclepius, on which were subsequently engraved lists of officials of the cult in the years of Jason (109–8 B.C.) and of Aeschines, an unknown archon whom the editor attributes <sup>173</sup> to 106–5 B.C. A marble grave-*lekythos* found in the Ceramicus by A. Brueckner, <sup>174</sup> another *lekythos* and a *loutrophoros*, now in Boston, described <sup>175</sup> by E. H. Dohan and a fourth-century sepulchral stele in New York edited by G. M. A. Richter <sup>176</sup> also deserve mention. <sup>177</sup>

The famous 'Samian Decrees' (ii<sup>2</sup>. 1) of 403–2 are examined afresh <sup>178</sup> by P. Cloché, who regards the Athenian attitude therein displayed as strictly correct and in no sense a revolt from or defiance of Spartan overlordship, and by G. Mathieu <sup>179</sup> in his essay on the reorganisation of the Athenian citizen body at the close of the fifth century: the latter also devotes attention <sup>180</sup> to the decree honouring those who had aided in the restoration of the democracy

<sup>159</sup> *Eleusis*, 112 ff.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.* 283 ff.

<sup>161</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 121.

<sup>162</sup> *Arch. Anz.* xli. 400.

<sup>163</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 21 ff.

<sup>164</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 155 ff.

<sup>165</sup> *Mnemosyne*, lvi. 220 ff.

<sup>166</sup> Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, ix. 108, 117.

<sup>167</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* l. 165 f.

<sup>168</sup> *Eranos*, xxv. 191 f.

<sup>169</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* lii. 197 ff.

<sup>170</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxi. 462 ff.

<sup>171</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 141.

<sup>172</sup> *Rev. Fil.* lv. 505 ff.

<sup>173</sup> But cf. *B.C.H.* lii. 3 ff.

<sup>174</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 130 ff.

<sup>175</sup> *Museum Journal*, 1928, 252 ff.

<sup>176</sup> *Bull. Metr. Mus.* N.Y. xxi. 127 f.

<sup>177</sup> See further *J.H.S.* xlviii. 7 f.; *Journ. d. Savants*, 1928, 299 f.

<sup>178</sup> *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xl. 197 ff.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.* 76 ff.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.* 84 ff.

(ii<sup>2</sup>. 10). W. Bannier contributes <sup>181</sup> to the restoration of the charter of the Second Athenian Confederacy (ii<sup>2</sup>. 43), the treaty of 375-4 between Athens and Cephallenia (ii<sup>2</sup>. 98) and the Athenian alliance with Arcadia, Achaea, Elis and Phlius in 362-1 (ii<sup>2</sup>. 112); T. Sauciuc-Saveanu discusses <sup>182</sup> Memnon of Rhodes, a benefactor of Athens (ii<sup>2</sup>. 356); F. Noack makes use <sup>183</sup> of the decree *de cippis terminalibus* (ii<sup>2</sup>. 204) in tracing the history of Eleusis. Other decrees in ii<sup>2</sup>. must be very summarily mentioned.

5, 7, 17, 24, 109, 140, 145, 172, 628, 629 are restored or corrected by W. Bannier.<sup>184</sup>

174 is assigned by A. Wilhelm <sup>185</sup> to the fifth century, *i.e.* to *I.G.* i<sup>2</sup>.

175 is more correctly read by G. Klaffenbach.<sup>186</sup>

308 and 371 belong, as Wilhelm points out,<sup>187</sup> to the same decree.

284a, 751 and 1226 are now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.<sup>188</sup>

955, 993, 1098 and 1330 are emended by L. Robert.<sup>189</sup>

1045 has been republished by O. O. Krüger <sup>190</sup> from the original, now in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

The authenticity of the decree ii. 221, which was omitted from *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. because its genuineness was suspected, has been proved <sup>191</sup> by J. Kirchner: ii. 829 and 845 are discussed <sup>192</sup> by L. D. Caskey and by J. M. Paton, who suggests that they may belong to the fifth century; and the archon's name in ii. 859 ii. l. 3 has been restored <sup>193</sup> as [Πανρία] by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. The Athenian dramatic records have received special attention: the headline of the 'Fasti' has been discussed <sup>194</sup> by F. Marx, who dates the introduction of κῶμοι in 509-8 B.C., and the whole text has been carefully examined and reconstructed <sup>195</sup> by J. Safarewicz. E. Reisch has fulfilled a long-standing promise and worked out,<sup>196</sup> though with some necessary modification, his theory, outlined in his brilliant review <sup>197</sup> of Wilhelm's *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen*, of the building constructed, probably in 279-8 B.C., to contain the 'Didascaliae' and the 'Victor-lists' (ii. 972-5, 977). M. Van Bockestael criticises <sup>198</sup> C. M. Kaufmann's treatment of two Attic epigrams (ii. 3880, iii. 1341). A. Wilhelm restores <sup>199</sup> with his accustomed felicity ii. 4054 and three other Attic epigrams, suggests <sup>200</sup> a correction in the recently discovered decree of the ἱσotteλεις at Rhamnus (*S.E.G.* iii. 122) and explains <sup>201</sup> a puzzling docu-

<sup>181</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 286 ff.

<sup>182</sup> *Journ. d. Savants*, 1928, 300.

<sup>183</sup> *Eleusis*, 114.

<sup>184</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 667 ff., xlviii. 285 ff., 783 f.

<sup>185</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 80.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.* 81.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.* 82.

<sup>188</sup> *Bull. Metr. Mus.* N.Y. xxi. 176 ff.

<sup>189</sup> *B.C.H.* l. 495 ff., 506, 516.

<sup>190</sup> *Izvest. Ross. Akad. Istor. Mat. Kult.* iv. 94 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 104; *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 1186.

<sup>191</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 157 f.

<sup>192</sup> *Erechtheum*, 418 ff., 460 f.

<sup>193</sup> *Hermes*, lxiii. 377 f.

<sup>194</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* lxxvi. 222.

<sup>195</sup> *Eos*, xxix. 189 ff. Cf. *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 826 f.

<sup>196</sup> *Verhandl. der 55. Versammlung deutscher Philol.* (Leipzig, 1926), 26 f. Cf. *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 949.

<sup>197</sup> *Zts. österr. Gymn.* lviii. 302 ff. Cf. *Wien. Stud.* xxxiv. 332 ff.

<sup>198</sup> *Rev. Belge Phil. Hist.* vii. 1027 ff.

<sup>199</sup> 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1924, 50 ff., 55 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 158.

<sup>200</sup> *Hermes*, lxii. 489 f.

<sup>201</sup> *Wien. Anz.* 1927, 212 ff.

ment from Salamis<sup>202</sup> as a list of leased estates. W. Kolbe calls in question<sup>203</sup> the view that the years 376–3 B.C. formed a special epoch in the administration of the treasury of Athena, and A. C. Johnson's conjecture that it was the burning of the Opisthodomos which at this time brought about a change. The question of the dates of the third-century archons is raised afresh<sup>204</sup> by G. De Sanetis, and C. Blümel studies<sup>205</sup> two loutrophoroi and a lekythos of the early fourth century commemorating members of the same family, whose *stemma* he seeks to reconstruct. Finally, S. de Ricci calls attention<sup>206</sup> to an inscription in Trinity College, Cambridge, which, published by Boeckh among those of Attica (*C.I.G.* 106) but assigned by some scholars to Troezen and even to Halicarnassus, appears neither in *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>, nor in *I.G.* iv.

[*I.G.* iii.] *The Roman Imperial Period*.—It is to the untiring and fruitful labours of P. Graindor that we owe, in the period under review as in preceding years, the most striking advances made in the knowledge and study of the Attic inscriptions of the Roman Imperial age. In his work on Athens under Augustus<sup>207</sup> he utilises to the full the relevant epigraphical evidence. Elsewhere<sup>208</sup> he has published the opening phrases of a letter addressed to the Athenians by Antoninus Pius between A.D. 140 and 145, and has shown that the ἀγορανόμιον was dedicated to that Emperor, probably early in his reign, not, as has been hitherto supposed, by Herodes Atticus but by the Council of Five Hundred. Of yet greater importance is the long article<sup>209</sup> in which ninety-five inscriptions of this period are dealt with: of these by far the greater number were previously unpublished, including twelve dedications made by archons to Apollo, eleven inscriptions in honour of kings or emperors (among whom are Tiberius, Claudius, Nero and Hadrian), thirteen and twenty-one in honour of Romans and Athenians respectively, fifteen lists of archons, prytanes, ephēbi, etc., and two epitaphs. Graindor has also added new fragments to several texts already known<sup>210</sup> and has republished, with corrected texts or fuller restorations, a number of inscriptions faultily copied or imperfectly restored by previous scholars. The article concludes<sup>211</sup> with notes on the forms of some demotics which appear in the ephēbic lists.

J. Kirchner has contributed<sup>212</sup> two fragments of a catalogue of ephēbi dating from about A.D. 160 and three of another, which may be assigned to about A.D. 220, J. J. E. Hondius has published<sup>213</sup> a similar list of the second century of our era, and C. van Essen has called attention to a dedication by the Panhellenes τοῖν θεοῖν καὶ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι (Antoninus Pius) engraved on the architrave of a triumphal gate at Elcuisis.<sup>214</sup> A long and interesting, though unfortunately mutilated, poem, composed to welcome Herodes Atticus on his

<sup>202</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* xlviii. 1 ff.

<sup>203</sup> *Philologus*, lxxxiv. 261 ff.

<sup>204</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lv. 481 ff.

<sup>205</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 57 ff.

<sup>206</sup> *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxix. 45.

<sup>207</sup> *Athènes sous Auguste*, Cairo, 1927.

Cf. *B.C.H.* li. 328, *Rev. Belge Phil. Hist.* vii.

655, *Rev. Arch.* xxvii. (1928), 371.

<sup>208</sup> *Rev. Belge Phil. Hist.* vi. 753 ff. Cf.

*Rev. Arch.* xxviii. (1928), 391 f.

<sup>209</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 245 ff.

<sup>210</sup> *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>, 1105, iii. 53, 549, 880, 1198, etc.

<sup>211</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 327 f.

<sup>212</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* lii. 197 ff.

<sup>213</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 260.

<sup>214</sup> *B.C.H.* l. 201.

return, probably late in A.D. 175, from a visit to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius at Sirmium in Pannonia, has been republished<sup>215</sup> with a textual commentary by N. Svensson after an examination of the original stone, which was inaccessible to P. Graindor, its earlier editor,<sup>216</sup> and, with a somewhat improved text, by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.<sup>217</sup> B. Snell has examined<sup>218</sup> a group of inscriptions (*I.G.* iii. 3824, 3827, 3916, 3966) commemorating visits paid to the temple at Sunium, and has shown that two of them (3827 and 3966) form a single record. A. Wilhelm has restored<sup>219</sup> two passages in an honorary inscription published by P. Graindor<sup>220</sup> and one<sup>221</sup> in *I.G.* iii. 848. M. N. Tod has claimed<sup>222</sup> for Malta an epitaph hitherto attributed to Attica (iii. 2510), and other texts have been restored or discussed by P. I. Koets<sup>223</sup> and L. Deubner.<sup>224</sup>

### III. THE PELOPONNESE

[*I.G.* iv.] The new inscriptions from CORINTH—a fragment of a fourth-century epigram,<sup>225</sup> a graffito from the Theatre<sup>226</sup> and a number of tile-stamps<sup>227</sup>—are not of special note. C. H. Skalet's useful monograph on SICYON contains one unpublished text<sup>228</sup> and draws from epigraphical sources much of the material contained in its Sicyonian prosopographia, while C. W. Blegen has given us an excellent photograph of an archaic inscription of Nemea.<sup>229</sup> Two magnificent bronze vases dating from the fifth century, which were won as prizes in the Heraea at ARGOS, have been published—one, found in a tumulus in the Attic plain called 'the tomb of Aspasia' and now preserved in the British Museum, by A. H. Smith,<sup>230</sup> the other, recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in New York, by G. M. A. Richter.<sup>231</sup> L. Robert has successfully restored<sup>232</sup> two passages in an honorary decree (*I.G.* iv. 558) of the Dionysiac τεχνῖται οἱ ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας.<sup>233</sup> C. W. Vollgraff's discussion of the personal name Καβώλα, found in an Argive inscription, and of similar names with the prefix Κα-, which he takes as equivalent to Εὐ- or Καλλι-, I know only at second hand.<sup>234</sup> J. Zingerle has sought<sup>235</sup> to restore and explain a word in an archaic text from the Heraeum (*ibid.* 506).

A much more considerable contribution has been made by the Asclepieum of EPIDAUROS, where F. Hiller von Gaertringen has been engaged in making preparations for a new edition of the Argolic *Corpus*. In a valuable article<sup>236</sup> he has shown that in *I.G.* iv. 1423 we must read the name of Archon of Aegira,

<sup>215</sup> *B.C.H.* 1. 527 ff.

<sup>216</sup> *Musée Belge*, xvi. 69 ff.

<sup>217</sup> *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1928, 26 ff.

<sup>218</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 159 ff.

<sup>219</sup> *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1924, 193 f.

<sup>220</sup> *Rev. Arch.* vi. (1917), 25 ff., No. 14.

<sup>221</sup> *S.E.G.* iii. 258.

<sup>222</sup> *J.H.S.* xlviii. 4.

<sup>223</sup> *Mnemosyne*, lvi. 106 (*I.G.* iii. 893).

<sup>224</sup> *Jahrb.* xlii. 190 f. (*I.G.* iii. 1342). See also *S.E.G.* iii. 233, Εὐρετήριον τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων, I (Athens, 1927), p. 10.

<sup>225</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 9 f.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.* 476.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.* 465.

<sup>228</sup> *Ancient Sicyon* (Baltimore, 1928), 196 : cf. 17.

<sup>229</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxi. 432 f.

<sup>230</sup> *J.H.S.* xlv. 253 ff.

<sup>231</sup> *Antike Plastik* : W. Amelung zum 60. Geburtstag (Berlin, 1928), 182 ff.

<sup>232</sup> *B.C.H.* 1. 498 ff.

<sup>233</sup> Cf. *Mnemosyne*, xlix. 113 ff.

<sup>234</sup> *Journ. d. Savants*, 1928, 236 f.

<sup>235</sup> *Glotta*, xlii. 164.

<sup>236</sup> *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1925-6, 67 ff.



who was thrice στρατηγός of the Achaeans, and has assigned the inscription with probability to 182 B.C. He has also discussed<sup>237</sup> the name, site and history of the Argolic Methone or Methana (which in the Ptolemaic period bore for a while the name Arsinoe) and has published an agreement (ὁμολογία), concluded under Ptolemy Philometor, between its inhabitants and those of Troezen. Further, he has published<sup>238</sup> two stelae, one for the first time and the other (*I.G.* iv. 1504) in a revised version, bearing lists, arranged in geographical order, of the θεαροδόκοι of the Asclepieum resident in central, north-western and northern Greece, Macedonia, Chalcidice, Thrace and Magna Graecia: the original entries antedate 360 B.C., but later additions and alterations were made down to at least 316 B.C. The document is incidentally of some value for the history of Macedonia, indicating its small extent before the reign of Philip. Elsewhere<sup>239</sup> von Hiller has drawn attention to the mention in this list of Hicetas, the Leontine tyrant, and of a son of Marcus, the tyrant of Catana, whose name supports the MS. reading Μάρκος in Diod. xvi. 69 against the Μάμερκος of recent scholars. To him we also owe a text,<sup>240</sup> dating from the last quarter of the third century B.C., recording the repayment of a debt with interest by the Epidaurians to the Arcadian Elisphasii, as well as an important new fragment<sup>241</sup> of the arbitral delimitation of the frontier between Epidaurus and Hermione. G. M. A. Richter has afresh discussed<sup>242</sup> the meaning of the word τύπος used in the great building-record of the Asclepieum (*I.G.* iv. 1484. 36) and has decided in favour of 'relief' rather than 'model.' J. Tolstoy's examination<sup>243</sup> of the relation of the Epidaurian ἱάματα to the miracle-tales of Artemius I know only in a brief summary.<sup>244</sup>

U. Wilcken's revised edition<sup>245</sup> of the document (*S.E.G.* i. 75) recording the terms of the Hellenic Federation under the presidency of Kings Antigonos and Demetrius is of quite outstanding value. Not only have the previously known fragments been carefully and fruitfully studied, in the original and in squeezes, by Wilcken and Klaffenbach, but a new opisthographic stone, identified by von Hiller as belonging to this stele, is here first published. This finally settles the date of the inscription as 302 B.C., gives us its official title of φιλία καὶ συμμαχία and fixes the arrangement of the extant fragments. After a minute discussion of the text, which is here presented in a form showing a marked advance over previous versions,<sup>246</sup> Wilcken sums up the historical conclusions which may be regarded as established by the recent study of this document by himself and other scholars, notably P. Roussel. In an illuminating review<sup>247</sup> of this article, F. von Hiller emphasises the value of its contribution to Greek epigraphy and history and himself makes a number of suggestions for the further restoration of the text.

[*I.G.* v.] A. M. Woodward's report on the excavations carried out at

<sup>237</sup> 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1925-6, 68 ff.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.* 76 ff. Cf. *B.C.H.* i. 545.

<sup>239</sup> *Wien. Stud.* xlv. 93 ff.

<sup>240</sup> 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1925-6, 84 ff.

<sup>241</sup> Πρακτικά Ἀκαδ. Ἀθ. iii. 106 ff.

<sup>242</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxi. 80 ff.

<sup>243</sup> *Recueil Gébélév*, Leningrad, 1926.

<sup>244</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 980.

<sup>245</sup> *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1927, 277 ff.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. *J.H.S.* xliii. 21 f., xlv. 112 f., xlvii. 193.

<sup>247</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 700 ff.

SPARTA in 1926 contains not only a summary<sup>248</sup> of the evidence afforded by inscriptions for the chronology of the Theatre, but also a full and detailed account<sup>249</sup> of the epigraphical discoveries of the campaign. These include three texts (Nos. 38-40), dating from the sixth or early fifth century B.C., from the Acropolis, and thirty-six, some of them very fragmentary, from the Theatre : among them the most interesting are two inscriptions still *in situ* at the E. end of the supporting wall of the exterior staircase (F3, 4), recording the careers of two distinguished Spartan citizens, and an epigram in honour of the proconsul Anatolius, who held office in the second half of the fourth century of our era (No. 35). W. von Massow argues<sup>250</sup> that in a fragmentary relief of about 475 B.C., found at Amyclae, we must recognise the stele of the Olympic victor Aenetus, who died while being crowned (Paus. iii. 18. 5).

Four inscriptions of more than usual interest were unearthed in 1923 during the course of building operations near the Theatre at GYTHIUM and have been published with a detailed commentary by S. B. Kougeas.<sup>251</sup> One is a bilingual text engraved on the marble base of a statue (perhaps the headless statue found at this site and now preserved in the local Museum) erected, probably shortly after the battle of Actium, by Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς Λακωνικῆς πραγματούμενοι in honour of their benefactor, C. Julius Eurycles. The second, dating probably from A.D. 15, contains forty lines of a valuable ἐπὶ νόμος, which regulates the festival of the Caesarea and Euryclea with its attendant sacrifices, procession and contests and provides safeguards against any misappropriation of funds on the part of the ἀγορανόμοι in charge : the eight days of the festival are celebrated in honour of Divus Augustus, Tiberius, Julia Augusta, Germanicus, Drusus, T. Quinctius Flamininus, C. Julius Eurycles and C. Julius Lacon respectively. The third inscription contains a letter of Tiberius, written soon after his accession, in which he approves of the divine honours voted by the Gytheates to Divus Augustus, but declares himself satisfied ταῖς μετριοτέροις τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείοις : his mother, he adds, will in due course acknowledge the distinctions offered her on the same occasion. Finally, there is the latter part of the dedication of a statue τῇ ἐπιφανεστάτῃ θεᾷ Τύχῃ τῆς πόλεως, probably Julia Augusta.

L. Robert restores<sup>252</sup> a decree (*I.G.* v. 1. 1423) passed by an unnamed city in honour of Messenian judges.

From ARCADIA there is but little to report. R. Vallois' account<sup>253</sup> of the Tegean Theatre contains a fourth-century dedication of an *agonothetes* and six epitaphs, two of which are metrical, and G. De Sanctis' discussion<sup>254</sup> of the Arcadian League in the third century takes as its starting-point the famous decree in honour of Phylarchus (*I.G.* v. 2. 1). L. Robert's emendations<sup>255</sup> of the decrees of the Magnetes and Demetrians found at Cleitor (*ibid.* 367) and a preliminary account of a statue-base unearthed at Stymphalus<sup>256</sup> complete our list.

<sup>248</sup> *B.S.A.* xxvii. 205 ff.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.* 210 ff.

<sup>250</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 41 ff.

<sup>251</sup> Ἑλληνικά, i. 7 ff., 152 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 586.

<sup>252</sup> *B.C.H.* 1. 487 ff.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.* 166 ff.

<sup>254</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lv. 485 ff.

<sup>255</sup> *B.C.H.* 1. 482 ff.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.* 550.

[*I.G.* vi.] P. Wolters has discussed <sup>257</sup> various problems connected with the Spartan dedication at Olympia <sup>258</sup> commemorating the victory won at Tanagra by the Spartan Confederacy in 457 B.C.

#### IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

[*I.G.* vii.] W. Bannier has offered <sup>259</sup> a new interpretation of an archaic inscription <sup>260</sup> upon a cenotaph discovered at MEGARA.

B. Leonardos, who for many years past has devoted time and toil unstintingly to the investigation of the Amphiaraus-sanctuary at OROPUS and the elucidation of its epigraphical records, has published <sup>261</sup> thirty-one texts from that site. Fourteen of these appear in *I.G.* vii., but are here re-edited with improved readings or restorations and full commentaries: the remainder comprise four dedications to Amphiaraus, a list of twenty-four bronze statues erected by states or public corporations in honour of a distinguished man (No. 129), a proxeny-record, several lists of victors in various contests, a fragmentary *lex sacra* in the Eretrian dialect (No. 155) and two *abaci* <sup>262</sup> bearing acrophonic numeral signs. Two epitaphs of the Roman period are reported to have been found at Skala Oropou.<sup>263</sup>

A specially noteworthy article <sup>264</sup> is that in which A. Plassart completes the publication of the inscriptions, of which fifty-six were previously edited by P. Jamot, discovered in the course of the French excavations at THESPIAE and in the Vale of the Muses. The stones here dealt with are for the most part preserved in the Museum at Thebes and all except fourteen have not been previously published. Five of them are in the archaic Boeotian writing, and the remaining 120 in the later script. The great majority are dedications and honorary inscriptions, though there is also a small group of boundary-stones of sacred domains (Nos. 5-13): among the most interesting are a series of dedications to Artemis Eileithyia (25-37), a votive offering made by an epic poet to the Muses of Helicon (45) and the inscriptions on the statue-bases of eminent Romans, among whom are Sulla (73), M. Licinius Crassus, consul in 30 B.C. (78), and a number of Emperors or members of the Imperial family (86-104).

H. Goldman's excavations at Eutresis have brought to light three inscriptions,<sup>265</sup> one of which is a curious metrical epitaph,<sup>266</sup> dating from about 350 B.C., of a mole-hunter. A. Wilhelm has discussed <sup>267</sup> and restored two texts (*I.G.* vii. 2411-2) copied by Pococke at THEBES and conjectures that both are parts of one and the same Attic decree, which may be assigned to the late third or early second century B.C.; whether the stone was originally erected at Thebes or was brought there from Athens cannot be determined. The two

<sup>257</sup> *Philol.* lxxxiv. 121 ff.

<sup>258</sup> Hicks-Hill, 30. Cf. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Hist. gr. Epigr.* 46; E. Preuner, *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 325 f.

<sup>259</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 923 f.

<sup>260</sup> Cf. *Ath. Mitt.* xxxi. 89 ff., 342 ff.

<sup>261</sup> 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1925-6, 9 ff.

<sup>262</sup> Cf. *B.S.A.* xxviii. 143.

<sup>263</sup> *B.C.H.* l. 554.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.* 383 ff. Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 518.

<sup>265</sup> *Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Eutresis* (Fogg Art Museum Notes), 87 f.

<sup>266</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 179 ff.

<sup>267</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* lxxvii. 174 ff.

ninth-century inscriptions (*C.I.G.* 8686) from the church of St. Gregory the Divine at Thebes fall outside the scope of this survey.<sup>268</sup>

[*I. G.* viii.] The study of the epigraphical treasures of DELPHI continues to produce valuable results. G. Colin has issued a further instalment<sup>269</sup> of the epigraphical volume of the *Fouilles de Delphes*, devoted to the Messenian basis and its thirty-five engraved texts, of which one (No. 33) was partly and another (No. 35) wholly unpublished hitherto: besides three inscriptions (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 81 A-C) relative to the dedication or repair of the monument, there are thirty-one proxeny-records ranging from 340 B.C. to A.D. 79, and five fragments of a letter dating from the late second century B.C. R. Flacelière has published<sup>270</sup> a decree of about 266 B.C. passed by the Delphic amphictiony in honour of its assistant secretary, and has discussed the participation of Corinth in that body; he has also given us<sup>271</sup> a fragment of an Attic decree of about 250 B.C. honouring the distinguished Aetolian στροτηγός Charixenus, and has discussed<sup>272</sup> the date of the decree (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 452) recording the grant of προξενία to the poet Nicander of Colophon, supporting the view, which Beloch at first maintained (*Gr. Gesch.* iii<sup>1</sup>, 2. 486) and later abandoned (*op. cit.* iv<sup>2</sup>, 2. 574), that it falls in 258-7 B.C. In the course of this article he publishes (p. 87) a proxeny-record of which only a fragment was previously known and also champions against Beloch P. Roussel's view of the transformation of the Soteria from an annual into a penteteric festival. An unpublished thesis of the same scholar on Delphian chronology has been appraised and summarised by S. Reinach.<sup>273</sup> F. Courby and P. de la Coste-Messelière have examined<sup>274</sup> the remains and proposed a reconstruction of the monument of the Aetolians, restored more correctly its two third-century dedications (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 512) and published, for the first time or in an improved form, eight proxeny-records belonging to the period from 157-6 to about 119-18 B.C. To P. Roussel we owe revised texts<sup>275</sup> of four documents (one of which he enriches with an important unpublished fragment) dating from about 201-0 B.C., which record the honours bestowed on Aetolian ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς πόλιος. Roussel investigates the functions of these officials and maintains that Delphi was not, as has sometimes been held, a member of the Aetolian League. T. Reinach has attempted<sup>276</sup> to restore a mutilated text of about the middle of the fourth century B.C., in which he sees a fragment of an Amphictionic decree ordering the publication of a list of the votive offerings destroyed by the Phocians during the Third Sacred War; the first item on the list is apparently a dedication of Alyattes of Lydia.

W. Vollgraff has completed<sup>277</sup> his detailed study of the Delphian paean to Dionysus by a minute examination of strophes x-xii, and has crowned his work

<sup>268</sup> 'ApX. 'Ep. 1924, 1 f.

<sup>269</sup> iii. 4, Paris, 1922 (issued 1928).

<sup>270</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 345 ff., 352. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 585.

<sup>271</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 349 ff.

<sup>272</sup> *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xli. 83 ff.

<sup>273</sup> *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1928, 125 ff.

<sup>274</sup> *B.C.H.* l. 107 ff.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.* 124 ff.

<sup>276</sup> *Rev. Arch.* xxviii. (1928), 34 ff., *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1928, 159.

<sup>277</sup> *B.C.H.* l. 263 ff., li. 423 ff. Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 516 f.

by giving the full text (p. 465 ff.) of the poem as restored by him. A document of exceptional interest for the economic history of Delphi is the law passed in the archonship of Cadys, limiting the legal rate of interest and providing penalties in case of infringement of the rule. Of this τεθμός thirty-two fragments, almost all found in 1896, survive, but, though they were published by Bourguet in *Fouilles de Delphes* (iii. 1. 294), a full discussion of them has hitherto been wanting. This lacuna T. Homolle filled at the close of his life by a long article<sup>278</sup> which contains an exact description of the stones, a restored text with a French translation, a grammatical, dialectical and textual commentary and a survey of the historical context and significance of the law, which he assigns to 390–360 B.C. Two clauses in the first column of this enactment have been differently interpreted by T. Reinach,<sup>279</sup> who held that the maximum rate of interest permitted by the law was not, as Homolle thought, 6 per cent., but 8.57 per cent. in an ordinary and 9.28 per cent. in an intercalary year. H. Stuart Jones has devoted a masterly article<sup>280</sup> to the historical questions raised by the well-known Delphian text of a Roman law dealing with piracy (cf. *J.H.S.* xlvii. 197 f.), the provisions of which are, he thinks, 'entirely consistent with the diplomatic situation existing in 101–96 B.C.' but 'difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile with the situation in 74 B.C. or 67 B.C.' 'It is,' he concludes (p. 173), 'an interesting monument of a short-lived phase of democratic government and an attempt to substitute the people for the Senate in the conduct of Imperial affairs.' No revised text is given, but two valuable restorations are suggested (pp. 160, 166). G. De Sanctis has expressed<sup>281</sup> his concurrence in Stuart Jones' views.

The remaining contributions to Delphian epigraphy must be more briefly dismissed. H. Bulle has dealt<sup>282</sup> with the Tarentine base (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 21), G. Méautis<sup>283</sup> with the epigram in honour of Lysander (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. 1. 50) and G. Lippold<sup>284</sup> with that commemorating Agias, in which the word τρίς is, he maintains, engraved over a deleted παντάκτις and so affords no criterion to determine the chronological relation between the Delphian and the Pharsalian copy. W. Morel points out<sup>285</sup> that a hitherto unexplained fragment (*B.C.H.* xlix. 88) contains the beginnings of Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 529 f., and *Medea*, 20. F. Poulsen and K. Rhomaios provide<sup>286</sup> an improved text of an Aetolo-Boeotian treaty (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 366) of the early third century B.C., A. B. West discusses<sup>287</sup> the Delphian record (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 802) of the athletic victories won between A.D. 39 and 45 by three young women in the Isthmian, Nemean and Pythian games, and calls attention to this 'excellent illustration of the community life of Hellas during the first century of the Empire,' and L. Robert offers<sup>288</sup> emendations of passages in a Scepsian decree (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. 1. 288) and in a second-

<sup>278</sup> *B.C.H.* i. 3 ff.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 170 ff. Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 516.

<sup>280</sup> *J.R.S.* xvi. 155 ff.

<sup>281</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lv. 557 f. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxvi. (1927), 321.

<sup>282</sup> *Antike Plastik*: W. Amelung zum 60. Geburtstag (Berlin, 1928), 45.

<sup>283</sup> *Acropole*, i. 196 ff.

<sup>284</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 93 f.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.* xlvii. 636 f.

<sup>286</sup> *Op. cit.* 8.

<sup>287</sup> *Class. Phil.* xxiii. 258 ff.

<sup>288</sup> *B.C.H.* i. 511 ff., 582, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xl. 219 f.

century Delphian decree honouring the Athenian guild of τεχνῖται (*op. cit.* iii. 2. 48 = *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 711*L*).

[*I. G.* ix.] One of the most interesting of recent finds is that of a well-preserved bronze tablet, now in the Museum at Thermon, which is said to have been found on the left bank of the Evenus or, according to a more probable account, in the neighbourhood of Naupactus. It bears a text of twenty-four lines in the north-western Greek dialect, engraved *boustrophedon* in the alphabet of Western LOCRI, and is assigned to the closing years of the sixth century by its editor,<sup>289</sup> N. G. Pappadakis, who accompanies it with a linguistic commentary, a translation into the κοινή, a discussion of the content of the τετθμός which it contains and a summary of the historical conclusions to which it leads. The text has been republished<sup>290</sup> with slight emendations by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who has given us a translation into German, an historical interpretation of the document, and notes on its text, orthography and dialect: he points out that there is reason to believe that this law, regulating the occupation and exploitation of a stretch of wooded and mountainous land by citizens of the enacting community, was either never carried into effect or soon fell into abeyance. The results of von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff are accepted in the main by S. Luria,<sup>291</sup> who, however, offers a number of valuable criticisms and suggestions, and A. Meillet comments<sup>292</sup> on some linguistic features of the text, notably the forms τετθμός and πάντεσιν.

The fruitful excavations carried out at Calydon in AETOLIA are described in a provisional report<sup>293</sup> by F. Poulsen and K. Rhomaios. A dedicatory inscription on a fragment of a crater helps to render certain the identification of the site of the shrine of Artemis Laphria (p. 8 f., fig. 3), a broken terracotta metope bears part of Troilus' name (p. 22, fig. 30), while a number of fragments of the temple sima bear on their reverse inscriptions in the archaic Corinthian alphabet denoting their positions (p. 23 ff., figs. 37-40). The temple and its neighbourhood have also produced a late third-century record of ἰσοπολιτεία between the Aetolian League and the city of Tricca in Thessaly, together with part of a treaty between the Aetolians and Lusi in Arcadia, dating probably from 220 B.C., in which the territory of Lusi is recognised as ἄσυλος and light is thrown upon a passage in Polybius (iv. 18), and three short epitaphs (p. 43 ff., fig. 69). Finally, in the *heroön* lying to the south of the Laphrium a small archaic altar, with a votive inscription of the second century A.D., and the dedication of the whole building have come to light (p. 55 f., figs. 84, 85). Other minor discoveries are reported from the same site.<sup>294</sup> W. V[ollgraff] suggests<sup>295</sup> a restoration in an epigram found by Picard and Courby<sup>296</sup> at Stratus in Acarnania, and A. Wilhelm similarly emends<sup>297</sup> an epigram of Cephallenia.

<sup>289</sup> 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1924, 119 ff.

<sup>290</sup> *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1927, 7 ff. Cf. F. von Hiller, *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 1042 f.

<sup>291</sup> *C.R. de l'Acad. des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S.* 1927, 216 ff.

<sup>292</sup> *Rev. Phil.* ii. 185 ff.

<sup>293</sup> *Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Hist.-fil. Meddelelser*, xiv. 3. Cf. G. Lippold,

*Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 1519 ff.; M. Holleaux, *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1928, 131 ff.

<sup>294</sup> *B.C.H.* 1. 558 f., *Rev. Arch.* xxviii. (1928), 138.

<sup>295</sup> *Mnemosyne*, lvi. 222.

<sup>296</sup> *Recherches Archéologiques à Stratos* (Paris, 1924), 110, No. 3.

<sup>297</sup> 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1924, 60 ff.

A. S. Arvanitopoulos, to whom the epigraphy of THESSALY owes an incalculable debt, has published<sup>298</sup> with full descriptions and exhaustive commentaries the texts of Pythium, the capital of the Perrhaebic Tripolis, the site of which has long been identified near the modern village of Selos. They number thirty-seven in all, as compared with the eleven which are attributed to this city in the *Corpus* (*I.G.* ix. 2. 1281-91), and are almost all now preserved in the Museum of Ellassona. Ten are dedications, individual or collective, to Ζεὺς κεραύνιος, Ζεὺς καταβάτης, Herakles, Asclepius and other divinities; six are epitaphs, one commemorates Augustus and the remaining twenty are manumission records. Of these last, which afford interesting examples of various formulae and of both conditional and unconditional emancipation, the most valuable is No. 400, assigned by the editor to the early years of Augustus' principate, in which the slaves regularly bear a patronymic and are freed by their masters and mistresses jointly κατὰ τὸν νόμον without any explicit reference to the usual manumission-tax.

To G. Lippold's article<sup>299</sup> on the Delphian and Pharsalian copies of the Agias-epigram reference has already been made. At Pherae a fragment of a fifth-century basis bearing a sculptor's signature has come to light.<sup>300</sup> L. Robert has successfully restored<sup>301</sup> a passage in a decree, found at Larisa, in which the Thessalian Confederation honours judges sent from Mylasa (*I.G.* ix. 2. 507). Otherwise there is nothing of moment to record.<sup>302</sup>

#### V. MACEDONIA, THRACE AND SCYTHIA

[*I.G.* x.] The new epigraphical discoveries in EPIRUS—an inscription<sup>303</sup> erected at Nicopolis in honour of Augustus and an epitaph from Phoenice<sup>304</sup>—are not especially noteworthy. A silver leaf, rolled up and deposited in a third-century sarcophagus lying in the cemetery to the west of the camp at Carnuntum, has been carefully published<sup>305</sup> by A. Barb and the magical text engraved on it has been further discussed<sup>306</sup> by R. Reitzenstein, who points out that it preserves the original formula of a Christian amulet which has survived in MSS.

MACEDONIA is better represented. B. Saria has published<sup>307</sup> two epitaphs from Dyrrhachium, while copies made by a Bulgarian veterinary surgeon have enabled H. Volkmann to give<sup>308</sup> improved texts of three epitaphs<sup>309</sup> of the district of Stobi and Veles and to add three others previously unknown. To M. Niedermann we owe an account<sup>310</sup> of three sculptured and inscribed grave-stones from the neighbourhood of Prilep, on one of which the writing runs in the retrograde direction. The discovery of a fragmentary building inscription at Salonica is reported,<sup>311</sup> C. Picard has commented<sup>312</sup> on the epigraphical

<sup>298</sup> 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1924, 142 ff.

<sup>299</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 93 f.

<sup>300</sup> *Arch. Anz.* xli. 430.

<sup>301</sup> *B.C.H.* l. 479 ff.

<sup>302</sup> Cf. D. Levi, *Annuario*, vi. vii. 29;

G. A. Soteriou, Πρακτικά 'Αρχ. Έτ. 1927, 12, 48; *B.C.H.* li. 484 f.

<sup>303</sup> Πρακτικά 'Αρχ. Έτ. 1927, 13, 50 f.; *B.C.H.* li. 483.

<sup>304</sup> *Rendic. Pont. Acc. Rom.* v. 77 f.

<sup>305</sup> *Röm. Limes in Österreich*, xvi. 53 ff.

<sup>306</sup> *Arch. Rel.* xxiv. 176 ff.

<sup>307</sup> *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 245 f.

<sup>308</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* l. 133 ff.

<sup>309</sup> M. G. Demitsas, Μακεδονία, Nos. 301-3.

<sup>310</sup> *B.C.H.* l. 463 ff., li. 502.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.* l. 563.

<sup>312</sup> *Rev. Phil.* i. 325 f.

evidence for the worship of Mithra in that city, emphasising the importance of the Via Egnatia in facilitating the progress of that cult across the Balkan Peninsula, and A. Wilhelm has restored <sup>313</sup> an epigram discovered near Eleutherochorion by G. P. Oikonomos.<sup>314</sup>

In a long and interesting essay <sup>315</sup> on 'King Rhesus and the Hero Huntsman' G. Seure examines the etymology and traditions of Rhesus and the epithets and representations of the 'Thracian rider,' and finds between the two 'a sculptural and epigraphical similarity which justifies us in inferring a partial identity and in suspecting that ῥῆσος, with or without a capital letter, was one of the ritual epithets or one of the secret names of the Thracian National Hero.' He rejects the view recently propounded <sup>316</sup> by A. Buday, that the mounted hunter depicted on numerous Thracian dedications represents the votary and not the object of his devotion, and gives facsimiles and full descriptions of six of the stones in question. G. I. Kazarov's survey <sup>317</sup> of ancient monuments from Bulgaria is of less importance for our purpose, but the same scholar has elsewhere <sup>318</sup> given a valuable account of recent discoveries in various parts of that country, which include several new reliefs of the horseman and votive inscriptions to the Mother of the Gods, Ζεὺς ὑψιστος, Φοῖβος σῶζων and other gods or heroes (Nos. 7-11, 13). A. Wilhelm has restored <sup>319</sup> the opening lines of an honorary decree of Abdera, H. Dessau interprets <sup>320</sup> afresh the famous inscription of Scaptopara (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 888) in western Thrace, I. Velkov publishes <sup>321</sup> some archaeological finds made in 1925-6 at Tatar-Pazardjik, Rila and elsewhere, O. Weinreich discusses <sup>322</sup> the three-headed Thracian rider on an inscribed relief from Philippopolis, and J. Zingerle emends <sup>323</sup> a metrical epitaph of the same provenance. G. I. Kazarov's detailed publication <sup>324</sup> of the discoveries made at the shrine of the Thracian hero at Diinikli, near the Maritza and the Roman road from Philippopolis to Adrianopolis, is inaccessible to me, and I know only his summary <sup>325</sup> of the general results of the excavation and of the epigraphical finds. I. Velkov's account <sup>326</sup> of the series of honorary inscriptions to Roman Emperors—Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Severus Alexander and others—unearthed near Gostilitza and of the dedication to Zeus set up at Novae by a legionary I know only indirectly.<sup>327</sup>

To the preliminary report on the excavations carried out in 1927 at Constantinople under the auspices of the British Academy A. H. M. Jones contributes a brief chapter <sup>328</sup> dealing with four well-known texts from the Hippodrome—that on the Serpent Column (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 31), originally erected at Delphi in, or shortly after, 479 B.C., the Latin and Greek epigrams (*C.I.G.* 8612) engraved

<sup>313</sup> 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1924, 54 f.

<sup>314</sup> 'Εμπρ. τ. Μακεδονίας, 39, No. 65.

<sup>315</sup> *Rev. Phil.* ii. 106 ff.

<sup>316</sup> *Travaux de l'Inst. arch. de l'Univ. François-Joseph à Szeged*, ii. 1 ff., iv. 1 ff.

<sup>317</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* iv. 81 ff. Cf. *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 1303.

<sup>318</sup> *Arch. Anz.* xlii. 317 ff.

<sup>319</sup> *Hermes*, lxiii. 229 ff.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.* lxii. 205 ff.

<sup>321</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* iv. 317 ff.

<sup>322</sup> *Arch. Anz.* xlii. 20 ff.

<sup>323</sup> *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 364 note 1.

<sup>324</sup> *Sbornik B. Diakovitch*, 1927.

<sup>325</sup> *Klio*, xxii. 232 ff., esp. 236.

<sup>326</sup> *Godichnika na Narodnita za 1922-5*, 127 ff.

<sup>327</sup> *Rev. Arch.* xxvi. (1927), 365 ff.

<sup>328</sup> *Preliminary Report upon the Excavations in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927* (London, 1928), 43 ff.



in the fourth century A.D. on the base of the Egyptian obelisk, and the tenth-century epigram of Constantine Porphyrogenitus on the base of the neighbouring obelisk (*C.I.G.* 8703).

The Greek cities on the western coast of the Pontus have proved very productive in recent years. For the twenty-five Greek and five Latin inscriptions from Odessus (Varna) and elsewhere published<sup>329</sup> by A. Salač and K. Škorpil, some of them of considerable interest. I must content myself with a reference to E. H. Minns' summary.<sup>330</sup> To several well-known inscriptions of this group of cities V. Pârvan refers in his illuminating account of Dacia.<sup>331</sup> O. Tafrali's monograph<sup>332</sup> on Dionysopolis contains an epigraphical section, in which the inscriptions of this city—nine in Greek and two in Latin—found at Baltchik and Cavarna, are collected and edited. T. Sauciuc-Saveanu has dealt<sup>333</sup> with eighteen Greek texts on stone from Callatis (Mangalia), together with forty-three inscriptions on amphora-necks or handles, etc. Only three of these had been previously published—an epitaph on a sarcophagus and two well-known decrees of a θίασος, with which the editor,<sup>334</sup> V. Pârvan,<sup>335</sup> W. Kubitschek<sup>336</sup> and A. Wilhelm<sup>337</sup> deal more fully elsewhere: the last-named also restores<sup>338</sup> a decree of Callatis long known.<sup>339</sup> P. Roussel has annotated<sup>340</sup> a religious regulation (*L.G.S.* ii. 84) belonging either to Callatis or to Tomi: a second-century dedication of the guardian of the οἶκος of the φυλή Ὀπλαίων at Tomi has been published<sup>341</sup> with a full commentary by V. Pârvan, who has also edited<sup>342</sup> a third series of epigraphical texts from Histria, discovered in the course of the excavations which he conducted from 1923 to 1925. These comprise twenty-three Greek and eighteen Latin inscriptions: among the former are six epitaphs of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (Nos. 1-6), five fragments of honorary decrees (Nos. 7-10, 12) and a dedication Ἠλίω Μίθρα ἀνακίτῳ, the significance of which is emphasised by C. Picard.<sup>343</sup>

An epigram from Phanagoria in SCYTHIA has been emended<sup>344</sup> by J. Zingerle, and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, commenting upon a grave-epigram found at Chersonesus in the Crimea (*I.O.S.P.E.* i<sup>2</sup>. 519), points out<sup>345</sup> that the composer had before him Callimachus' *Aetia*, Theocritus and Homer. E. Pridik has drawn up<sup>346</sup> lists of the ἀστυνόμοι, manufacturers and trade-marks found stamped on over 6500 amphorae and tiles collected in South Russia.

<sup>329</sup> *Několik Archeologických Památek z Východního Bulharska*, Prague, 1928.

<sup>330</sup> *Class. Rev.* xlii. 243.

<sup>331</sup> *Dacia* (Cambridge, 1928), esp. ch. iii.

<sup>332</sup> *La cité pontique de Dionysopolis* (Paris, 1927), 62 ff. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxvii. (1928), 370, *Rev. Belge Phil. Hist.* vii. 1587.

<sup>333</sup> *Dacia*, i. 126 ff., ii. 121 ff.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.* i. 317 ff.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.* 363 ff.

<sup>336</sup> *Num. Zts.* lx. 36 ff.

<sup>337</sup> *Hermes*, lxxiii. 225 ff., 364 ff., *Wien. Anz.* 1928, 129 ff.

<sup>338</sup> *Wien. Anz.* 1928, 138 ff.

<sup>339</sup> *A.-E.M.* xi. 35, No. 35.

<sup>340</sup> *B.C.H.* l. 313 ff.

<sup>341</sup> *Dacia*, i. 273 ff.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 198 ff.

<sup>343</sup> *Rev. Phil.* i. 325 f.

<sup>344</sup> *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 409 ff.

<sup>345</sup> *Hermes*, lxxiii. 384 ff.

<sup>346</sup> *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1928, 227, 342 ff. For other S. Russian inscriptions see *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 980, 1186; *J.H.S.* xlviii. 44 f.; C. Grinevitch, *L'enceinte de Chersonnèse Taurique*, i. figs. 15, 31.

## VI. THE ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN

[*I.G.* xi.] Although the period under review has not brought any additions to the inscriptions of DELOS, it has afforded an opportunity for a close and fruitful study of certain well-known texts. In his remarks <sup>347</sup> on some religious regulations, P. Roussel has examined and criticised J. Zingerle's interpretation <sup>348</sup> of two Delian documents, while A. Severyns has explained <sup>349</sup> two graffiti, one as the metrical expression of a slave's longing for his well-watered home of Antioch on the Maeander, the other as the avowal of Hermias' passion for Demetrius, an enthusiastic player of ἀσπράγαλοι. F. Hiller von Gaertringen offers <sup>350</sup> a new reading and restoration of an interesting building-inscription, the two portions of which <sup>351</sup> were separately published, at an interval of fifteen years, by T. Homolle and by F. Durrbach. E. Weiss examines <sup>352</sup> the text and content of the ἐπεὶ συγγραφή, <sup>353</sup> in which were formulated the conditions governing the leases of Apollo's domains in Delos and the neighbouring islands, and carefully investigates some of the juristic questions which it raises or suggests. M. Bulard has devoted a valuable monograph <sup>354</sup> to domestic religion in the Italian colony of Delos, in the course of which he refers to various graffiti on revetments and also discusses and restores a dedication found on the island (p. 210 f.). L. Robert has restored <sup>355</sup> a phrase in the treaty, discovered in Delos, between the Lesbian cities (*I.G.* xi. 1064), S. G. Mercati has studied <sup>356</sup> a fifth-century Christian inscription exhibiting a liturgical character and a rhythmical structure, and the Delian provenance of a votive epigram of the fourth century B.C. has been confirmed and its text perfectly recovered by the assignment to it of a fragment which has long been preserved in the Delos Museum. <sup>357</sup>

Five plates designed to illustrate the development of the epigraphical script of Delos, together with a transcription of the texts in question, have been published <sup>358</sup> by F. Hiller von Gaertringen: they were originally intended to form part of *I.G.* xi. fasc. 3, but the inscriptions which were to have composed that fascicule (Nos. 290-509) have been, or will be, separately edited by F. Durrbach. <sup>359</sup> A notice of the same scholar's *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, I. fasc. 2, appears in E. Ziebarth's survey of the epigraphical progress of the years 1894-1919 (1925). <sup>360</sup> Of G. F. Braun's dissertation <sup>361</sup> on the phonetics of the Delian inscriptions, which I should have mentioned in an earlier Bibliography,

<sup>347</sup> *B.C.H.* I. 312 f.

<sup>348</sup> *Strena Buliciana* (Zagreb, 1924), 190 f.

<sup>349</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 234 ff.

<sup>350</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 150 ff.

<sup>351</sup> *B.C.H.* xiv. 467 f., xxix. 459 ff.

<sup>352</sup> Ἐπιτύμβιον H. Swoboda dargebracht (Reichenberg, 1927), 325 ff. Cf. *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 339, *Gnomon*, iv. 406 ff.

<sup>353</sup> F. Durrbach, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxii. 167 ff., E. Ziebarth, *Hermes*, lxi. 87 ff.

<sup>354</sup> *La religion domestique dans la colonie italienne de Délos*, Paris, 1926. Cf. *Journ.*

*d. Savants*, 1928, 225 ff.

<sup>355</sup> *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xl. 219.

<sup>356</sup> *Byz. Zts.* xxvi. 315 f.

<sup>357</sup> *B.C.H.* I. 572.

<sup>358</sup> *Inscr. Graecae*, xi. 3 tabulae, Berlin, 1927.

<sup>359</sup> *Inscriptions de Délos: Comptes des Hiéropes*. Cf. *J.H.S.* xlvii. 200 f.

<sup>360</sup> *Bursians Jahresbericht*, ccxiii. 2 f.

<sup>361</sup> *Untersuchungen zur Lautlehre delischer Inschriften*, Munich, 1920. Auszug: Munich, 1925.

nothing is known to me save the title. The word  $\kappa\nu\nu\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , which occurs, or can be restored, in several Delian texts, is interpreted<sup>362</sup> by T. Reinach.

[*I.G.* xii.] To E. Ziebarth's survey just mentioned H. Kasten has contributed a long and valuable section<sup>363</sup> dealing with the field covered by *I.G.* xii.

The report<sup>364</sup> of A. Maiuri and G. Jacopich on the Archaeological Service at RHODES is known to me only through a review<sup>365</sup> by F. von Hiller, who briefly indicates its contribution to the epigraphy of Rhodes, the Dodecanese and the neighbouring portion of the mainland. A. Wilhelm has corrected or restored<sup>366</sup> a dozen Rhodian texts published in Maiuri's *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (cf. *J.H.S.* xlvii. 201). W. Bannier has suggested<sup>367</sup> a new reading of an archaic epigram of Camirus (*I.G.* xii. 1. 737), and several vase-inscriptions of Ialysus have been published<sup>368</sup> by A. Maiuri. The famous decree of Carpathus (*ibid.* 977) has attracted renewed attention<sup>369</sup> in connexion with the history of the Erechtheum.

To L. Robert we owe a revised restoration<sup>370</sup> of a Colophonian decree in honour of a judge sent from Methymna (*I.G.* xii. 2. 658) as well as of another considerable fragment (*ibid.* 509) of the same nature, which, according to Robert's almost certain conjecture, we may regard as the close of the same decree. W. Bannier offers<sup>371</sup> a new reading and interpretation of an archaic rock-cut inscription from Thera (*I.G.* xii. 3. 536), while other epigraphical discoveries from that island are reported,<sup>372</sup> though not yet fully published.

No new inscriptions of Cos have appeared, but twelve texts from the island, contained in Maiuri's *Nuova silloge*, have been corrected, restored or explained by A. Wilhelm,<sup>373</sup> among them the interesting *lex sacra* (No. 441), in which two emendations have been independently suggested<sup>374</sup> by P. Roussel, and a sepulchral epigram (No. 510), the metre of which has been further discussed<sup>375</sup> by H. J. Rose. A. Wilhelm has also pointed out<sup>376</sup> that an inscription assigned by K. M. Mayr<sup>377</sup> to Crete belongs really to Calymnus and was brought thence to Chios, where F. Studniczka saw it.<sup>378</sup>

A. Wilhelm has restored<sup>379</sup> an epigram of Paros (*I.G.* xii. 5. 217) and W. Bannier<sup>380</sup> an archaic text of the same island (*ibid.* 219) as well as an early metrical dedication<sup>381</sup> of Iulis in Ceos (*ibid.* 611): L. Robert has reconstituted<sup>382</sup> the text of two honorary decrees of Andros and of a decree of Tralles discovered

<sup>362</sup> *Rev. Phil.* ii. 97 ff.

<sup>363</sup> *Bursians Jahresbericht*, cccxiii. 3 ff.

<sup>364</sup> *Rapporto generale sul servizio archeologico a Rodi e nelle isole dipendenti 1912-1927*, Rhodes, 1928. This forms Vol. I. of the series entitled *Clara Rhodos: Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell' Istituto storico-archeologico di Rodi*.

<sup>365</sup> *Gnomon*, iv. 431 ff.

<sup>366</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 1 ff.

<sup>367</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 924.

<sup>368</sup> *Annuario*, vi/vii. 260 f.

<sup>369</sup> J. M. Paton, *Erechtheum*, 461 f.

<sup>370</sup> *B.C.H.* 1. 469 ff.

<sup>371</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 924.

<sup>372</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 492.

<sup>373</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 5 ff.

<sup>374</sup> *B.C.H.* 1. 317 f.

<sup>375</sup> *Mnemosyne*, lvi. 415.

<sup>376</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 14 f.

<sup>377</sup> *Klio*, xx. 466 f.

<sup>378</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* xiii. 188 f.

<sup>379</sup> *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1924, 52.

<sup>380</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 925 f.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.* 924 f.

<sup>382</sup> *B.C.H.* 1. 492 ff.

at Tenos (*ibid.* 869),<sup>383</sup> while Wilhelm has emended, restored and illuminated with an exhaustive commentary<sup>384</sup> a Tenian list (*ibid.* 898) of annual magistrates, accompanied by a note of the outstanding achievement of the year.

The epigraphical harvest from SAMOS is richer and more varied. G. Klaffenbach has published<sup>385</sup> ten new inscriptions from the Heraeum. Tigani, Potokaki and elsewhere, of which one (No. 4) is a fourth-century decree passed by Athenian soldiers on the island in honour of the Athenian people and Council, a second (5) is a decree of the same century relative to the recovery of a loan with interest, another (2) is a decree of about 200 B.C. referring to the capture of Samos by Philip in 201 B.C. and honouring a public doctor for services rendered alike to the civilian population and to the troops, another (3) is the record of a νεωποίης and the remainder are epitaphs or dedications ranging from the fifth to the first century B.C. Among these the most interesting is a metrical epitaph of about 250 B.C. (perhaps the renewal of an earlier epigram) commemorating a certain Maeandrius, who fought and fell at the battle of the Eurymedon. F. von Hiller offers<sup>386</sup> an alternative restoration, based on the assumption that the new distich does not always begin a new line. B. Theophrastides has published<sup>387</sup> a series of eleven marble drums from Tigani, on which is engraved, in writing of the third or second century B.C., a list of proper names, in a few cases accompanied by ethnics, as well as an honorary inscription erected by five στρατηγοί, all of whom bear the names Marcus Aurelius, and an epitaph of the early fourth century B.C. D. Evangelides devotes<sup>388</sup> an essay to the form and adornment of Samian grave-stelae, in the course of which he illustrates a number of stones bearing brief epitaphs.

W. Ruppel's careful discussion<sup>389</sup> of the history, constitution and administration of the cities of Amorgos is based almost wholly upon the materials afforded by inscriptions. L. Pareti has discussed<sup>390</sup> the 'Tyrrenian' inscriptions of Lemnos (*I.G.* xii. 8. 1), answering the criticism<sup>391</sup> directed against his interpretation of them by A. Trombetti.

The excavations carried out in THASOS by the French School have produced epigraphical results of considerable value. G. Daux publishes<sup>392</sup> a group of thirty-one texts discovered between 1921 and 1924, comprising seven laws, decrees or other public acts, twenty-one religious documents and three epitaphs. One (No. 1) is a law of about 425 B.C. prohibiting the sale of wine before the first day of Plynterion and insisting that the πίθοι, in which wine is sold, shall be duly stamped. The second (2), of which the earlier part has unfortunately been crased to make room for a text (3) of the third century A.D., falls about 415 B.C.; it prescribes proceedings and penalties for offences relative to the wine-trade, regulates the importation of wine in Thasian ships to the mainland and its retail sale from receptacles of unknown capacity, and introduces us to two new boards of Thasian officials. Linguistically, judicially and,

<sup>383</sup> *Rev. Phil.* i. 109.

<sup>384</sup> 'Επιτύμβιον H. Swoboda dargebracht (Reichenberg, 1927), 336 ff.

<sup>385</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 26 ff.

<sup>386</sup> *Ibid.* 155 f.

<sup>387</sup> 'Αρχ. Δελτ. ix. 95 ff.

<sup>388</sup> 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1924, 63 ff.

<sup>389</sup> *Klio*, xxi. 313 ff.

<sup>390</sup> *Atene e Roma*, ix. 7 ff.

<sup>391</sup> *Historia*, i. 58 ff.

<sup>392</sup> *B.C.H.* l. 213 ff.

above all, economically these laws are of great interest, for they 'initiate us into a wine-policy, an attempt at protection, whose aim is to secure for Thasian produce a market on the neighbouring mainland' (p. 226).<sup>393</sup> The later document (No. 3) already mentioned fixes the charges for the official registration of various classes of private contracts: it has been examined<sup>394</sup> by E. Weiss, who emphasises its value as revealing an archive-office, its organisation and the *μνήμενες* in charge of it. Of the religious inscriptions, thirteen of which come from the temple of Dionysus, attention may be called to the records of victories in tragedy, comedy, dithyramb and *νυκτερινός* (9-12), dedications to 'Αγαθός δαίμων (14), ἥρωας Πόντος (15), Σώτειρα (22), 'Αφροδίτη Καλιός (24), and other deities erected by individuals or by bodies such as the *ἀπολόγοι* (14, 15), the *φρουροί* (18, 19) and the *πολέμαρχοι* (22). L. Robert has restored and published<sup>395</sup> a mutilated decree in honour of a Thasian judge and has also undertaken a critical revision<sup>396</sup> of a previously published honorary decree of the imperial period. In an article<sup>397</sup> on 'Four Thasian Cults'—those of Apollo, Herakles, Dionysus and the Thracian horseman, and the Egyptian gods—H. Seyrig makes full use of the abundant epigraphical evidence and publishes an interesting second-century decree recording the decision of the *Σαραπιασταί* to sell the *ἐπωνυμία* of their guild, the privileges and duties which it was to confer, the name of the purchaser, who paid ninety-six drachmas, and a list, unhappily incomplete, of the members. The discovery of two inscriptions relating to the Thasian *Posidoniastae* is announced,<sup>398</sup> but the texts still await publication.

P. Graindor tells<sup>399</sup> how in 1835 a number of amphorae were found at Ravenna bearing the legend 'wine of Scyros,' and calls attention to Galen's statement that Scyrian wine is beneficial against fever.<sup>400</sup>

An interesting regulation of the third or fourth century B.C., found at Dystus in EUBOEA and published<sup>401</sup> with an able commentary by E. Ziebarth, is designed to safeguard the interests of 'the god' in the event of any of his debtors selling or mortgaging their lands or houses. Two sixth-century epigrams from Eretria (*I.G.* xii. 9. 285, 287) are explained or restored<sup>402</sup> by W. Bannier, and the name *Τήχιππος*, found in an Eretrian inscription (*ibid.* 236), is discussed<sup>403</sup> by W. Vollgraff. C. Cichorius argues<sup>404</sup> that the alliance between Rome and Cnidus, of which a record was discovered<sup>405</sup> at Chalcis in 1899, must be dated on prosopographical grounds to 8th November, 45 B.C. A Christian inscription from Aegae (Limni) has been acquired by the Byzantine Museum at Athens.<sup>406</sup>

<sup>393</sup> Cf. C. Picard, *L'Acropole*, i. 335 ff.

<sup>394</sup> *Zts. d. Savignystiftung*, Rom. Abt. xlviii. 567 ff.

<sup>395</sup> *B.C.H.* l. 250 ff., 582.

<sup>396</sup> *Rev. Phil.* i. 100 ff. Cf. *B.C.H.* l. 228 note 1.

<sup>397</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 178 ff., 369 ff. Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 510 f.

<sup>398</sup> *Arch. Anz.* xli. 438.

<sup>399</sup> *Byzantion*, iii. 251 f.

<sup>400</sup> *Medici Graeci*, xv. 648 (Kuhn).

<sup>401</sup> *Philologus*, lxxxiii. 204 ff.; *S.E.G.* iii. 760.

<sup>402</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 924, 926.

<sup>403</sup> *Mnemosyne*, lvi. 102 ff.

<sup>404</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* lxxvi. 327 ff.

<sup>405</sup> *Ἀθηνᾶ*, xi. 283 ff.; E. Täubler, *Imperium Romanum*, i. 450 ff.

<sup>406</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 471.

[*I.G.* xiii.] CRETE offers little to record. M. Cary traces <sup>407</sup> the course of the dispute between Itanus and Hierapytna and of the Roman intervention therein, which affords a typical example of Senatorial government towards the close of the Republic, on the basis of the two relevant inscriptions (*S.I.G.* <sup>3</sup> 685, *S.E.G.* ii. 511). A. Wilhelm corrects <sup>408</sup> a misread name in the list of the πρόξενοι of Olus (*S.G.D.I.* 5104). S. N. Marinatos publishes <sup>409</sup> a dedication to Britomarpis (*sic*), which locates the site of her shrine at Chersonesus. A. Olivieri's article <sup>410</sup> on an archaic text from Gortyn is inaccessible to me. W. Prellwitz deals <sup>411</sup> with the meaning and etymology of ἐγκοιωτά, which occurs twice in the Gortynian Code. In a posthumous work <sup>412</sup> D. Comparetti deals with two archaic inscriptions from Eltyna (*S.E.G.* ii. 509 f.), in the first of which he sees laws dominated by 'an admirable spirit of conciliation, calmness, equity and moderation,' designed to secure a 'perfect and undisturbed state of internal peace,' in the second an offering to Εὐζών, a local variant of Ζών, Ζεύς. A new βουστροφηδόν text from Gortyn is explained as part of a decree passed in a time of plague. In view of the interest of these documents and the doubts evoked by some of Comparetti's explanations, we agree with G. D[e] S[anctis] <sup>413</sup> that they 'urgently require fresh treatment.' Perhaps F. Halbherr, who is uniquely qualified for the task, will render this service.

## VII. WESTERN EUROPE

[*I.G.* xiv.] The present writer has given a brief account <sup>414</sup> of a manuscript, now in the possession of Dr. C. T. Onions, containing a large number of Latin and Greek inscriptions copied by Thomas Blackburne in Italy and Sicily during the years 1748 and 1749, together with notes on those which appear in *I.G.* xiv., a discussion of *I.G.* iii. 2510, which Blackburne assigns to Malta, and six unpublished texts, none of them of great importance, from Girgenti, Mount Eryx, Palermo, Taormina, Catania and Rome. K. Latte's review <sup>415</sup> of Arangio-Ruiz and Olivieri's *Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et infimae Italiae ad ius pertinentes* makes a number of valuable contributions to the restoration and interpretation of some of the inscriptions contained in that collection.

From SICILY there is but little to note. F. Ribezzo has published <sup>416</sup> two leaden tablets, now preserved in the Syracuse Museum, bearing *defixiones*: one of them was discovered at Camarina and apparently dates from the fourth or third century B.C., the other, found at Centuripae, belongs to the second or first century. Of greater importance is the epigraphical harvest reaped in the course of the excavations which have laid bare the sanctuary of (Demeter) Malophoros at Selinus and published <sup>417</sup> by E. Gàbrici. This includes, in addition to a number of masons' marks and inscriptions on sixth and fifth-century Attic and Corinthian vases, eleven archaic votive texts on tufa, some

<sup>407</sup> *J.R.S.* xvi. 194 ff.

<sup>408</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* li. 16.

<sup>409</sup> *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, ix. 79 ff.

<sup>410</sup> *Atti Acc. Arch. Napoli, N.S.* xi.

<sup>411</sup> *Glotta*, xvii. 143 f.

<sup>412</sup> *Memorie d. Lincei*, VI. ii. 245 ff.

<sup>413</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lv. 561.

<sup>414</sup> *J.H.S.* xlviii. 1 ff.

<sup>415</sup> *Gnomon*, iii. 368 ff.

<sup>416</sup> *Riv. indo-greco-ital.* xi. 145 ff. Cf. *Phil. Week.* xlvii. 1561.

<sup>417</sup> *Mon. Ant.* xxxii. 64, 333, 338, 340 f., 379 ff.

of them written *boustrophedon*, of which two were previously known (*I.G.* xiv. 270, *S.G.D.I.* 5213) but are here given in improved copies, and a group of ten *defixiones* and *devotiones* engraved on leaden tablets. Four second-century grave-aediculae from Lilybaeum, now in the Museo Nazionale at Palermo, have been published<sup>418</sup> by P. Kretschmer: in one of them the curious form HPYC appears as the feminine of ἥρως. F. C. Wick has discussed,<sup>419</sup> mainly from the metrical standpoint, a bilingual Priapic inscription (*S.E.G.* ii. 533) from Acireale, near Catania: the other inscriptions from this district recently published, a Christian charm<sup>420</sup> of the sixth or seventh century A.D., containing, *inter alia*, the opening verses of the first Psalm, and an inscribed Byzantine capital,<sup>421</sup> fall outside the scope of this Bibliography.

ITALY has made a somewhat larger contribution. S. Ferri has discussed<sup>422</sup> an imperfectly published bilingual epitaph, containing a Greek couplet, from Lavello in Lucania, and has added<sup>423</sup> minor finds from Tiriolo. A number of graffiti<sup>424</sup> found at Pompeii, a series of names painted in the tombs recently discovered at Naples<sup>425</sup> and a bilingual fragment from Ostia<sup>426</sup> need not detain us. An interesting Bacchic inscription discovered at Tusculum has been commented on by F. Cumont<sup>427</sup> and by F. Messerschmidt,<sup>428</sup> and we await with high expectations the publication of the full text.

An event of great interest for students of later Greek art is the decipherment by R. Carpenter<sup>429</sup> of the signature of Apollonius son of Nestor on the thongs of the left-hand *caestus* of the bronze seated boxer in the Museo Nazionale, which enables us to assign that work to the sculptor of the Torso Belvedere of the Vatican. The Olcott collection, recently presented to the American Academy at Rome, contains a metrical epitaph of a μελωδὸς ἐντεχνος λύρης, published<sup>430</sup> by A. W. Van Buren. E. Josi's description<sup>431</sup> of the 'Cemetery of Pamphilus' in the Roman catacombs includes a large number of Christian epitaphs, some on marble or earthenware tablets, but most painted in red on the walls of the galleries.<sup>432</sup> M. J. Lagrange has attacked afresh,<sup>433</sup> on the basis of Fabre's article,<sup>434</sup> the problem of the taurobolic epigram of the late fourth century A.D. recently discovered in Rome (*S.E.G.* ii. 518); believing that ἐπὶ and ἡγάγεον are written in tmesis and that παλίνωρσον means *de nouveau, revenu*, rather than *ressuscité*, he translates the crucial line of the inscription *il a amené de nouveau un taureau très fort, offert une seconde fois*. To U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff we owe a new and illuminating edition<sup>435</sup> of the long familiar poems of Marcellus of Side (*I.G.* xiv. 1389), which includes several

<sup>418</sup> *Glotta*, xv. 306 f.

<sup>419</sup> *Athenaeum*, iv. 167 ff.

<sup>420</sup> *Riv. indo-greco-ital.* xi. 289 ff.

<sup>421</sup> *Notizie*, 1928, 248.

<sup>422</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lv. 226 f.

<sup>423</sup> *Notizie*, 1927, 345.

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid.* 95, 97, 100, 108.

<sup>425</sup> *Mon. Ant.* xxxi. 388 ff. Cf. *Arch. Anz.* xliii. 176.

<sup>426</sup> *Notizie*, 1927, 413.

<sup>427</sup> *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* 1927, 1 ff.

<sup>428</sup> *Gnomon*, iii. 250 f.

<sup>429</sup> *Mem. Am. Acad. Rome*, vi. 133 ff. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxv. (1927), 236, *Arch. Anz.* xlii. 169, xliii. 164.

<sup>430</sup> *Am. Journ. Phil.* xlviii. 18 f.

<sup>431</sup> *Riv. Arch. Crist.* iii. 74 f., 79, 86, 89, 98, 113, 117, 121, 155, 162, 179, 201.

<sup>432</sup> Cf. P. Styger, *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* iv. 101.

<sup>433</sup> *Rev. Bibl.* xxxvi. 561 ff.

<sup>434</sup> *Mélanges Rome*, xi. 3 ff.

<sup>435</sup> *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1928, 3 ff. Cf. *Boll. fil. class.* xxxv. 49.

textual improvements. A. Kalsbach's survey and discussion<sup>436</sup> of the recent literature regarding the 'Memoria Apostolorum' on the Via Appia is concerned mainly with the Latin texts discovered below the church of San Sebastiano, but refers also to several Greek graffiti, while W. S[chulze] has published<sup>437</sup> a note on the last line of *I.G.* xiv. 1366, and G. De Sanctis has argued afresh<sup>438</sup> in favour of the year 292-1 B.C. for the Athenian archon Philippus (*I.G.* xiv. 1184), a date which has recently been accepted by K. J. Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* iv<sup>2</sup>. 2. 54). J. D. Beazley has suggested<sup>439</sup> a restoration of a Greek distich<sup>440</sup> from Roccagiovane, near Tivoli, and G. De Sanctis has made an alternative proposal.<sup>441</sup> J. Zingerle has subjected to a searching examination<sup>442</sup> a metrical epitaph (*I.G.* xiv. 2002) from Urbinum Hortense, and A. Negrioli has published<sup>443</sup> a number of vase-inscriptions and graffiti which have recently come to light at Comacchio in the Valle Trebba, while F. Cumont illustrates<sup>444</sup> a relief now at Trieste.

From the western provinces of the Roman Empire we may note an amphora-handle found at Olbia Pomponiana (Almanarre, on the coast of Provence)<sup>445</sup> and a fragment of a very early sepulchral urn discovered in 1924 at Lachen, near Neustadt a.d.H., on the inside of which are engraved four or five apparently Greek letters,<sup>446</sup> together with a further discussion<sup>447</sup> of the ring from Tartessus in Spain (*J.H.S.* xlvii. 207), in which A. Schulten supports his previous reading of the inscription on its exterior. In their account of 'Roman Britain in 1926' R. G. Collingwood and M. V. Taylor record<sup>448</sup> the discovery, in Drury Lane, London, of a Greek epitaph, now preserved in the London Museum, while this same epitaph and two others, one in the Guildhall Museum (*I.G.* xiv. 2545) and the other in the British Museum, have been duly incorporated<sup>449</sup> by Collingwood in the epigraphical section of the Historical Monuments Commission's volume on Roman London.

## VIII. ASIA MINOR

We welcome the completion of the fourth volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*,<sup>450</sup> edited by G. Lafaye, whose regretted death occurred only a few weeks before the issue of the last fascicule, containing the final portion of the index, together with preface, table of contents and *recensus locorum*.

Our geographical survey begins with the Greek cities of CARIA. A. Wilhelm has restored<sup>451</sup> and commented on a fourth-century epigram from

<sup>436</sup> *Röm. Quartalschrift*, xxxv. 247 ff.

<sup>437</sup> *Zts. vergl. Sprachf.* lvi. 120.

<sup>438</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lv. 481 ff.

<sup>439</sup> *Class. Rev.* xlii. 58 f.

<sup>440</sup> *Mon. Ant.* xxxi. 495 ff.

<sup>441</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lv. 557.

<sup>442</sup> *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 389 ff.

<sup>443</sup> *Notizie*, 1927, 143 ff.

<sup>444</sup> *Rendic. Pont. Acc. Rom.* v. 77 f.

<sup>445</sup> *Bull. Archéol.* 1926, cxi.

<sup>446</sup> C. Mehlis, *Phil. Woch.* xlv. 923 ff., xlvii. 63 f.: their genuineness is questioned by F. Sprater, *ibid.* xlv. 1293, xlvii. 64.

<sup>447</sup> *Arch. Anz.* xlii. 6 ff.

<sup>448</sup> *J.R.S.* xvi. 244.

<sup>449</sup> *Inventory of the Hist. Mon. in London*, iii. 174 f., Nos. 29-31.

<sup>450</sup> Fasc. 8 and 9, Paris, 1927.

<sup>451</sup> 'ApX. 'Ep. 1924, 52 ff.



Thyssanus in the Rhodian Peraea. W. H. Buckler's restoration of a Prienian decree is based upon a very similar document from Halicarnassus (*B.M. Inscr.* 894), in which he suggests a slight but attractive emendation.<sup>452</sup> In a long and fruitful article L. Robert discusses, *inter alia*, a Halicarnassian πολιτεία-decree,<sup>453</sup> an honorary decree of Caryanda,<sup>454</sup> two dedications from Bargylia,<sup>455</sup> a group of texts from Iasus,<sup>456</sup> a considerable number of interesting inscriptions from Mylasa,<sup>457</sup> and decrees of the Otorkondeis<sup>458</sup> and of Olymus,<sup>459</sup> suggesting corrections and restorations, many of which are quite convincing, and illustrating the phraseology of the documents with a wealth of parallel passages which attests a very remarkable command of the relevant material. J. Hatzfeld has published,<sup>460</sup> mainly on the basis of copies and squeezes made by G. Cousin, 139 inscriptions from the sanctuary of Zeus Panamaros near Stratonicea, accompanying them by a brief but serviceable commentary. The first ten, classed as 'decrees and regulations,' include fragments of two decrees of the Macedonian period relative to the ἄσουλία of the temple, part of a senatus consultum or Imperial edict, a long and valuable decree of Stratonicea conferring honours on a priest and his wife in the latter part of the first century A.D., two fragments of a calendar of offerings and a ritual regulation. The second group consists of fifteen letters (Nos. 11–25) addressed to neighbouring cities (among them Rhodes, Nysa, Mylasa, Iasus, Miletus and perhaps Smyrna and Alinda), inviting them to participate in the cult and its attendant mysteries: these the editor hesitatingly assigns to the first century B.C. Next comes a large group of seventy-three 'dedications and commemorations of priest-hoods' (26–98: good examples are 27, 28, 57, 61, 79 and 80), followed by thirty-five short texts relative to the offering of hair by votaries (99–132), and seven miscellaneous texts, two of which are metrical (136–7). P. Roussel has appended a valuable article<sup>461</sup> on the mysteries of Panamara, discussing the festivals and their distinctive features, analysing the invitation issued by the priesthood, tracing the development of the mystery-cult and tentatively dating the foregoing documents to the second century of our era rather than to the first century B.C. An inscribed sarcophagus-cover at Karadjasu, near Aphrodisias, has been copied<sup>462</sup> by A. Salac.

Noteworthy progress has been made in the publication of the rich epigraphical spoils won in the excavation of Miletus. A. von Gerkan and F. Krischen have issued the definitive account<sup>463</sup> of the work done in the baths and gymnasia of the city, and to this volume A. Rehm has contributed an exceedingly valuable section (p. 143 ff.) dealing with the inscriptions, numbering in all ninety-two, of which only a dozen had been previously published. Of

<sup>452</sup> *Class. Rev.* xli. 120.

<sup>453</sup> *Rev. Phil.* i. 122.

<sup>454</sup> *Ibid.* 124.

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.* 122.

<sup>456</sup> *Ibid.* 119 ff., 129. Cf. *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1927, 137.

<sup>457</sup> *Rev. Phil.* i. 102 ff., 123 f., 126 ff.

<sup>458</sup> *Ibid.* 129.

<sup>459</sup> *Ibid.* 125.

<sup>460</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 57 ff. Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 517.

<sup>461</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 123 ff. Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 517 f.

<sup>462</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 396 f.

<sup>463</sup> *Milet.* I. 9, *Thermen und Palaestren*, Berlin, 1928. Cf. T. Wiegand, *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1928, 250 ff.

the new texts nineteen, including a dedication to Apollo Didymeus and Trajan (No. 310), come from the Gymnasium of Eumenes and the Stadium, nine from the Gymnasium and Baths of Capito, and nineteen from the Baths of Faustina, among them an epigram commemorating Tatianus their architect (340) and a mutilated oracle (345): the remaining thirty-three are not assignable to any definite building but include several interesting bases (369-71) and an epigram accompanying a third-century dedication to Nemesis (364). The famous statute of the Milesian *μολποί* (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 57) continues to attract attention. S. Luria devotes a valuable article<sup>464</sup> to it, examining in detail the points in which his interpretation differs from that of other scholars, and arguing, with the aid of a wealth of ethnological analogies, that this 'singers' guild, with its simultaneous exercise of political authority, is no degeneration belonging to a late oligarchical period, but precisely this surprising combination is typical and therefore indicates the original character of this institution.' The statute, he holds, gives us a glimpse into the earliest period of Greece, 'when no documents in the Greek language and, as I believe, no representative of the Greek nationality yet existed in Greece' (p. 136). H. Lewy has discussed<sup>465</sup> the meaning and derivation of the word *γυλλός*, which occurs only in this document. The letter of Ptolemy II to Miletus and the Milesian decrees which it evoked<sup>466</sup> play an important part in W. W. Tarn's essay<sup>467</sup> on the First Syrian War, where they are assigned to 275 B.C., and in W. Otto's 'Contributions to the History of the Seleucids in the Third Century B.C.'<sup>468</sup> L. Robert corrects<sup>469</sup> a Trallian decree found in the Milesian Delphinium<sup>470</sup> and also offers<sup>471</sup> a new restoration of a passage in the Prienian regulation of the cult of the Egyptian divinities (*Inscr. v. Priene*, 195), while W. H. Buckler gives<sup>472</sup> an improved restoration of the famous decree (*ibid.* 105) of the κοινὸν Ἀσίας relative to the introduction of the Julian calendar into Asia about 9 B.C. L. Robert makes a number of suggestions<sup>473</sup> for the restoration and interpretation of ten inscriptions from Magnesia on the Maeander, as well as of four decrees of Tralles,<sup>474</sup> three of which were erected at Mylasa, Miletus and Tenos respectively. Four unpublished texts from Tralles have been edited<sup>475</sup> by A. Salač from copies made by M. Pappakonstantinou.

Turning to LYDIA, we note first a number of new and interesting documents from Ephesus. One of these, published by F. Miltner,<sup>476</sup> is an inscription dating probably from the close of the reign of Antoninus Pius, in which the Ephesian βουλή καὶ δῆμος honour a Roman, who had been successively legionary tribune and λογιστῆς, and his wife. The remainder are provisionally published by J. Keil in his admirable reports<sup>477</sup> on the excavations conducted by him

<sup>464</sup> *Philologus*, lxxxiii. 113 ff.

<sup>465</sup> *Zeits. vergl. Spr.* lv. 27 f.

<sup>466</sup> *Milet*, I. 3, No. 139.

<sup>467</sup> *J.H.S.* xlv. 155 ff.

<sup>468</sup> *Abhandlungen München*, xxxiv. 1. 25 ff.

<sup>469</sup> *Rev. Phil.* i. 112.

<sup>470</sup> *Milet*, I. 3, No. 143.

<sup>471</sup> *Rev. Et. Gr.* xl. 220 ff.

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<sup>472</sup> *Class. Rev.* xli. 119 ff.

<sup>473</sup> *Rev. Phil.* i. 113 ff., *Rev. Et. Gr.* xl. 222 f., *B.C.H.* l. 256 ff.

<sup>474</sup> *Rev. Phil.* i. 102 ff.

<sup>475</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 392 ff., 397 note 4.

<sup>476</sup> *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* ix. 118 ff.

<sup>477</sup> *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 257 ff., xxiv. Beiblatt, 5 ff.

in 1926 and 1927. The discoveries made in the earlier campaign include several interesting dedications (p. 257 ff.) to Ζεὺς πατρῶος and Μήτηρ Ὀρεία, of which the oldest, dating apparently from the fifth century B.C., shows the surprising form Ζανὸς ἱερὸν πατρώιο, a base of Trajan's reign on which οἱ θύοντες τῷ προπάτορι Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ἱατροὶ honoured T. Statilius Crito, an ἀρχιατρός (263 f.), an inscription in honour of Commodus erected by οἱ τοῦ προπάτορος θεοῦ Διονύσου Κορησέϊτου σακηφόροι μύσται φιλοσέβαστοι (265), a base dating from the same region which throws valuable light upon certain Imperial procuratorships (269 f.), the inscription of an ἀγορανόμος, who held office in the first or second century A.D., recording the exact prices of four kinds of bread (281 f.), an important addition to the text, of which portions had previously come to light,<sup>478</sup> of a governor's edict issued about A.D. 44 (281 ff.), and an inscription in honour of Nero (298 f.), giving the names and dates of two hitherto unknown governors of Asia and thus enabling us to draw up an almost complete list of the governors of that province under Nero. The epigraphical results of the later campaign—some graffiti from the Church of the Seven Sleepers, two architrave-inscriptions and a new fragment of an interesting honorary decree of the Δημητριασταί—though not of the same importance, are by no means devoid of value. A. Wilhelm has corrected<sup>479</sup> a well-known *cursus honorum*<sup>480</sup> discovered at Ephesus in 1903.

No new inscriptions have been unearthed at Teos, but G. Fougères has summarised<sup>481</sup> an essay by Y. Béquignon on the πύργοι of that city, and L. Robert has proposed<sup>482</sup> an emendation in a decree of the Cretan town of Hyrtaca found there. D. Comparetti's reconstruction and interpretation<sup>483</sup> of the well-known Teian commination (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 37, 38), based upon the assumption that 'all these curses were uttered by this city on the occasion of a very severe and murderous plague which had attacked the city itself, its ports and its territory,' about 475 B.C., shows that that distinguished scholar retained his imaginative vigour to the very close of his long life, but G. De Sanctis has justifiably sounded a note of scepticism and warning.<sup>484</sup> An interesting law of Erythrae, now in the Louvre, has been published<sup>485</sup> from notes of a lecture delivered by B. Haussoullier: it dates probably from the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. and forbids anyone holding the office of ἐλεορέων, at that time the eponymous magistracy of the state, or of γράφεύς for a second time within ten years. L. Robert restores<sup>486</sup> the opening portion of an Erythraean decree, S. de Ricci corrects<sup>487</sup> an epitaph of Smyrna (*C.I.G.* 3372), and A. Salac publishes epitaphs from the same city<sup>488</sup> and from Magnesia ad Sipylum.<sup>489</sup> Seven texts from Phocaea—votives to the Mother goddess and to Aesclepius, two dedications (perhaps of Christian churches), two short inscriptions in honour of Hadrian and an unhappily mutilated document of December,

<sup>478</sup> *Ephesos*, II. Nos. 21, 22.

<sup>479</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* lxxvii. 180 f.

<sup>480</sup> *Ephesos*, III. No. 29 = Dessau, *I.L.S.*

8830.

<sup>481</sup> *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1927, 154 f.

<sup>482</sup> *Rev. Phil.* i. 97.

<sup>483</sup> *Memorie d. Lincei*, VI. ii. 267 ff.

<sup>484</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lv. 561.

<sup>485</sup> *Rev. Phil.* ii. 191 ff.

<sup>486</sup> *Ibid.* i. 118 f.

<sup>487</sup> *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxix. 45 f.

<sup>488</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 394 ff., 503.

<sup>489</sup> *Ibid.* 396, 503.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.* 388 ff.

A.D. 161, in which the Phocaeen δῆμος honours the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus—have been edited<sup>490</sup> by Salač from squeezes taken by F. Sartiaux. In his 'Notes on Ruler-Cult' A. D. Nock has utilised<sup>491</sup> epigraphical evidence, especially that of a votive inscription of A.D. 228-9, found at Saryschlar, between Maeonia and Tabala.<sup>492</sup>

Of MYRIA there is less to record. Seven Greek texts from Cyme, some discovered in the excavations of 1925 and others seen by F. Sartiaux in 1913, have been published<sup>493</sup> by Salač: these include the closing passage of a second-century decree in the Aeolic dialect passed by a guild of θεισῶται of Dionysus (No. 1), a dedication to Isis (4), a curious metrical epitaph, teeming with Dorisms and Homeric forms, commemorating a woman who died while her husband was on a mission to Rome (8) and a perfectly preserved copy of the famous prose Hymn of Isis (3), dedicated to the goddess by a citizen of Magnesia on the Maeander and bearing the prefatory note Τάδε ἐγράφηι ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐν Μέμφει ἣτις ἔστηκεν πρὸς τῷ Ἡφαιστίῳ: this completes the text discovered in Ios (*I.G.* xii. 5. 14: cf. pp. 217, 305) and proves that the version from Andros (*ibid.* 739), a poetic paraphrase of the prose Hymn, follows the order of the latter throughout.<sup>494</sup> In his report<sup>495</sup> on the excavations carried on at Pergamum in 1927, T. Wiegand publishes and discusses a large number of tile-stamps (pp. 6, 10 f.) and five inscriptions (18 ff.), two of which commemorate the victory of Attalus I, while one honours an ex-priestess of Polias and Nikephoros Athena, and another is a dedication made to Hermes by seven λαμπραδίται. L. Robert has shown<sup>496</sup> that the eleven θεαροί who joined in an offering to Apollo (*Inscr. v. Perg.* 4) were not envoys from another city but Pergamene magistrates, and has restored<sup>497</sup> a phrase in the treaty of ἰσοπολιτεία concluded between Pergamum and Temnus (*ibid.* 5 = *O.G.I.* 265). W. von Massow investigates<sup>498</sup> the position of *Inscr. v. Perg.* 70 in the great frieze, and P. Roussel comments<sup>499</sup> on a passage in the ritual regulations of the Aesclepieum (*ibid.* 264). J. Zingerle has emended<sup>500</sup> epigrams of Klissekeui Skala, near Pergamum, and of Alexandria Troas, and L. Robert has restored<sup>501</sup> and conjecturally attributed to the latter city a mutilated decree of the second century B.C. found at Koulakli. He has also restored<sup>502</sup> two decrees of Ilium and has pointed out that one of these (*C.I.G.* 3598) does not record, as is currently held, a case of international arbitration. Another decree of Ilium (*O.G.I.* 219) plays a prominent part in the discussions of Seleucid history in the third century by W. W. Tarn<sup>503</sup> and W. Otto.<sup>504</sup> A. Brouwers advances<sup>505</sup> a new hypothesis about the well-known stele of Sigeum (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 2), maintaining that the two inscriptions engraved on it are contemporaneous

<sup>491</sup> *J.H.S.* xlviii. 21 ff.

<sup>492</sup> J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise*, No. 200.

<sup>493</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 375 ff.

<sup>494</sup> Cf. Diod. i. 27.

<sup>495</sup> *Abhandlungen d. preuss. Akad., Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1928, No. 3.

<sup>496</sup> *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xl. 208 ff.

<sup>497</sup> *Ibid.* 214 ff.

<sup>498</sup> *Arch. Anz.* xli. 387 ff.

<sup>499</sup> *B.C.H.* l. 305 ff.

<sup>500</sup> *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 409 f.

<sup>501</sup> *B.C.H.* l. 501 ff.

<sup>502</sup> *Ibid.* 515 ff.

<sup>503</sup> *J.H.S.* xlv. 155 ff.

<sup>504</sup> *Abhandlungen München*, xxxiv. 1. 17 ff.

<sup>505</sup> *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xli. 107 ff.

or separated by twenty-five years at most, that the texts are votive and that the Phanodicus of the first was grandfather of the Phanodicus commemorated in the second, who replaced gifts which had meanwhile been lost. P. Wolters has described and discussed<sup>506</sup> the third-century metrical epitaph, found at Panderma and now preserved in Munich, in memory of a marine, while another grave-epigram from Cyzicus has been emended by J. Zingerle.<sup>507</sup>

BITHYNIA is represented only by two epigrams which the same scholar has subjected to a detailed examination and revision,<sup>508</sup> and by five others in which he has suggested<sup>509</sup> improved readings or restorations. From PHRYGIA, on the other hand, there has been a peculiarly rich harvest, in the reaping of which a leading part has been played by W. M. Calder. He has inaugurated a new venture by the issue of the first volume of a series bearing the title *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*,<sup>510</sup> published under the auspices of the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor with the object of supplying comprehensive and adequately illustrated inventories of the ancient monuments of the districts under review. The present instalment contains, in addition to a masterly introduction and valuable indexes, a splendidly illustrated inventory, with brief commentaries, of 469 monuments of Eastern Phrygia—notably Laodicea Combusta (Nos. 1–285), the villages of the Axylon (286–383), Polybotus, Metropolis, Orcistus and Appola (384–439)—of which thirteen are uninscribed, ten are in Phrygian, eight in Latin and 438 in Greek: of these last, 298 are published for the first time and some of the remainder with improved texts. We can wish nothing better than that the standard here reached may be maintained throughout the series. One of the inscriptions (No. 413), a Greco-Phrygian epitaph from Baghlja, has been separately published<sup>511</sup> by Calder, who regards it as ‘destined to figure, it may be decisively, in future discussion of the origin of European drama.’ Calder has also, in collaboration with W. H. Buckler and C. W. M. Cox, continued the publication of the results of a journey taken in 1924. These consist<sup>512</sup> of five texts (Nos. 169–173) from the Pentapolis, one Latin and forty-one Greek inscriptions of Eumenia (174–216) and thirteen from Sebaste (217–229), together with a new version<sup>513</sup> of four long epigrams, engraved on a single altar, which ‘introduce us to four generations of a rustic Phrygian family, probably passing from paganism to Christianity, certainly passing from the age of persecution to the peace of the Church.’ Of the twenty-eight documents here first published the majority are epitaphs, among them that of a Christian bishop of the third century (No. 200), but there are also several votive or honorary inscriptions (see especially Nos. 187, 199, 218, 228). A noteworthy contribution to the epigraphy of Phrygia is due to D. M. Robinson, who has published<sup>514</sup> and illustrated sixty-four Greek and twelve Latin inscriptions copied in the summer of 1924 at Laodicea ad Lycum, Laodicea Combusta and

<sup>506</sup> *Antike Plastik*: W. Amelung zum 60. Geburtstag (Berlin, 1928), 268 ff.

<sup>507</sup> *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 405 ff.

<sup>508</sup> *Ibid.* 361 ff., 378 ff., 414.

<sup>509</sup> *Ibid.* 401 ff., Nos. 1, 2, 7–9.

<sup>510</sup> Manchester, 1928.

<sup>511</sup> *Class. Rev.* xli. 161 ff.

<sup>512</sup> *J.R.S.* xvi. 53 ff.

<sup>513</sup> *Ibid.* xvii. 49 ff.

<sup>514</sup> *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvii. 195 ff.

the surrounding district, Iconium and Antioch. Among the fifty-five Greek inscriptions here first published, the epitaphs of two deaconesses of the Encratite sect (Nos. 2, 3), a dedication to Μητήρ Ποταμηνή (60) and three honorary records (44, 48, 62) deserve special mention: the last of these, containing an interesting *cursus honorum*, has been discussed <sup>515</sup> by C. W. Keyes. J. Zingerle has collected <sup>516</sup> numerous examples of the spelling αῦωπος in place of ἄωπος, representing the local Phrygian pronunciation, and has examined <sup>517</sup> in detail a striking epigram of Kara-agatch (Apia). A. Salač has published <sup>518</sup> three epitaphs of Nacolea, one of them for the second time, and D. M. Robinson has added two epitaphs and a votive text to the records of Apamea, besides giving corrected versions of three other documents. <sup>519</sup> The epitaph of Abercius, bishop of Hieropolis, forms the subject of an exhaustive study, <sup>520</sup> in which A. Abel, after discussing the discovery of the inscription, the MS. tradition of Abercius' life and of the epitaph, the text and date of the latter, offers a translation and full commentary, an account of the formation of the legendary Life of the saint and a bibliography containing no fewer than 142 items. E. Orth, regarding the Christian character of the inscription as conclusively proved by F. Dölger, <sup>521</sup> restores <sup>522</sup> the mutilated line 6 thus: οὗτος γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξε[ν ἅπαντα τὰ] γράμματα πιστά. Into the Antiochene version <sup>523</sup> of the *Res gestae divi Augusti*, of which there was no accompanying Greek translation, and into the unfortunate misunderstandings <sup>524</sup> which have arisen about its publication, we need not here enter. W. M. Ramsay's notes <sup>525</sup> on the map of Yalowadj refer to several inscriptions now, or formerly, found there, while under the heading 'Inscriptions of Antioch of Phrygia-towards-Pisidia' he comments <sup>526</sup> on an article <sup>527</sup> by D. M. Robinson and corrects a number of texts, mostly Latin, there published. F. Cumont has republished <sup>528</sup> an epitaph of Alisa in Lycaonia, J. Zingerle has restored <sup>529</sup> an epigram from the same district, and D. M. Robinson has copied <sup>530</sup> at Laodicea Combusta a grave-inscription previously unnoticed. At Sizma Robinson not only investigated a prehistoric site but discovered <sup>531</sup> several dedications to Μητήρ Ζιζιμηνή or other deities and two epitaphs, and made a fresh copy <sup>532</sup> of an interesting altar, independently republished <sup>533</sup> by W. M. Ramsay in an article on Oroanda, the Oroandeis and the Ager Oroandicus, and on Oura, <sup>534</sup> bearing a dedication Ἰυῶ Διονύσωι εἰ[ὺ]αντ[ή]τῳ, in which, following A. M. Ramsay <sup>535</sup> and W. M. Calder, <sup>536</sup> he sees

<sup>515</sup> *Class. Phil.* xxiii. 179 ff.

<sup>516</sup> *Glotta*, xvi. 138 ff.

<sup>517</sup> *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 363 ff.

<sup>518</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 399 f.

<sup>519</sup> *Am. Journ. Phil.* xlviii. 29 ff.

<sup>520</sup> *Byzantion*, iii. 321 ff.

<sup>521</sup> *Der heilige Fisch* (Münster, 1922), 454 ff.

<sup>522</sup> *Phil. Week.* xlviii. 1149 ff.

<sup>523</sup> *Erano*s, xxv. 179 ff.; *Class. Phil.* xxiii. 175 f.; *Gnomon*, iv. 41 ff.

<sup>524</sup> *Klio*, xxi. 434 ff., xxii. 169 ff.

<sup>525</sup> *J.R.S.* xvi. 107 ff.

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.* 110 ff.

<sup>527</sup> *Ibid.* xv. 253 ff.

<sup>528</sup> *Rendic. Pont. Accad. Rom.* v. 77.

<sup>529</sup> *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 407 ff.

<sup>530</sup> *Am. Journ. Phil.* xlviii. 32 f.

<sup>531</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxi. 27 ff.

<sup>532</sup> *Ibid.* 49 f.

<sup>533</sup> *Klio*, xxii. 380 f.

<sup>534</sup> *Ibid.* 382 f. Ramsay gives a corrected copy of Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, No. 314, from Yonuslar (Pappa).

<sup>535</sup> *Preliminary Report to the Wilson Trustees* (Aberdeen, 1909), 29 ff., *Anatolian Studies*, 338.

<sup>536</sup> *J.H.S.* xxxi. 196 f.

a reference to Jehovah. Ramsay's essay <sup>537</sup> on 'The Romans in Galatia' makes constant use of inscriptions found in that province, restores <sup>538</sup> a votive inscription of Iconium published by Sterrett <sup>539</sup> and gives a greatly improved copy of a second.<sup>540</sup> An epitaph of a fruiterer in the same city has been published <sup>541</sup> by A. Salač.

The record of GALATIA is concerned largely with the *Res gestae divi Augusti* inscribed, in Latin and in Greek, at Ancyra. V. Lundstrom,<sup>542</sup> K. Scott <sup>543</sup> and E. A. Hahn <sup>544</sup> have discussed certain passages therein, with or without the aid of the new Latin text from Antioch. F. Gottanka's contribution <sup>545</sup> is inaccessible to me, but H. Dessau's article <sup>546</sup> on 'Mommsen and the Monumentum Ancyranum,' though it does not deal specifically with the Greek version, contains an interesting account of the stages by which the text was established and a valuable discussion of the essential nature of the document. W. H. Buckler has revised and restored,<sup>547</sup> on the basis of a personal examination of the stone and with the aid of Calder, Cox, Keil and Dessau, the long and valuable honorary decree of the Dionysiac  $\tau\epsilon\chi\nu\iota\tau\alpha\iota$  passed in A.D. 128 and engraved at Ancyra, thus superseding his own earlier version.<sup>548</sup> Another resolution of the Guild (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 210), passed perhaps at Iconium and published at Ancyra, has been tentatively restored <sup>549</sup> by J. Keil from two copies made by A. D. Mordtmann.

J. Zingerle has emended <sup>550</sup> two epigrams from PAPHLAGONIA, and W. M. Ramsay has republished <sup>551</sup> with a full commentary an interesting honorary inscription of Amasia in that province. To A. Salač we owe <sup>552</sup> two new epitaphs, one of them metrical, from Caesarea in CAPPADOCIA.

A crux in a well-known decree of Telmessus in LYCIA (*O.G.I.* 55 = *T.A.M.* ii. 1) has been discussed <sup>553</sup> by W. W. Tarn, and an oracle of Sidyma (*T.A.M.* ii. 174 *E*) has been emended <sup>554</sup> by J. Zingerle.

B. Pace and G. Moretti, members of the Italian Archaeological Mission, have carried out fruitful researches in Iconium,<sup>555</sup> where seven new Greek inscriptions were copied, Mysthia,<sup>556</sup> Perga,<sup>557</sup> which has yielded substantial portions, already partly published (see *J.H.S.* xlv. 192, xlvii. 212 f.), of an inventory of the sacred objects in the temple of Artemis and three fragments of a record of athletic victories, and Attalia,<sup>558</sup> where a dozen texts, including a dedication of Phaselis to Hadrian in A.D. 123 (No. 115) and two interesting honorary inscriptions (114, 116), have come to light. From Attalia several excursions were made in the neighbouring parts of Lycia, PAMPHYLIA and

<sup>537</sup> *J.R.S.* xvi. 201 ff.

<sup>538</sup> *Ibid.* 213 ff.

<sup>539</sup> *Epigraphical Journey*, No. 227.

<sup>540</sup> *Ibid.* No. 246.

<sup>541</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 397.

<sup>542</sup> *Eranos*, xxv. 179 ff., 286 ff.

<sup>543</sup> *Class. Phil.* xxiii. 175 f.

<sup>544</sup> *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvii. p. xxxii f.

<sup>545</sup> *Bayr. Bl. Gymn.* lxii. 38 ff.

<sup>546</sup> *Klio*, xxii. 261 ff.

<sup>547</sup> *J.R.S.* xvi. 245 ff.

<sup>548</sup> *J.H.S.* xlv. 158 ff.

<sup>549</sup> *J.R.S.* xvi. 248 ff.

<sup>550</sup> *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 363 note 1, 388 ff.

<sup>551</sup> *J.R.S.* xvi. 207 ff.

<sup>552</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 397 ff.

<sup>553</sup> *J.H.S.* xlv. 161 note 24.

<sup>554</sup> *Glotta*, xiii. 165.

<sup>555</sup> *Annuario*, vi/vii. 349 ff.

<sup>556</sup> *Ibid.* 392.

<sup>557</sup> *Ibid.* 402 ff., 443 f.

<sup>558</sup> *Ibid.* 416 ff.

PISIDIA, resulting in the discovery <sup>559</sup> of over thirty unpublished Greek inscriptions, mostly honorary or sepulchral, several of which (*e.g.* Nos. 129, 144, 158) are of more than ordinary interest. Twenty-nine graffiti recording the names of εἰρήναρχοι, as well as three inscribed statue-bases, were found <sup>560</sup> in an immense grotto called In-Daghinda Qogia-in, while the sacred caverns of Juvadja (Pamphylia) yielded <sup>561</sup> six dedications to Μήτηρ Ὀρεία, or simply ἡ θεός, and a long text on a stalagmite pillar recording the devotion of a θιάσος of the goddess, led by an ἀρχιθιασίτης and an ἀρχιμύστης. R. Heberdey examines <sup>562</sup> the meaning of the word ἐχρύσωσεν, used in an inscription of Termessus, and publishes another text from the same site in support of his interpretation. Other Pisidian inscriptions have been explained by O. Fiebiger <sup>563</sup> and by W. M. Ramsay, <sup>564</sup> who has also studied <sup>565</sup> an epitaph found near Nova Isaura. T. Callander has published and discussed <sup>566</sup> three uncouth tomb-inscriptions from Isauria, the personal names of which are of value for the question of Isaurian nationality. A Cilician epigram has been emended <sup>567</sup> by J. Zingerle.

CYPRUS is represented by a metrical epitaph, <sup>568</sup> found at Citium, of a Homeric student and teacher, a late relief with upraised hands, found at Enkomi and published <sup>569</sup> by F. Cumont from a London sale-catalogue, bearing an invocation to Κύριος Ἥλιος to avenge the treacherous murder of a certain Calliope, and a group of thirteen texts from Nova Paphos, Citium, Salamis, Arsos and Cerynia, revised and republished <sup>570</sup> from Cyprian journals by H. Seyrig: among them we may note the base of a statue of Caracalla erected by Augusta Claudia Flavia Paphos and dated, by three different eras, to A.D. 211 (No. 3), a dedication connected with the Cyprian Dionysiac τεχνῖται (5), an elaborate curse of the early Christian era directed against tomb-violators (7), and the record of some hydraulic scheme carried out in A.D. 42-3 (11).

Finally, mention should be made of A. Aminraschwili's correction <sup>571</sup> of an inscription of A.D. 75 from Iberia (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 133 = *O.G.I.* 379).

## IX. SYRIA AND PALESTINE

No very striking additions have been made to the inscriptions of SYRIA. R. Mouterde discusses <sup>572</sup> a basalt stele from the district of Aleppo bearing a representation of the mounted god. M. Rostovtzeff publishes <sup>573</sup> two inscriptions on epistyles found at Chalybon (Halboun), which record the erection of buildings in the reign of Agrippa II, *i.e.* in the second half of the first century of our era, and confirm 'the importance and the wide extent of the kingdom

<sup>559</sup> *Annuario*, vi/vii. 429 ff., 560.

<sup>560</sup> *Ibid.* 509 ff.

<sup>561</sup> *Ibid.* 550 ff.

<sup>562</sup> Ἐπιτύμβιον H. Swoboda dargebracht (Reichenberg, 1927), 75 ff.

<sup>563</sup> *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 309 ff.

<sup>564</sup> *J.H.S.* xlviii. 50. Cf. *J.R.S.* xvi. 102 ff.

<sup>565</sup> *J.R.S.* xvi. 212 f.

<sup>566</sup> *Am. Journ. Phil.* xlviii. 235 ff.

<sup>567</sup> *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 407 f.

<sup>568</sup> *Hermes*, lxiii. 110 f.

<sup>569</sup> *Rendic. Pont. Acc. Rom.* v. 69 ff.

<sup>570</sup> *B.C.H.* li. 138 ff., 502 f. Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 516.

<sup>571</sup> *Izvest. Ross. Akad. Istor. Mat. Kult.*

v. 409 ff. Cf. *Phil. Woch.* xlviii. 838.

<sup>572</sup> *Mélanges Beyrouth*, xi. 309 ff.

<sup>573</sup> *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1928, 212 ff.



ruled by the descendants of Herod the Great, the last vassals of Rome in Syria. their wealth and their activity': he also offers an improved restoration of a similar inscription (*O.G.I.* 420 = *I.G. Rom.* iii. 1089) previously known. L. D. C[askey] records <sup>574</sup> the acquisition of a Palmyrene grave monument by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, while F. Cumont describes <sup>575</sup> an intaglio from Emesa (Homs) now in the Louvre and P. Perdrizet a gold leaf, acquired at Damascus, bearing an invocation intended to avert evil from a newly-born child.<sup>576</sup> M. Dunand's report <sup>577</sup> on a French archaeological mission to Jebel Druz contains a summary of epigraphical results, but not the full publication of the texts, and an inscribed altar from near Afqa in the Lebanon, now in the Beyrout Museum, is described <sup>578</sup> by F. Cumont. Other Syrian finds and emendations do not demand individual notice.<sup>579</sup> J. Rendel Harris examines and illustrates <sup>580</sup> a group of six glass chalices of the first century, presumably of Sidonian make, bearing the legend ἐφ' ὃ (or ῥ) πᾶραι; εὐφραίνου.

P. Thomsen's invaluable bibliography <sup>581</sup> of the literature of 1915-24 relative to PALESTINE contains a chapter on 'Script and Inscriptions,' in which articles on Greek inscriptions are grouped together. F. Cumont gives a better reading and a photograph <sup>582</sup> of the tombstone, found in the Hauran and published by R. Mouterde,<sup>583</sup> commemorating a man 'slain in the country by a decurion of Soudaia for nothing at all,' and G. M. FitzGerald publishes <sup>584</sup> two brief texts from a Hellenistic temple at Bethshan-Scythopolis (Beisan) referring to two ἄμφοδᾶ of the town. The work of excavation and restoration recently carried on at Gerasa (Jerash) has led to the discovery of a considerable number of inscriptions. Some of these are published <sup>585</sup> by F. M. Abel, among them one which the city erected in A.D. 114-15 to Trajan τῷ ἰδίῳ σ[ωτη]ρί καὶ κτίστῃ, a similar inscription in honour of Hadrian and two dedications made τῇ (κυρίᾳ) πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας. A. H. M. Jones gives <sup>586</sup> improved readings of six Greek texts previously published, including three which figure in Abel's group already mentioned, re-edits a number of short inscriptions on columns, adds nine to their number, discusses the whole series and publishes fourteen new texts (of which one is Latin) from the church of St. Theodore, among which are the dedication of a secular colonnade and a stone bearing the maxims μηδὲν ἄγαν, γνῶθι σεαυτόν. Abel has further published <sup>587</sup> two epitaphs from El-Hošn, near Irbid.

The contributions of Jerusalem <sup>588</sup> are not of special note, and the Christian

<sup>574</sup> *Bull. Mus. F.A.* xxv. 56.

<sup>575</sup> *Syria*, vii. 347 ff.

<sup>576</sup> *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xli. 73 ff.

<sup>577</sup> *Syria*, vii. 326 ff.

<sup>578</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 163 ff.

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 210; *Eos*, xxvii. 12, 57; *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1926, 176; *Jahreshefte*, xxiii. Beiblatt, 403 ff.

<sup>580</sup> *Bull. Rylands Library*, xi. 286 ff. Cf. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*<sup>4</sup> (Tübingen, 1923), 100 ff., 447. For Tyre see F. Cumont, *Rendic. Pont. Acc. Rom.* v. 76.

<sup>581</sup> *Die Palästina Literatur 1915-24*, iv. (Leipzig, 1927), 309 ff.

<sup>582</sup> *Rendic. Pont. Acc. Rom.* v. 73 ff.

<sup>583</sup> *Syria*, vi. 243; cf. vii. 283.

<sup>584</sup> *Pal. Expl. Fund. Q.S.* 1927, 150 ff. Cf. *Palästinajahrbuch*, xxiv. 48.

<sup>585</sup> *Rev. Bibl.* xxxvi. 249 ff.

<sup>586</sup> *Pal. Expl. Fund. Q.S.* 1928, 186 ff. Cf. *Art and Arch.* xxvi. 203 ff.

<sup>587</sup> *Rev. Bibl.* xxxvii. 429 f.

<sup>588</sup> *Ibid.* 260 f.; *Palästinajahrbuch*, xxiv. 80.

frescoes, many of them late, found by D. J. Chitty <sup>589</sup> in the monasteries which he investigated in the Wilderness of Judaea, hardly fall within the scope of this survey. A. Alt suggests <sup>590</sup> that the Antipater mentioned in an epigram <sup>591</sup> of Beersheba may be the *dux Palaestinae* of that name, who held office early in the sixth century A.D. A grave-stone from Mādabâ has been discovered and discussed <sup>592</sup> by F. M. Abel and by A. Alt, <sup>593</sup> who dates it in A.D. 179-80 and not, as does Abel, in 662. R. Tonneau has edited <sup>594</sup> part of the epigraphical results of a journey taken in the Negeb in 1925, four epitaphs from El-'Arish and a fragment from El-'Audja, together with remarks on three texts from the latter site already published. A. Alt in his 'Epigraphical Remarks on the History of Christianity in Palaestina Tertia' dates <sup>595</sup> two of the El-'Arish epitaphs much later than had been done by Tonneau, who in reply criticises <sup>596</sup> some of Alt's suggestions and interpretations. T. Reinach has returned <sup>597</sup> to the oft-discussed epitaph from Ghôr es-Safi, south of the Dead Sea. W. H. P. Hatch has discovered <sup>598</sup> at Philadelphia ('Ammân) in Transjordan a capital of the Roman period with an inscription which, with the aid of R. Mouterde, he restores <sup>599</sup> as a metrical dedication in one verse, and A. Alt has published <sup>600</sup> twelve Christian epitaphs (only one of which was previously known) found by W. F. Albright in the course of a journey through the highlands of Moab, half of them at El-Kerak and the remainder at Chirbet Ader.

F. Cumont's great work on Dura-Europus (Sâlihîyeh), noticed in my last Bibliography (*J.H.S.* xlvii. 215 f.), has evoked valuable reviews from some of the most competent scholars in this field, among them J. Bidez, <sup>601</sup> V. Chapot, <sup>602</sup> E. Honigmann, <sup>603</sup> R. Mouterde, <sup>604</sup> M. P. Nilsson <sup>605</sup> and L. H. Vincent. <sup>606</sup> It is pleasant to know that excavation has been resumed on so fruitful a site and, although there has not yet been time for the definitive publication of any of the new discoveries, M. Rostovtzeff's brilliant summary <sup>607</sup> of the epigraphical results of the work already carried out under his direction at the Palmyra Gate of the city shows clearly how valuable is the harvest reaped, especially from the point of view of military history and organisation, and how bright are the prospects for the future. Editing and completing notes left by B. Haussoullier at his death, F. Cumont reviews the Greek inscriptions found to the east of the Euphrates and publishes <sup>608</sup> eight texts of Susa—a fourth-century epitaph, a late third-century dedication to Ma, a decree of 176 B.C.

<sup>589</sup> *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1928, 134 ff.

<sup>590</sup> *Zeits. D. Pal.-Vereins*, i. 173 ff.

<sup>591</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* xiv. 66 ff., *Pal. Expl. Fund Ann.* iii. Pl. xxvii. 1.

<sup>592</sup> *Rev. Bibl.* xxxvi. 567 ff., xxxvii. 320.

<sup>593</sup> *Zeits. D. Pal.-Vereins*, li. 229 ff.

<sup>594</sup> *Rev. Bibl.* xxxvi. 93 ff.

<sup>595</sup> *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* viii. 193 ff.

<sup>596</sup> *Rev. Bibl.* xxxviii. 313 ff.

<sup>597</sup> *Rev. Ét. Juives*, lxxxv. 6 ff. Cf. *Syria*, ix. 267.

<sup>598</sup> *Ann. Am. School Or. Res.* vii. 100 ff. Cf. *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1928, 214.

<sup>599</sup> *Rev. Bibl.* xxxvii. 579 f.

<sup>600</sup> *Zeits. D. Pal.-Vereins*, li. 218 ff.

<sup>601</sup> *Rev. Belge Phil. Hist.* vi. 375 ff.

<sup>602</sup> *Journ. d. Savants*, 1928, 23 ff.

<sup>603</sup> *Zeits. D. Morgenl. Ges.* lxxxvi. 294 ff.

<sup>604</sup> *Mélanges Beyrouth*, xii. 277 ff.

<sup>605</sup> *Litteris*, iv. 93 ff.

<sup>606</sup> *Rev. Bibl.* xxxvii. 139 ff. Cf. *Bibl. Phil. Class.* liv. 3717; *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxii. 183.

<sup>607</sup> *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1928, 226 ff.

<sup>608</sup> *Mém. de la Mission archéol. de Perse*, xx. 77 ff.

already discussed by Haussoullier,<sup>609</sup> a second-century manumission, an interesting but sadly mutilated acrostic hymn to Apollo and three minor documents—which, with two Rhodian amphora-stamps<sup>610</sup> and two other inscriptions (*O.G.I.* 747 and a fragment), compose the *corpus* of Greek inscriptions found at Susa.

#### X. AFRICA

I pass over the inscriptions found in Egypt and Nubia, of which I give a summary periodically in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. In view of the length to which this survey already extends, I must deal very briefly with the inscriptions of Cyrene, though these rank among the most valuable epigraphical discoveries ever made.

The constitutional *διδάγματα*, first published by S. Ferri (cf. *J.H.S.* xlvii. 216) and dated by him about 250 B.C., is assigned by F. Heichelheim<sup>611</sup> and W. Otto<sup>612</sup> to 308 or 307 B.C., while T. Reinach<sup>613</sup> sees in it 'the local statute, semi-monarchical and semi-republican, granted to Cyrene alone in 322 or 321 by Ptolemy son of Lagus.' and U. Wilcken<sup>614</sup> on linguistic, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff<sup>615</sup> on epigraphical and E. S. G. Robinson<sup>616</sup> on numismatic grounds also attribute it to the time of Ptolemy Soter. On the other hand, V. Groh,<sup>617</sup> who suggests some textual amendments, G. Oliverio,<sup>618</sup> who re-edits the text with critical notes, translation and commentary, and G. De Sanctis,<sup>619</sup> who re-examines the chronological problem in the light of the revised text, still see in the Ptolemy of the inscription Ptolemy Euergetes and date it about 250 B.C.

The 'Decretals,' a series of cathartic regulations issued (or rather, it would seem, sanctioned) by Delphian Apollo, are no less interesting from the religious than is the *διδάγματα* from the constitutional point of view. They were first published<sup>620</sup> by S. Ferri with a well-illustrated text, a translation, commentary, grammar and glossary, and were assigned by him to the early part of the third century B.C. G. De Sanctis,<sup>621</sup> who dates the inscription shortly before 324 B.C., has subjected it to an examination fruitful both textually and exegetically, and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who also assigns the inscription to the late fourth century, though he points out that its prescriptions belong to various periods and are in some cases very ancient, provides an admirable edition of the document.<sup>622</sup> P. Maas restores<sup>623</sup> two passages in the text. W. Schulze has examined<sup>624</sup> a grammatical form which occurs in it, L. Radermacher has dealt<sup>625</sup> with one of its most fascinating paragraphs (§ 17), and K. Latte,

<sup>609</sup> *Anatolian Studies* (Manchester, 1923), 187 ff.

<sup>610</sup> *Syria*, viii. 49 ff.

<sup>611</sup> *Klio*, xxi. 175 ff.

<sup>612</sup> *Abhandlungen München*, xxxiv. 1. 76 ff.

<sup>613</sup> *Rev. Arch.* xxvi. (1927), 1 ff.; *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1927, 69.

<sup>614</sup> *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1927, 301.

<sup>615</sup> *Ibid.* 155.

<sup>616</sup> *B.M. Coins: Cyrenaica*, xvii.

<sup>617</sup> *Historia*, i. 112 ff.; *Listy Filol.* liv. 177 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 236.

<sup>618</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 183 ff., 235 ff.

<sup>619</sup> *Ibid.* 240 ff.

<sup>620</sup> *Notiziario Archeologico*, iv. 91 ff.

<sup>621</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lv. 185 ff.

<sup>622</sup> *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1927, 155 ff.

<sup>623</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 320, 413 f. Cf. *Deutsche Lit.-g.* iv. 1951 ff.

<sup>624</sup> *Zeits. vergl. Sprachf.* lv. 313.

<sup>625</sup> *Wien. Anz.* 1927, 182 ff.

surveying<sup>626</sup> the work of his predecessors, has in the process added not a little of value. Finally, a new study of the document, with palaeographical notes, text, apparatus and commentary, has been published<sup>627</sup> by A. Vogliano.

Even more attention has been attracted by the 'Stele of Augustus,' a perfectly preserved marble slab over two metres in height containing four edicts of Augustus dated 7-6 B.C. and one of 4 B.C., accompanying a *senatus-consultum de rebus repetundis* passed in the same year and marking a stage in the development of the consular-senatorial jurisdiction. The *editio princeps* of G. Oliverio<sup>628</sup> supplied a description of the monument, the text, translations into Latin and Italian, and a commentary. F. Ebrard republished<sup>629</sup> the text with a German translation and a few short notes. To J. G. C. Anderson we owe<sup>630</sup> a new edition of the text and a discussion, to which brevity gives added value, of its contents and of the light it throws upon judicial and administrative procedure under the early principate. L. Radermacher provides<sup>631</sup> a text, which marks some improvement on that of Oliverio, a translation and notes on language and style, A. Wilhelm<sup>632</sup> and G. Klaffenbach<sup>633</sup> independently correct Oliverio's restoration of a passage in the text (l. 66), and D. McFayden maintains<sup>634</sup> that this new evidence supports rather than disproves his view that Augustus did not officially possess an *imperium proconsulare maius* in Senatorial provinces. A new edition of the whole has been undertaken<sup>635</sup> by V. Arangio-Ruiz, but the fullest discussions of the inscription are that by A. von Premerstein, who, after a summary account of the documents,<sup>636</sup> has re-edited<sup>637</sup> the text with a German translation and an exhaustive commentary of immense erudition, and that of J. Stroux and L. Wenger,<sup>638</sup> to which the latter contributes an introduction and chapters on the Cyrenaic province and its population, the Roman rule in the Cyrenaica and Augustus' edicts, and the Greek law-courts, while the former deals with the text, its language, the jury-courts and the governor's jurisdiction, and the new procedure *de repetundis*.

The 'Founders' Stele' (cf. *J.H.S.* xlvii. 216 f.) has been re-edited<sup>639</sup> under the title 'Stele of the Pacts' by G. Oliverio, and the origin of the founders' oath discussed<sup>640</sup> by A. Ferrabino: Oliverio has also dealt<sup>641</sup> with the grants of grain (*ibid.* 217). Among the new inscriptions the most interesting are a dedication<sup>642</sup> made to Hermes and Heracles in A.D. 224 by sixty ἑφηβοί, a hymn to Isis and an epigram,<sup>643</sup> and more than fifty graffiti and other inscrip-

<sup>626</sup> *Arch. Rel.* xxvi. 41 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 313 ff.

<sup>627</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 255 ff.

<sup>628</sup> *Notiziario Archeologico*, iv. 13 ff. Cf. *Aegyptus*, ix. 146 ff.

<sup>629</sup> *Phil. Woch.* xlvii. 1193 ff., 1226 ff., 1311, 1440.

<sup>630</sup> *J.R.S.* xvii. 33 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 588 f.

<sup>631</sup> *Wien. Anz.* 1928, 69 ff.

<sup>632</sup> *Ibid.* 72.

<sup>633</sup> *Hermes*, lxiii. 368. Cf. *Abhandlungen München*, xxxiv. 2. 33.

<sup>634</sup> *Class. Phil.* xxiii. 388 ff. Cf. *Abhandlungen München*, xxxiv. 2. 61.

<sup>635</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 321 ff.

<sup>636</sup> *Klio*, xxii. 162 ff.

<sup>637</sup> *Zts. d. Savigny Stiftung*, Rom. Abt. xlviii. 419 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 362 ff.; *Phil. Woch.* xlix. 352 f.

<sup>638</sup> *Abhandlungen München*, xxxiv. 2.

<sup>639</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 222 ff.

<sup>640</sup> *Ibid.* 250 ff.

<sup>641</sup> *Ibid.* 232 ff.

<sup>642</sup> *Notiziario Archeologico*, iv. 188 ff.

<sup>643</sup> *Ibid.* 207 ff. Cf. F. von Hiller, *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 415.

tions <sup>644</sup> copied by G. Oliverio despite serious difficulties in the underground channel which fed Apollo's Fount. Provisional accounts, excellently illustrated, are given <sup>645</sup> of numerous texts, mainly votive, found in the temple of Apollo and elsewhere. G. Devoto has studied <sup>646</sup> the dialect of the Cyrenean inscriptions and P. Maas has made a valuable index of their words and notable constructions. <sup>647</sup> Of minor contributions <sup>648</sup> to Cyrenean epigraphy I must not speak in detail.

A polychrome relief from Bengazi, forming a thankoffering for victory, is discussed <sup>649</sup> by E. Ghislanzoni. The inscriptions <sup>650</sup> from Carthage—two texts on marble and seventeen leaden seals—do not call for special mention.

MARCUS N. TOD.

<sup>644</sup> *Notiziario Archeologico*, iv. 213 ff.

<sup>645</sup> *Africa Italiana*, i. 40, 154, 156 ff., 317 ff.

<sup>646</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 365 ff.

<sup>647</sup> *Ibid.* 404 ff.

<sup>648</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lv. 130 f.; *Riv. d. Tripolitania*, iii. 570 ff.; *Syria*, viii. 84; *Rev.*

*Phil.* i. 99; *Africa Italiana*, i. 251 f., 162 f.;

*Rev. Belge Phil. Hist.* vii. 1029.

<sup>649</sup> *Africa Italiana*, i. 111 ff.

<sup>650</sup> *Bull. Archéol.* 1925, xliii. ff., xlix, clv ff., 1926, cxlvi, clxxxi. Cf. *Eos*, xxvii. 39.

## WHIP-TOPS

IN the British Museum there are two fifth-century Attic vases (Nos. D 9 and D 10) of bee-hive shape (Fig. 1), of which the decoration consists of a series of mouldings alternately red, white, and black, with a black rim; the interior is white, also with a black rim. In their general style, their technique, and their decoration they are very similar to another vase of the same collection, D 8, a *phiale mesomphalos*, which bears the signature of the potter Sotades.



FIG. 1.—ATTIC VASE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

All three vases were in the Branteghem Collection, and were described by Froehner, in his Catalogue of that Collection, under Nos. 160-162.

In the third volume of the Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum I described these vases, D 9 and D 10, as '*Mastoi*'; this is a form which, of course, owes its name to the pretty fancy which derives it from the model of Aphrodite's breast, and so was a favourite form of dedication in her temple at Paphos. I did so, I may now confess, with some misgiving, for I felt that no artist—least of all, a fifth-century Attic artist—would have done such violence to his imagination as to score the gracious curves of Aphrodite's breast with

a series of deep rugosities, and add insult to injury by colouring them like a battle-flag.

It was a vase of the same family which gave me the clue to what is, I believe, the true interpretation of the form. In the Musée du Cinquantenaire at Brussels is an Attic cup, signed by Hegesiboulos,<sup>1</sup> but which, from its style, might just as well bear the name of Sotades; on the interior is painted a girl, playing with a whip-top. The top itself spins merrily on the right, and is evidently kept spinning by the little lady, who wields an efficient-looking two-thonged whip. She wears a long chiton and a peplos, which is so tightly wrapped about her as to leave only the right arm free; her dress is thus not exactly the modern idea of a 'Sports suit,' but probably the whip-top was, in fifth-century Athens, as to-day, a winter pastime, and the costume indicates the season.

The top is of much the same shape as the whip-top of to-day; that is to say, a cylinder decreasing in size towards the foot, which terminates in the sharp point upon which it spins. It is scored horizontally with lines, which evidently represent the grooves intended to give a 'bite' to the thongs as the whip strikes it. The outline—of the upper part at any rate—appears to be rectilinear, but considering the small size of the painting, too much stress need not be laid on this detail; in actual practice, a whip-top with curved sides would spin just as well as, or probably better than, a straight-sided one; on the other hand, the curved outline would be more natural to the potter's wheel. That the ordinary Greek top at any rate had curved sides seems clear from the fact that the usual terms signifying a top, βέμβιξ, ρόμβος, στρόμβος, στρόβιλος, are apparently interchangeable with κῶνος, which is also the cone of the fir or pine. The word στρόμβος, like the Latin *turbo*, was used, not only for a whip-top, but also for a spindle-whorl, rather, for a spindle fitted with its whorl. The whorl, transfixed on the end of the spindle, gives us what is practically the identical form of the whip-top shown on the Brussels vase; and of course both are associated with a whirling motion.

A whip-top of this form in terracotta was actually found in the excavations at the Theban Kabeirion (see *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII. p. 426). It is reproduced, together with the Brussels vase and a top of Dipylon fabric, in the British Museum *Guide to Greek and Roman Life*, 3rd ed., p. 199; the latter top has curved sides (Fig. 2).

It may perhaps be objected that a whip-top would be solid, whereas the two British Museum vases D 9 and D 10 are hollow. This, however, ceases to be a real difficulty when we remember that these objects made for the tomb are often only simulacra of those intended for practical use. A well-known instance of Attic origin is the glorified knucklebone in the British Museum (*Cat. Vases*, III. E 804), which is large enough to be the father and mother of all knucklebones, but is treated as a vase and painted accordingly.

The Brussels vase was discovered in a tomb in Euboea in 1890, and shortly afterwards acquired by the Cinquantenaire Museum. It was at about the same time that M. Van Branteghem acquired the two vases here described; if their

<sup>1</sup> *C. V. Belgium*, Pl. 41, No. 2.

identification as whip-tops is correct, may not all three vases have been found together in the tomb of a girl who in her life had loved this sport?

One of the inscriptions from the Theban Kabeirion speaks of four astragali, a top (στροβίλος), a whip, and a torch, all of which were dedicated in the temple by a girl, Okythoa, who was evidently, if she lived up to her name, a 'Sports girl.' Judging from the Brussels vase, the whip-top was indulged in by girls to a more advanced age than was the case with boys. The well-known passage in the *Aeneid* (VII. 378 foll.) refers to boys whipping tops with their 'impubes

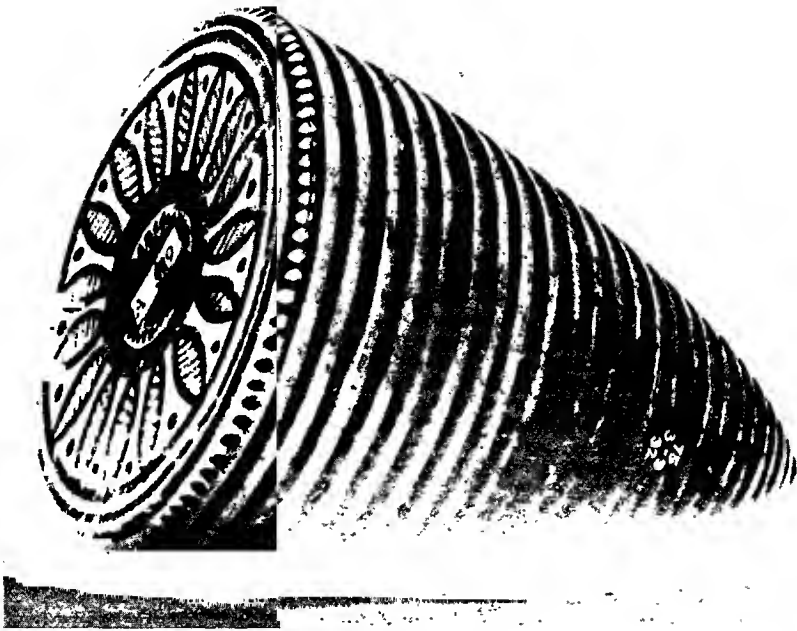


FIG. 2.—TOP IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

manus'; and in the Anthology (*Pal.* VI. 309) among the 'childish things' which a boy puts away, presumably on reaching years of discretion, are mentioned a ball, a rattle, the knucklebones 'which he loved,'

καὶ τὸν ἑλικτὸν  
ρόμβον, κουροσύνης παίγνι', ἀνεκρέμασεν.

The mention of the rattle and the ball suggests very tender years, and it may be that the infant on the British Museum aryballos (E 679), who holds up a stick or whip over what may be a top, is only illustrating the vase-painter's view that there are some sports which you cannot begin too young.

CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH.



## ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1928-1929

THIS report, in which the usual arrangement is adopted, includes all the excavation-accounts which have reached me up to September 30th, 1929.<sup>1</sup> Those concerning the work of the French School, the German School and the Greek Archaeological Service relate to work done in 1928; the rest mainly concern the campaigns of 1929.

### AMERICAN SCHOOL <sup>2</sup>

During the season of 1929 the American School, under Professor Rhys Carpenter, have continued their work on *Old Corinth*, selecting three areas for excavation:—the first, just north of the Peribolos of Apollo and east of the Lechaem Road, revealed a large though much-destroyed Roman thermal establishment, where the well-preserved floor-piers of two hypocaust rooms and a deep marble-lined pool leave no doubt as to the purpose of the building, identified by Professor Carpenter with the famous Baths of Eurykles, described by Pausanias. The second area lies between the Temple of Apollo and the village road on the north. In antiquity the rocky hill on which the Temple stood had been cut away to a vertical rock-face, some 20 feet high, and Professor Carpenter's purpose is to restore the ancient isolation of the Temple. The third area, a large, flat headland, almost surrounded by deep ravines, lies more than a mile to the west of the Forum. The enormous quantities of Corinthian sherds and terracotta figurines found here, beside the rich supply of white clay in one of the ravines, seemed to point to a potters' settlement here, and this conjecture was confirmed by the finding of (1) 'Fehlbrande,' i.e. collapsed masses of vases ruined by overheating in the furnace; (2) oven-tests, i.e. bits of broken pots with daubs of blistered or discoloured glaze, used to test the heat of the furnace; (3) struts and saggars, i.e. bits of clay used to support the stacked vases inside the kiln, though no actual oven has yet been located.

Professor T. L. Shear has continued his work on the *Theatre* and on the tombs to the north of it with most interesting results.<sup>3</sup> In the Theatre he has practically cleared the whole of the cavea, and the entire building, now seen in proper proportion, is a most impressive sight. Some of the seats from the Greek Theatre and many of the foundations for other seats were found in place,

<sup>1</sup> I wish again to acknowledge gratefully the kindness of all those who have supplied me with reports on their excavations, and in particular to thank Sir Arthur Evans, Professor P. Roussel and Dr. E. Gjerstad for supplying illustrations as well. I am

indebted to my wife for invaluable help in translating and summarising.

<sup>2</sup> From reports kindly furnished by Professor Rhys Carpenter and Professor Shear.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. his illustrated report in *Illustrated London News*, July 20th, 1929.

and one stairway is preserved for its entire extent of sixty rows. The evidence of coins and sherds proves that the superimposed walls belong to the reconstruction of the Theatre that was made in the time of Augustus, while the Greek Theatre dates from the early fourth century. The west parodos also was cleared and, though not so well preserved as the eastern one, it was verified that the plan was the same. Some clearing that was done in the rock foundations of the stage yielded evidence for the existence of a stage-structure here in Hellenistic times. Behind the stage a large rectangular area is paved with marble and backed with a wall faced with marble: this was apparently an open space surrounded by a portico and was entered by a doorway from the 'plaza' at the north-end of the street that was cleared last year.

In this area important finds were made. A life-size statue of Artemis was found, standing upright on its base: the head and arms are lacking, but otherwise the figure, in short chiton, with the weight resting on the right leg, is well preserved—a fine Roman copy of a Greek bronze of the fifth century B.C. Near the Artemis was a colossal statue of a Roman emperor wearing a toga, fastened by a button on the right shoulder: the left arm appears to have been raised, though both head and arms are missing. Other finds were a youthful head of Dionysos, some further fragments of the friezes of the Gigantomachy and the battle of Greeks and Amazons, a miniature marble bust of the Emperor Hadrian and 30 coins ranging in date from Nero to Hadrian. East of the street, a fine Greek mosaic floor of fourth-century date was discovered. It is nearly square with a maeander border and graceful palmettes and anthemias springing from the centre; in the corners are groups of animals. The whole is done in black and white pebbles set in cement.

Among the inscriptions, a Greek seat-block, still *in situ*, has the words NIKA NIKA scratched on its front, and another seat-block is inscribed with the word KORFAN. A grave inscription, found in the cavea, calls down the curse of Annas and Caiaphas on anyone who shall try to open the grave and, on the paving at the entrance to the square at the north end of the street is carved an inscription (the sinkings originally held letters of bronze fastened in with lead) recording the fact that the pavement was laid at his own expense by Erastus, procurator and aedile. The evidence indicates that this pavement existed in the first century A.D., and it is most probable that the donor is identical with Erastus, the friend of Saint Paul who is mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans, xvi. 23.

Besides the work on the Theatre, 200 unrifled graves were opened in the plain north of the Theatre dump. This cemetery was in use from the Middle Helladic period down to the end of the fifth century and was later pillaged in places by the Romans, who even re-used some of the graves. Many prehistoric and Geometric burials were found intact, but burials in poros sarcophagi were the most numerous, the sarcophagus usually lined with stucco, and in one instance the stucco was painted bright red and gold. There was also a grave monument, covered with large slabs and with marks at the corners showing that stelai had stood over it. One metre below this platform four sarcophagi were uncovered, in one of which was a kylix signed by Neandros; in another were

two kylikes, inscribed, but without signatures; these b.-f. kylikes were associated with large Corinthian oinochoai. Several large graceful Corinthian bowls found in the same graves show interesting modifications of the kylix shape. The Corinthian pottery exhibited a wide variety of shapes and decoration both early and late, the latter being found in conjunction with later Attic b.-f. ware and some r.-f. vases; and some valuable chronological evidence has been secured from the presence of silver obols in three of the graves. The discovery of this large number of vases, almost all in perfect condition, is of outstanding importance for the study of the development and decadence of Corinthian pottery.

#### BRITISH SCHOOL

The activities of the British School in the field of excavation are represented by Mr. Heurtley's campaigns on two prehistoric sites in Macedonia, Miss Lamb's excavations in Lesbos and Mr. Payne's trial-work at Eleutherna in Crete, of which the excavators' own reports follow.<sup>4</sup> To them is appended an account of the work of exploration, conservation and restoration carried out by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos.

*Prehistoric Sites in Macedonia.*—I. The Toumba of Sarátsi, in the Lankada basin, about 20 kilometres north of Salonika, on the Serres road. The Periods represented were:—A, Early Bronze Age (deposit about 4 metres deep); B, Middle Bronze Age (deposit about 5 m. deep); C, Late Bronze Age (deposit about 4 m. deep); and D, Early Iron Age (deposit about 3 m. deep). Period A is characterised by black-polished and other pottery of the Anatolian type familiar from Vardaróftsa, Hagios Mámas and other Macedonian sites (it also contained a fragmentary 'sauce-boat' in black-polished ware and an ear-ring of thin gold wire); Period B by the appearance of a local variety of Incised (B3) ware; Period C by a few matt-painted sherds (C2) and much Mycenaean (L.H. IIIb); Period D by the usual Macedonian Iron Age types. The site was apparently abandoned before the fifth century B.C., since not a single Hellenic or Hellenistic sherd was found.

In general, the history of the Toumba seems to be parallel to that of the rest of Central Macedonia and Chalcidice, but it escaped the invasions which affected these two areas at various times. The only external influence, in fact, which found its way into this valley was the Mycenaean, and the Bronze Age passed into the Iron Age without any break of continuity.

II. The Toumba of Kritsaná, on the west coast of Chalcidice about six kilometres south of Epanomi, consisted almost entirely of an early Bronze Age (Period A) deposit, with an average depth of five metres. Black-polished ware of the Anatolian class was the rule, but in the lowest metre painted Neolithic pottery corresponding to Thessalian B3δ ware, with a few B3α and some B1 ware, formed about 75 per cent. of the sherds. The inference is that the earlier Neolithic population, which at Hagios Mámas was displaced by the Anatolian settlers, here continued to live side by side with them for a considerable time.

<sup>4</sup> These reports are abridged slightly from those in the *Annual Report of the British School at Athens, 1928-1929*, by kind permission of the Committee.

It is actually only at two metres below the surface that the Neolithic sherds cease. The excavation, therefore, confirms the evidence from Hagios Mámas and Vardino, that, before the arrival of the Anatolians (which for various reasons may be placed at some date about 3000 B.C.), there was a Neolithic population spread over Macedonia, using pottery almost identical with that of the 2nd Thessalian Period.

Two blades of obsidian were found here, the first examples hitherto known from Macedonia.

*Excavations in Lesbos.*—I. At *Methymna* (Mólivo). A fortnight's trial-excavation was conducted last autumn by Miss Lamb in the unoccupied land north of the modern town. This proved that the area in question had been occupied from the seventh century B.C. to some stage in the Roman period, and suggested that the occupation might go back to the ninth century. It gave additional evidence of the longevity of bucchero wares, which, on this site, were either plain or decorated with stamped or incised patterns. Unfortunately, only one sherd of Corinthian and one ill-preserved sherd of an unidentifiable East-Greek ware gave contact with other districts in the archaic period. Moreover, the soil is shallow, and so disturbed that no stratification is procurable; the same is said to be true of the part of the site under the modern town. In the circumstances, further excavation was considered inadvisable, and the chief find remains a pretty bronze statuette of Eros, of Hellenistic date.

II. *Thermi*. The prehistoric settlement of Thermi lies on the east coast of Lesbos, north of Mytilene. Excavations were here carried out by Miss Lamb and Mr. Hutchinson from April 5th to June 1st. Thermi is the first prehistoric site to be identified and excavated in the island. As was expected, the civilisation was closely allied to that of Troy and Yortan: whether it was a colony of Troy is uncertain owing to the absence of the characteristically Trojan face-urns.

Ceramic evidence shows three periods at Thermi: architectural evidence distinguishes five (or four, if the last is regarded as the reconstruction of the last but one). The site seems to have been occupied by 3000 B.C. and to have been abandoned before 2000, since the pottery can be linked up with that of the first city of Troy and with the first but not the second stage of the second city. None of the vases are wheel-made, but the presence of red wares in the lowest stratum together with the black wares of Troy I prove that the use of the potter's oven must go further back in this part of the world than was conjectured.

The three ceramic periods of Thermi can be called the first, intermediate and second. To the first belong (i) fine vases of soft, black, polished ware: (ii) coarse vases of hard-baked red ware. The black ware often shows traces of having been made on a mould: it is usually decorated with ribbed, rippled and incised decoration, though painted decoration came in towards the close of the period. The pottery of the intermediate period is marked by the increased popularity of painted decoration, the decrease of black ware, and the frequency of the 'horned tubular handle.' To the last period belong fine wares with grey, red or yellow slip, often polished, and coarse wares, not greatly changed from the coarse wares of Period I.

It is to this, the third phase of development, that the fourth and fifth

towns belong, oriented differently from the other three. All five towns are, however, remarkable for the many and conspicuous hearths in the various houses, composed of several superimposed layers of stones, pebbles, closely-fitted potsherds and ashes. Ovens also occur. No houses of the megaron type have yet been found, but the end of an apparently apsidal building of the intermediate period awaits further investigation.

Among the small finds, the terracottas deserve special mention. Some wear fringed and patterned dresses and necklaces; one is interesting owing to the affinities suggested by its upraised arms. Bone tools were common, stone tools rare. A few bronze objects were found within the settlement even in the lowest stratum; and a bronze hoard in a neighbouring field appears to be contemporary with the later stages of Thermi.

*Eleutherna*.—The excavations conducted by Mr. Payne at Eleutherna began on June 10th and ended on July 1st. Trials were made on the terraces on the eastern and western slopes of the Acropolis, and at its north end. The terraces on the east are, on the whole, wider and better preserved than those on the west, and it is here that ancient remains are most plentiful. The most striking of these is an oblong building (about seven metres by six) constructed of massive dressed blocks, which stands well above the surface of the ground, a short distance above the stream-bed, on the north-east side. This building was cleared to the foundations, and, contrary to expectations, proved to be of the late Roman period. The tiled floor was well preserved in one corner at the level of the door, which stands at the north end. The finds here consisted of Roman and Byzantine pottery, several fragments of marble bowls (mostly of rough workmanship) and a piece of Byzantine architectural ornament in limestone. The building was probably a tower, part of a system of fortifications. It contained three burials, at different levels, but all close to foundation-level, and all of one period, in all probability Byzantine; these certainly had no connexion with the original purpose of the building. Immediately to the west of this tower a massive wall can be traced for nineteen metres from north to south; the upper courses, which are a later addition, resemble the tower in material and style, the lower are of rather smaller blocks and more careful workmanship, and probably belong to the Hellenistic period. The height of the wall, when excavated to its foundations, was about three and a half metres. Further trials revealed other walls situated, like the tower, to the east of this, and apparently also of late date. Below a threshing-floor near by there is a Roman villa, part of the pavement of which was uncovered.

Further south, at a rather higher level, several large terraces were explored, revealing remains of buildings in various places, almost all Roman. The bulk of the earlier finds in this area came from a Hellenistic grave, which contained a quantity of plain, and some decorated, pottery, of little intrinsic interest. There is no evidence that this part of the site was inhabited before the fourth century B.C. From that time onwards, however, as many scattered fragments of pottery, both local and Attic show, it was widely occupied, no doubt continuously down to Byzantine times, as coins and sherds indicate. Part of a Roman Doric capital was found on the surface in this neighbourhood. A little

further to the north from here is a very fine Greek terrace-wall, running from north to south for at least twenty-five metres, and standing to a height of four metres (two and a half of this above the ground). The date of this wall is uncertain, but a pit sunk to the foundation-level produced, at the very bottom, a fragment of Corinthian pottery and others of black ware of the classical period; at a higher level lay Roman sherds. Most probably we should attribute the wall to the classical period.

South of this are the remains of two Byzantine churches, H. Eirene and H. Markos, near the former of which archaic inscriptions in Cretan dialect have been found by peasants: we accordingly made trials both inside and outside the church. The former were unproductive, but inside were found many Byzantine architectural fragments of good workmanship; below these, however, there were no signs of Greek occupation. At H. Markos our only find was a fragment of a late Roman inscription.

The acropolis of Eleutherna, familiar from Spratt's description, has a very slight depth of earth in most places. At the north end, where the earth becomes deeper as the ground slopes, several trials were made, following the discovery of a Doric capital on the surface. These were rewarded by the discovery of nothing but a Roman grave, containing pottery and lumps of iron; further tests in this neighbourhood, both to north and south, were entirely fruitless. The Doric capital is of limestone, and well-preserved, and dates from the second quarter of the fifth century.

On the western side of the Acropolis, at a place known as the Orthe Pétra, where the archaic statue, now at Candia, was found, a large deposit of Geometric pottery came to light. The place was probably a necropolis, though we found no certain evidence of this. The earliest pottery was proto-Geometric (represented by several fairly complete vases), most of it was Geometric, and there were sherds of one Orientalising vase. Nearly all the local pottery was of very poor quality—the greater part unpainted, and the painted fragments, with a few exceptions, were very roughly decorated. There were, however, fragments of an interesting imported vase—a large Laconian crater of a well-known type dating from the middle of the sixth century. The upper part of one side, with one handle, has been put together; there is an exact replica from Etruria in the Louvre (*C.V.A. Louvre*, iii. D, c, Pl. 2, 7). This is apparently the first Laconian vase to be found in Crete. A few Corinthian sherds were also found here. A small fourth-century deposit, which yielded coins and terracottas, was separated from the earlier fragments by a wall which must belong to the early archaic period. This neighbourhood had been tested by the late Dr. Petroulakis, the local *Ἐπιμελητής*, who seems, however, to have missed the area which contained the Greek material.

The finest remains of the Greek city are the terrace-walls about a hundred yards north of this spot. Here the walls can be traced for about forty-five metres, and in places are preserved over four metres high. They are well built of large, carefully dressed blocks, and doubtless belong to the classical period. The earliest pottery found by them was Attic of the fifth century. In one place the wall had twice been patched in the Roman period.

In addition to their function as terrace-walls they probably also served as fortifications.

Two Hellenistic graves in the late cemetery north-west of the acropolis yielded merely a number of unpainted vases.

It will be seen that these results do not encourage the undertaking of a second campaign on the site.

*Knossos.*—Sir Arthur Evans has kindly supplied the following report:—  
'My campaign at Knossos this year, though largely concerned with works of conservation and reconstitution, has not only added wholly new materials for



FIG. 1.—RECONSTRUCTION OF A PILLAR-CHAMBER AT KNOSSOS.

our knowledge of the hitherto somewhat ill-defined eastern borders of the Palace, but has been productive of a series of stratigraphic results of the first importance. An example of reconstructive work is a small columnar chamber above a pillar-basement bordering the south Propylaeum (Fig. 1). It seems to have served a ritual function, and its northern entrance stands in relation to an important deposit of pottery of L.M. Ia date, including part of a votive clay bull. The roofing over the five of the west Magazines has fulfilled an ardent wish of the late Ephor, Dr. Xanthoudides. The work, moreover, has been rendered more complete by our mender's skilful piecing together of many additional fragments of the great pithoi. At the same time, elements such as the existing remains of door-jambs and column-bases have been worked into the cement

restoration of parts of the floors of two of the great Halls above. On the north-west, the small columnar lustral area connected with the Minoan Goddess in her Chthonic aspect, and with stairs leading down into the bosom of the earth, has been rescued from its parlous condition, the columns have been replaced and the whole roofed over so as to protect its fine gypsum casing. The sombre colours of the fallen plaster have also been reproduced on the walls.

' A second column-base and parts of the supporting-walls of the adjoining N.-E. Portico have also been restored, and the upper terrace of the Portico on the northern entrance on that side has been reconstituted. It is hoped indeed



FIG. 2.—RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SHIELD FRESKO AT KNOSSOS.

to replace on its back wall, as a reminiscence of the " Vapheio " reliefs that once decorated it, the noble head of a charging bull in painted plaster.

' All the elements of a postern gate above the Eastern Bastion have now been made out and partially reconstituted. The imposing Bastion itself, the N.-E. corner of which was in a ruinous condition, has been fully restored by Mr. Piet De Jong, though the work proved a long and serious undertaking. The descending runnel beside its stairs, with its parabolic curves—an extraordinary anticipating of modern hydraulic knowledge—has been traced to the borders of what was clearly a tank, now destroyed, in all probability used for laundry purposes.

' The most outstanding discoveries on the terrace-level above are a verandah



bordering the "Court of the Stone Spout" on the north, and an East Portico to the North-west of the Domestic Quarter, that must have provided an agreeable open-air retreat and belvedere from the neighbouring closed areas. The eastern light-well of the "Hall of the Double Axes" proved to have a doorway on its south side, communicating with stairs leading down to the "Corridor of the Labyrinth Fresco."

'Among stratigraphical evidence secured by exploration below various pavements may be recorded sherds which give a fresh contact with Egypt in *ca.* 1900 B.C. and remains of an early stage in the history of fresco-painting, represented by a repetition of yellow patterns laid on to a dark surface by a sponge—a crude forerunner of the "Marine Style."

'The reproduction of the great "Shield Fresco" in the loggia opposite the Grand Staircase has been completed, and in the "Hall of the Double Axes" below, where remains of a similar spiral band appear, without the painted shields across it, Monsieur Gilliéron has executed for me in zinc painted replicas of two of the actual shields that according to every probability originally hung there, as in the Megaron of Odysseus (Fig. 2). In the first section of the Hall, impressions on fallen stucco as well as charred remains have actually preserved a record of a wooden throne, with a canopy supported by fluted columns, beside which the shields were suspended.'

#### FRENCH SCHOOL <sup>5</sup>

At *Mallia* MM. Chapouthier and Demargne excavated for six weeks in 1928, devoting their attention to the east and north façades of the Palace. On the east, the outer wall, which they have cleared right along to the north-east angle, shows a succession of irregular salients and re-entrants. Near this angle a new entrance came to light, giving access direct to the L-shaped portico. The excavation of the adjacent rooms showed that some are magazines; other apartments which have no doorways must be bastions for defensive purposes. The pottery, which was unusually plentiful in this area, belongs almost all to the last period of occupation of the Palace—M.M. IIIb—L.M. Ia. On the north, important evidence of stratification, in which three periods can be distinguished, was found in examining the relations between the paved court and road found in 1927 and the northern façades of the Palace (Quarters III and IV) (Fig. 3). Close to the modern surface a portico was uncovered with one square pillar and three bases for round columns. About .35 m. deeper lay an extensive terrace paved with stucco, which reaches to the paved roadway and on the south underlies the later portico. Across this terrace run at intervals transverse walls, including those of an L-shaped portico, like that of the north court, of which four column bases remain; it was paved with slabs of 'sideropetra.' The finds, though scanty, indicate that the whole terrace should be dated probably to the M.M. I. period; thus it appears that the reconstruction at the time of the re-occupation of the Palace was an extensive one, since the earlier remains were entirely obliterated beneath the later portico. Trial pits sunk through this

<sup>5</sup> From a report kindly furnished by Professor P. Roussel, Director of the French School.



FIG. 3.—MALLIA, 1928.



FIG. 4.—THASOS: ROCK-CUT NICHE.

terrace produced numerous coarse sherds, a few of which are definitely Neolithic, and confirmed the previous indications of the dating of the earliest settlement in this area of the Palace.

Among the finds the most interesting are six or seven moulds (of M.M. I. date) made in two pieces bound by cords (for which the channels are visible) for casting double-axes in bronze, as well as others for knives and other implements; an enormous block of obsidian from which pieces have been struck for making scrapers, and blocks of a red stone and of veined porphyry for making stone vases, of which a single fragment of good workmanship was found on the spot. This combination, in one workshop, of materials for bronze-casting and stone-vase-making has not hitherto been met with in Crete. A great mass of fallen stones was cleared away in preparation for clearing the south façade of the Palace, to be put in hand in 1929.

Further work was carried out under the direction of Professor Ch. Picard, Hon. Director of the French School, aided by MM. Charbonneaux and Demargne during September and October, 1928, in outlying cemeteries and regions of domestic occupation: no account of their discoveries is yet available.

In *Thasos* activity was limited to the neighbourhood of the Poseideion found in 1927. To the south lay a building of uncertain purpose and, apparently, of Roman date, which measures 18.30 × 12.50 metres; the walls have an outer facing of good marble blocks with a backing of rubble concrete; the interior of one of the two rooms into which it is divided has marble orthostat blocks and cornice, about a metre in height. To the north, the building located in 1927 has been cleared, without important results, but still further north a new group of buildings came to light, belonging to a sanctuary not yet identified. It comprises an irregular quadrilateral walled area in the form of a terrace, 34.50 metres long, orientated roughly north and south and partly cut out of the rock on the east like the Poseideion described last year.

Adjacent to the south-east corner is a curious rock-cut curved niche, without inscriptions or reliefs, which penetrates 1.75 metres into the rock-face with a square terrace in front cut with channels to carry off rain-water (Fig. 4); in the centre there are traces of a small rectangular altar. At the foot of the temenos-wall was found a mutilated inscription containing a dedication to a Hero, Archegetes Sotion (?) by name. The finds in this area include Geometric, b.-f. and r.-f. sherds.

At *Philippi* further work on the Theatre, carried out by M. Collart,<sup>6</sup> has enabled him to discover the remains of the vaulted passage in the east parodos, and the wall at the east end of the stage has been cleared and found to have a doorway. Behind the topmost seats of the cavea the existence of a vaulted passage, 3.50 metres wide, has been revealed and the position of various entrances located. The latter prove to have had vaulted roofs of brickwork. Further details have been recovered permitting of a fuller and more exact stage-plan and the arch of Nemesis can now be accurately restored. The numerous large fallen blocks lying in the orchestra have been recognised as having supported

<sup>6</sup> See the account of his previous excavations in *B.C.H.* 1928, pp. 74-124.

a solid barrier with wooden uprights belonging to the period when the orchestra was converted into an arena.

#### GERMAN SCHOOL <sup>7</sup>

In the *Kerameikos* at Athens, during the autumn of 1927, the accumulation of earth from above the rest of the Pompeion was cleared away, enabling Dr. Brückner to continue his work in the following spring. Above the level of the Hadrianic Pompeion he has identified four different strata, extending in date down to the pre-Frankish period. A group of potters' ovens in a layer of sherds lying a metre thick above the level of the Hadrianic Pompeion, store-rooms with a number of buried jars and brick walls containing re-used ancient blocks are evidence for the survival of the *Kerameikos* in later times. The Hadrianic building, in the fifth stratum from the top, lay 1 metre above the level of an earlier and larger structure dating from the time of Konon, whose marble orthostats and limestone columns are preserved to this height.

In *Aegina*, Dr. Welter, continuing his excavation of the early settlements on the hill of Aphrodite, has found a large quantity of Kamares ware, while a trial pit within the city-region revealed proto-Geometric, Geometric and proto-Corinthian sherds, among them a fragment of a cup in Rhodian-Geometric style. East of the Mycenaean tombs mentioned in 'Εφην. 1910, pp. 177 ff., shaft graves with fine Early Mycenaean vases were discovered and chamber tombs with Middle Mycenaean vases. Above one of these was a Late Geometric burial in a poros sarcophagus, around the outside of which lay the grave-furniture.

Excavating at *Olympia*, Dr. Dörpfeld has been able to distinguish the three superimposed Hera-Temples. In the oldest building, which was without peristyle, he identified the covering of small stone slabs with cross-grooves which was laid over the foundations of small rounded stones. In the second Temple, which had a peristyle, similar stone slabs were found re-used as covering for the foundation of small stones in the peristyle, but they are laid irregularly and the grooves do not run continuously. The date of this second Temple is established by the finding of a Corinthian alabastron in the foundations. The altar of Hera, to the east of the Temple, is proved to be contemporary with the second Temple, for it contains the same grooved slabs, re-used from the first Temple.

In *Samos*, Professor Buschor has continued his excavations on the Heraeum, in the south part of the prostasis and between the front of the Temple and the altar. A further mass of votive offerings came to light, notably an ivory relief showing the death of Medusa and a limestone model of a house or temple; the sherds were of the Geometric and archaic periods. A wall running to the south-east, built of small, rectangular stones, must be an old boundary of the sanctuary. Here were found orientalising vases, fine b.-f. sherds in the Ionian style, fragments of Panathenaic amphorae and a large archaic marble tortoise. Further exploration has led Professor Buschor to modify his conclusions as to the early history of the Heraeum itself: the Paved Court now seems to have

<sup>7</sup> Abridged from the reports in *Gnomon*, v. (1929), pp. 268 ff.

carried the first great dipteral temple, so that H.V. and H.VI. of his last report prove to be identical, and the column-drums used in the foundations may, after all, not be earlier than this building, but may represent a surplus of material prepared for it. The oldest preserved temple (H. II.) now seems to show two periods of construction: its length may have been 100 feet, but this is not certain after all. Moreover, the great Rouau altar (mentioned in the last report) rests on archaic foundations, which necessitates a new position being found for the Hellenistic portico previously ascribed to a place on the east side of the altar.

Other excavations were carried out in Samos by Dr. Wrede to the west of the harbour of Tigani on the supposed site of the archaic Samos of Polykrates, a hill now occupied by the ruins of the castle built a hundred years ago by Logothetes Lykurgos. Work was begun on the eastern plateau of the hill within the courtyard of the castle and revealed a large Roman villa which can probably be dated as early as the first century A.D. The villa consists of two peristyles, each with a series of rooms connected with it; the southern of these, measuring about  $20 \times 15$  metres (though it is not yet all cleared) and with  $8 \times 6$  columns, has a water-channel which twists in and out in elaborate fashion round the court and is fed from a central fountain. The northern peristyle is about 16 metres square and has a plain water-channel. There were architectural fragments of the Doric order from both peristyles and many pieces of stucco-work, some with figure paintings. Fragments of statues also came to light that were found to belong to a series of Claudian heads discovered earlier on the site, and a broken statue of Trajan, over life-size, with the head well preserved. The Greek occupation was represented by sherds of all periods, but the foundations of the Roman villa have obliterated all traces of early buildings. In these foundations, to a depth of 2 metres, was a filling containing a quantity of sub-Neolithic sherds. In form and technique the vases correspond to those found in northern Greece and the islands, though the arrangement of the ornament is peculiar, and there seems no reason to doubt the native origin of this ware.<sup>8</sup> Stone axes, obsidian knives and two stone vases complete the finds. There were no traces of houses or actual strata, but in the earth round hollows, measuring about 2 metres across, were found filled with the traces of human occupation. After the destruction of the Roman buildings, probably contemporary with that of the Heraeum in the third century A.D., a smaller house was built over the spot and, in the fifth century, a small church occupied the site, to be superseded later by a large Basilica. Remains of mediaeval and later buildings lay over the whole site.

East of the old city, on the Tigani-Vathy road, an early Byzantine chapel was laid bare. A Hellenistic tower had been incorporated in the building of it, standing now to the height of 2 metres, and the existence of an earlier sanctuary could be traced in a few archaic sculpture fragments, two fifth-century bases and the architectural remains of a late Hellenistic Doric *naiskos* with a half-column system of decoration.

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<sup>8</sup> For further details of the decoration and shapes see *Gnomon*, v. p. 272.

## GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE

*Athens and Attica.*—During June and July of 1928 Professor Keramopoulos worked on the ground lying between the Bastion of the Nike Apteros Temple and the Odeion and was able to trace parts of the road leading to the rock-worn approach below the Bastion; black glaze and Mycenaean sherds were found near the Bastion and an early pavement that seems to pass under its south-west corner.

At the *Amphiareion* at Oropos, Dr. Leonardos, besides working on the general plan of the site, has excavated further on the right bank of the stream, revealing a series of seven rooms bounded on the south by a massive supporting wall, 19 m. long and preserved to a height of 3 m. with a well-made water-channel of poros blocks passing through it for the escape of the water from the hillside above.

At *Eleusis*, Dr. Kourouniotis has cleared more of the enclosure of polygonal masonry that lies outside the south gate of the sanctuary.<sup>9</sup> Several rooms were laid bare and the courtyard wall to the east of them, built of small, unworked slabs of stone. The finds include small Corinthian and b.-f. vases with fragments of an *epinetron* and terracotta statuettes of the usual type of seated goddess, but the purpose of this group of buildings remains obscure.

*Northern Greece.*—At *Thebes*, Professor Keramopoulos, working to the south of last year's excavations, has cleared a passage which seems to have been a workshop. In it lay a small crucible and pieces of gold-leaf, while in one corner were fragments of onyx, some partly worked, some broken in the making, in such quantities as to suggest that this was a factory for trade purposes rather than merely a workshop for the private needs of the Palace; this theory is borne out by the large pieces of crystal and lumps of glass-paste found in the earlier excavations. In a room to the south of this passage was a store of fifty tripod-vases and, in a lower stratum, a nest of pre-Mycenean vases.

At *Souvala* in Phokis, 30 km. from the ancient Lilaea, the chance find of a stele bearing a fourth-century inscription in honour of Demeter has led the Ephor, Dr. Karouzos, to the discovery of a sanctuary of the goddess. The site cannot be further identified: Pausanias does not mention it, though he visited Lilaea in the neighbourhood, and this, with the fact that there were no finds of Roman date, suggests that the sanctuary was destroyed before his time. So far Dr. Karouzos has cleared what appears to be the western side of a double peribolos-wall. The two walls run parallel, north and south, at a distance of 12.35 m. The western (outer) wall is 78.70 m. long and is built of large limestone blocks in pseudo-polygonal style, preserved to a height of a metre or more; this wall has an eastward return at each end, one running to a length of 33 m., though neither is as yet fully excavated. The eastern (inner) wall is shorter than the western and abuts on the northern return but, at its southern end, does not reach as far as the return; it has a small room at each end and is built of blocks like those of the outer wall, though of less careful construction. A mass of fallen smaller stones and clay, lying along its whole length, shows that the

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *J.H.S.* xlv. p. 222.

upper part of the wall was more lightly constructed. Almost in the middle of each wall is a doorway, the one in the inner wall approached by a flight of steps leading down to it from the east. Against the inner face of the outer wall lay a series of rooms. The finds, mostly of fourth century and Hellenistic date, with a few finer ones from the fifth century, were all found beside the inner wall among burnt débris and fallen masonry with no trace of varying strata; from this, Dr. Karouzos conjectures that the better of the early votive offerings were laid with the later ones on shelves along the wall when the present *hieron* was built (during the fourth century), and when this wall was destroyed by fire the votive offerings fell with it and were buried in the débris. The finds consisted of a number of terracotta figurines representing Demeter, Kore, Kourotrophos, Silenoi, Pan, oxen, pigs, etc., Hellenistic vases, including a quantity of miniature votive skyphoi, bronze vases, chiefly phialai, one inscribed with a dedication to Demeter, and a few bronze plaques cut out in the form of human figures, male and female; among a number of roof-tiles some were inscribed ΔΙΛΛΙΕΩΝ. It is to be hoped that this year further excavations within the peribolos towards the east will discover the actual temple of the goddess.

At *New Anchiolos*, Professor Soteriou has completed the excavation of the Basilica by clearing the west end of it, where he came upon traces of a stoa largely built of ancient blocks, among them a marble plaque inscribed to Demeter and Kore which makes it probable that the temple of Demeter in Pyrasos lay in this direction. He also began to clear a second Basilica of early fifth-century date, to the east of the first, and discovered a Bema of unique construction, with the central throne only in the semicircle of the apse, while the other seats consist of low, stepped, straight walls, running from the apse on either side as far as the columns of the Basilica, a plan evidently earlier than the usual semicircular arrangement of the seats.

On Pallene, on the site of *Potidaea*, the Ephor of Macedonia, Dr. Pelekides, made a number of trial trenches. One of these, on the west side of the peninsula, led to the discovery of a temple of Roman date, 20 m. long, but much destroyed by the sea; part of a doorway was found preserved, with a column in front of it. The outside of the building with the outer court have not yet been cleared. The temple was, in all probability, sacred to Poseidon, judging from a statuette of the god which came to light together with a number of leaden weights from fishing-nets. Among other finds were a small sculptured base of fifth-, and a life-size female *protome* of clay of fourth-century date.

At *Kalydon*, the Helleno-Danish excavations under Dr. Romaios and Dr. Poulsen have cleared a small temple to the west of the Laphriaion which can be identified by the finding of a boundary-stone with an inscription to Apollo Lophrios. The ground yielded a mass of terracotta figurines besides some interesting fragments from large terracotta statues, notably a life-size head of Artemis that can be dated between the years 470-460 B.C., a smaller head of Dionysos of Pheidiac date and the torso of a fighting Amazon of fourth-century style. There were over fifty fragments of painted metopes which, it is hoped, may help to complete some of the fragments found in 1926, and a number of bronze animal figurines and inscribed tablets, one referring to the Achaeans.

temporary occupation of the land round Kalydon in the early fourth century, referred to by Xenophon in the *Hellenika*.

*Peloponnese and Islands.*—In Achaia two Mycenaean cemeteries have been investigated by Dr. Kyparisses. One, near the village of *Prostovitzá*, on the west slopes of Mt. Erymanthus, was much broken up by quarrying, and excavation only discovered a number of chamber-tombs wrecked and robbed. One tomb was found untouched, but the chamber, only half-finished, was low and narrow and contained merely one body without any objects. Some finds have been rescued from the hands of the peasants, including a large decorated amphora, a gold ring, and two sword-blades. The second cemetery came to light near *Chalandritza*, 20 km. south of Patras. Besides chamber-tombs, hewn in soft rock, there were three tholos-tombs which are to be excavated later as well as a number of others which have been located on the hills near the village. Last year's excavations were confined to the chamber-tombs. Most of these were much destroyed, but one which was untouched contained a quantity of pottery in place and unbroken—large amphorae, and false-necked amphorae, large and small, set, curiously, upside down upon the floor. Three skeletons lay on the floor of the tomb, and in a small pit, to the left of the door, a mass of bones was found: thus the tomb had clearly served for several interments.

At *Klope* in Lesbos, Dr. Evangelides has continued his excavations on the second temple and has opened up the rest of it; though it has been much destroyed, he has made it clear that it measured 37·50 × 16·25 m. and had 17 columns on the long side and a long cella with an inner row of columns. To the west are traces of the altar. The cornice seems to have been of wood, faced with terracotta; there were also roof-tiles and a sima of terracotta and pieces of antefix with a relief showing a lion attacking an animal. In the course of trials in *Mytilene*, near the north harbour, he came upon the remains of a stoa-like building, which, from the pottery found with it, should belong to the fourth century B.C.

From *Crete*, a number of Late Mycenaean tombs are reported in the neighbourhood of Canea, and the Epimeletes, Mr. Stavropoulos, has examined a group of Geometric burials which lie at a distance of 6 km. along the road from Rethymo to Candia. He found a number of urns, supported by small walls of stones set round them; usually the larger vase was grouped with two or three smaller ones and most of them contained bronze daggers, bent so as to fit into the vase.

*Ithaka.*—The Leukas-Ithaka controversy is far from finished. The appearance of Professor Dorpfeld's *Alt-Ithaka* was soon followed by Sir Rennell Rodd's restatement of the traditional view, and now comes news of the discovery of Mycenaean remains on the island. Dr. Kyparisses has undertaken excavations there at the expense of Mr. P. Oikonomou, an enthusiast for the traditional view, and has found '*des restes très importants d'agglomérations mycéniennes et promycéniennes*,' but no further details are yet available.<sup>10</sup>

The discovery of yet another shipwrecked cargo of bronze statues, in the

<sup>10</sup> *Messenger d'Athènes*, July 8th, 1929.



strait north of Euboea, was briefly noticed in the English Press last summer. The divers' work is now finished, and the finds are in the National Museum at Athens. They consist, contrary to expectations, of only three items: namely, (1) a superb bronze statue of a standing god, larger than life-size, dating from *ca.* 460–450 B.C.: he is bearded and strides to the left, with his right arm raised above his head and his left extended. The choice for his identity lies between Zeus and Poseidon, for it is not certain whether the r. hand held a thunderbolt or a trident.<sup>11</sup> It is no exaggeration to say that this figure ranks high among the finest works of Greek Art which have come down to us. (2) The forepart of an archaic horse with uplifted head, also of magnificent style, and (3) a charming boy-jockey of Hellenistic style, possibly mounted on the horse on the occasion of some later dedication. (See further, p. 141.)

#### OTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSIONS<sup>12</sup>

In *Cyprus*, the Swedish Mission this year, under Dr. Einar Gjerstad,<sup>13</sup> besides completing the excavation of the Palace at *Vouni*, has explored tombs of the archaic and classical periods at *Marion*.

*Vouni* was erected by one of the kings of Soli about 500 B.C. and was abandoned about 400 B.C., when it was partly destroyed by fire, and though it was in use for so short a time, yet two different building periods can be distinguished. The walls are built of well-cut, squared limestone blocks with an upper story of sun-dried brick and were covered with a layer of stucco: the floors are of a kind of concrete of sand, gravel and lime. The number of rooms on the ground floor reaches more than a hundred (cf. the plan, Fig. 5). The great central open court, mentioned in my last year's report, proves to have had a covered passage round three sides, and some of the bases of the columns which supported the roof are still *in situ*. The broad staircase on the west side leads up to a Megaron, measuring 19 × 7.60 metres, with a ground plan identical with that of a Greek temple and closely allied to the Mycenaean house-type; in fact the whole structure of the Palace speaks of Mycenaean influence. Besides the rooms mentioned last year, there lay to the south a series of magazines, bordering another large court containing a cemented cistern; joining the magazines is a remarkable vaulted room, with thick walls pierced by holes, that seems to have been a hypocaust for heating the Palace. The entrance of the Palace lay at its north-east corner, where a ramp-way leads up by some small shrines. In the largest of these were the statues and statuettes described in last year's report, and others came to light this year in the smaller shrines. The most remarkable find was a gold and silver treasure, buried in a jar in a room of the Palace. The treasure consisted of two silver bowls (Fig. 6), a silver skyphos, four bracelets of solid gold weighing nearly 1 kg., the ends decorated with calves' and goats' heads, fifteen silver bracelets and numbers of gold and silver coins

<sup>11</sup> Professor G. P. Oikonomos's view that it is Zeus seems to me to be preferable (cf. *Πρακτικά 'Ακαδ. 'Αθηνών*, 1928, p. 750 f.).

<sup>12</sup> No news has reached me of the

activities of the Italian School in 1928 or 1929.

<sup>13</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Gjerstad's kindness for the material for this report.

and smaller pieces of jewellery. The gold coins are 'darics' from the time of Artaxerxes I. The silver coins are in fine preservation and, all of late fifth-century date, supply good evidence for the date of the destruction of the Palace, for the treasure was found just below a layer of ashes due to the conflagration in which it perished.

Dr. Gjerstad has also established the site of the town of *Marion*. The ancient city was destroyed in 312 B.C. and the city of Arsinoë built later on the site by Ptolemy Philadelphos. The remains of Arsinoë have for some time

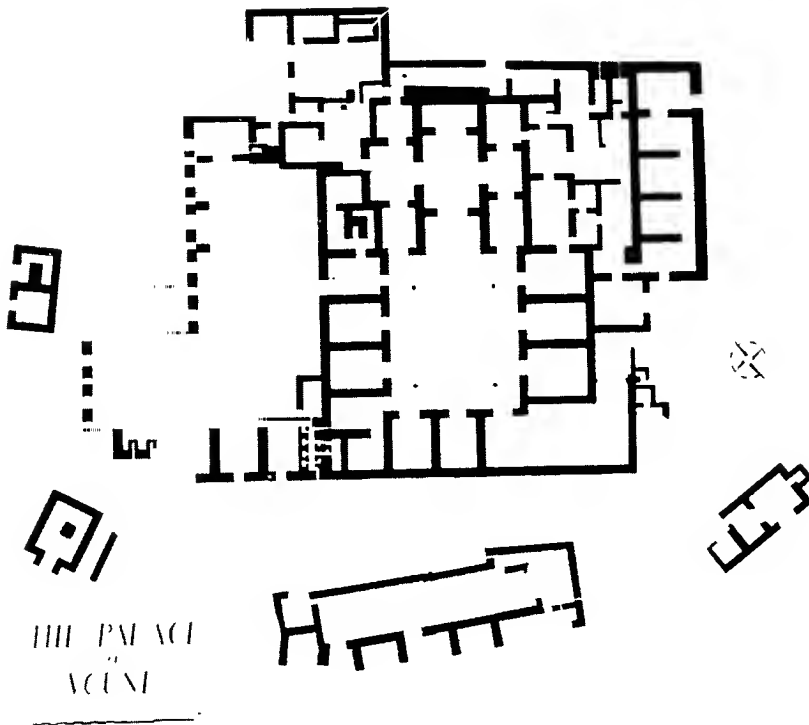


FIG. 5.—VOUNI: GROUND PLAN OF THE PALACE.

been identified with some ruins near the modern village of Polis tis Chrysochou on the west coast of Cyprus, south of Vouni, but there were doubts as to whether this could be the site of Marion, as there were no signs of a city of an earlier date than 312 B.C. Dr. Gjerstad put a trial trench through the ruins and found the old city of Marion below, but his main work was the clearing of tombs of the archaic and classical periods. Here he found vases of terracotta, bronze and alabaster, candelabra of iron, lamps of bronze and terracotta, bronze spoons and mirrors and a quantity of gold and silver jewellery.

Another site excavated by Dr. Gjerstad, *Petra tou Limniti*, a small rocky island three miles south-west of Vouni, revealed three superimposed Stone Age settlements. In the uppermost was a wall and an oval hut floor, in the middle

one was also a hut floor, and in the lowest a cave-dwelling. Flint implements were found in all three strata, stone axe-heads and rough stone idols in the upper and middle, with many fragments of stone bowls, but there were no pottery finds of any kind, in contrast to the frequent pottery finds in the Neolithic settlements at Lapithos, excavated in the autumn of 1928. Dr. Gjerstad therefore concludes that Cyprus had a non-ceramic and a ceramic Stone Age, the first Palaeolithic, the second Neolithic.

*Constantinople.*—The second campaign, carried out in 1928 on behalf of the British Academy in the neighbourhood of the Hippodrome at Constantinople,



FIG. 6.—VOUNI: SILVER VESSELS.

forms the subject of a report due for publication before the end of 1929.<sup>14</sup> The principal results were the fuller exploration of the building found in 1927 and its definite identification as the Baths of Zeuxippos, and the partial clearing of a second building, adjoining it to the east, which has been convincingly identified as the Gymnasium of Zeuxippos; this, like the Baths, has an apsidal plan. From a comparison of the literary and archaeological evidence, it appears that the Gymnasium was built by Septimius Severus and was destroyed by fire soon after 532 A.D.; during that interval it was embellished by Constantine and,

<sup>14</sup> Oxford University Press. I am much indebted to Mr. S. Casson for the loan of a set of proofs of this report.

before the end of the fifth century, was famous for the large number of statues which it contained. The finding of three statue-bases at deep levels, one of which is inscribed in late characters with the name of Hecuba, the other with that of Aeschines (the third bears no name), tallies interestingly with references to statues in the Gymnasium of Zeuxippos in the poems of Christodoros,<sup>15</sup> who mentions among others two pairs representing Hecuba and Odysseus and Aeschines and Aristotle. The only other find of statuary was a mere fragment from a woman's head of fine style, in Pentelic marble, which is dated by Mr. Casson to the end of the fifth century B.C. Another valuable topographical discovery<sup>16</sup> was that of the remains of an enormous triumphal arch, apparently in honour of Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius, situated not far from the Mosque and Square of Bayazid. It is hoped that this important monument will be more fully opened up. A large quantity of Byzantine pottery was found in the course of the two campaigns, of which representative examples are illustrated and discussed in the above-mentioned report. A further publication is promised and will be of great value for the study of the history and development of this pottery.

*Asia Minor.*—An account of the important work being carried out by Dr. M. Schede at the great Temple of Aizanoi in West Phrygia and at Angora will be found in *Gnomon*, v. p. 60.

A. M. WOODWARD.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ca.* 500 A.D. Cf. *Greek Anthology*, Loeb edn., Book II, p. 59.

<sup>16</sup> Made in co-operation with the authorities of the Constantinople Museum.

## TWO RELIEFS IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

### [PLATE XIV]

AMONG the recent acquisitions of the Ashmolean Museum are the two reliefs which form the subject of the present paper, and which I am permitted to publish by the courtesy of the Keeper, Mr. E. T. Leeds. The Museum already possessed a fragment of a Nymph relief of the ordinary type (three draped female figures moving in procession within a grotto (Chandler, *Pars I, Tab. L. No. CXXIV* = Michaelis, *Anc. Marb.*, No. 133) so that the two new reliefs materially enrich that group in the Collection.

I. *Dance of Pan and Nymphs*<sup>1</sup> (Pl. XIVa).—Pan occupies the centre of the composition; he moves quickly to his left, leading three female figures in a dance round an altar-shaped stone. He is dressed in a panther skin, which covers his bent right arm; a long narrow mantle is thrown over his left shoulder, one end of which floats behind him, the other is twisted round his left arm, in which he holds a *pedum*; his head is turned back over his right shoulder towards the nymph who follows him (No. 1). His figure is in high relief (3 cmm.), his head, the floating ends of his scarf and his legs so much undercut as almost to seem detached from the background. The body of the first nymph is also in high relief (2½ cmm.), and is twisted round to present a three-quarters view; her right arm is thrown back to grasp an end of her drapery, her left is raised to her shoulder. Nymph No. 2 forms the connecting link between the two outer figures, as she holds an end of No. 1's drapery in her right hand and stretches out her left to No. 3. Her figure is in very low relief to emphasise her position in the background. The third nymph is also in lower relief. With her left arm akimbo and the folds of her heavy mantle floating out behind her, she dances gaily forward to her right after her sisters.

The whole composition gives a wonderful impression of light-hearted frolic to which the evident pride of Pan in his position as leader of the dance adds a humorous touch. All the heads are more or less weather-worn and the face of the third nymph has been recently sliced off, probably by the pick of the finder. Above the head of the first nymph are the remains of an inscription of which only a few letters (3 mm. high) are now decipherable Σ · Δ · PO · NY, possibly, ὁ δαίμων Εἰς[ι]δ[ώ]ρο[υ] Νύμφαις.

The relief belongs to a group which has been very fully discussed by Dr. Eduard Schmidt in section IIc (*Reigen der Nymphen mit Pan*) of his learned

<sup>1</sup> Length, .40 m.; breadth, .24 m.; thickness (at bottom) .6 m., at top, .4 m. The surface is much stained with rusty brown, but recent fractures show that the material is a coarse-grained, highly crystallised white marble. The relief is

broken away at the top right-hand corner and at both the lower corners. It is reputed to have come from Smyrna. The photographs of both reliefs are by Mr. Chaundy, photographer to the Museum.

treatise on archaistic art.<sup>2</sup> He figures the six reproductions known to him, two complete and four fragmentary, as follows :—

1. A relief in the Louvre <sup>3</sup> (complete but much defaced).
2. A frieze on a marble amphora in Naples <sup>4</sup> (complete).
3. A relief from Knidos in the British Museum <sup>5</sup> (central group of Pan and second nymph). Fig. 1b.
4. A fragment at Parma <sup>6</sup> (second nymph and end of Pan's mantle).
5. Cast of a fragment at Würzburg of which the original has disappeared <sup>7</sup> (first and second nymphs).
6. A fragment from Lindos in the museum at Constantinople <sup>8</sup> (third nymph).

Dr. Schmidt assigns the original conception to a sculptor working in the first half of the fourth century who was inspired to break away from the traditional procession of figures moving in single file, more or less slowly, in one direction, and to produce a composition instinct with life and movement, in which the varying depth of the relief helped to give an illusion of space and freedom. It is this quality of the original which the new relief reproduces, a quality found only in one other rendering, the fragment at Würzburg (No. 5 above). The word 'rendering' is used advisedly. There is no question of a 'copy.' The variations in detail, and above all the mistakes in the adjustment and treatment of the garments of the nymphs, prove that the sculptors did not work from the original, but reproduced from memory their impressions of it, preserving the main lines of the design, but emphasising that aspect of it which appealed to each. In the Louvre relief the group is closed up to stress its unity; on the Naples amphora the design is flattened out to suit the surface; in our relief the figures are probably somewhat spaced out, because it was the *verve* of the composition which attracted that sculptor, and such alterations as he has made are designed to enhance its complicated cross rhythm of movement.

In all the renderings the central group—Pan, the altar and the second nymph—is practically constant; Pan stands in front of the altar with one end of his mantle and the tail of the panther skin fluttering in front of the nymph. In the other renderings her feet are concealed behind the altar, but in our relief the swiftness of her movement is accentuated by stretching out her left leg behind Pan with the foot poised on tip-toe: greater vitality is given to the third nymph by a slight alteration in the set of the shoulders and the poise of the head, though the dress and the position of her arms are as in the other reliefs. The most important variation is in the figure of the first nymph: in all the other renderings (and therefore probably in the original) her whole body is in strict profile with the right arm forward to catch the floating end of Pan's mantle and so to connect the two figures. The spacing out of the design made this im-

<sup>2</sup> *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, pp. 30-42, Pls. XIV, XV, XVI. 1.

<sup>3</sup> No. 962 (=Schmidt, *op. cit.* Pl. XIV (2)).

<sup>4</sup> Ruesch, *Guida*, No. 282(= Schmidt, *op. cit.* XV. (1)). Neo-Attic work.

<sup>5</sup> *Cat. of Sculpture*, No. 1344 (= Schmidt, Pl. XV (2)).

<sup>6</sup> Schmidt, Pl. XV (3).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. XVI (1).

<sup>8</sup> Mendel, *Cat.* II. No. 463 (= Schmidt, Pl. XIV (1)).

possible, so the artist twisted the upper portion of her body round into a three-quarters-frontal position, which he balanced by flinging the right arm back to fill the empty space behind the body. There is, therefore, no physical contact between the first nymph and Pan, but their figures are none the less closely linked by the mutual reaction of their attitudes, and the swing of the composition is retained.

Both on our relief and in the Louvre example Pan is of archaic type, with a broad Silenus-like head, a human body and legs ending in horse's hoofs; on the Naples amphora his head is purely human, of a Zeus-Ammon type, and Dr. Schmidt, on the ground that such an innovation is beyond the mental



a b  
FIG. 1.—CENTRAL GROUP IN RELIEF.

a, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.

b, BRITISH MUSEUM.

capacity of a neo-Attic craftsman, suggests that he copied it from the original.<sup>9</sup> The recurrence of the Silenus type on the new relief does not confirm this theory, which, moreover, does not commend itself aesthetically, as part of the success of the design depends on the contrast between the semi-savage Pan and his elaborately dressed partners.

In discussing the dates of the different renderings, Dr. Schmidt points out that the high girdle worn by the second nymph in the British Museum fragment (Fig. 1b) precludes an earlier dating for that copy than the third century B.C. She wears the same high girdle in our relief (Fig. 1a), and we thus obtain a

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 34 and note 11. The head of Pan in the British Museum relief is almost entirely destroyed, but such traces as

remain do not suggest a Zeus-Ammon type.

*terminus ante quem* for its execution. The intense vitality of the rendering shows that the sculptor was no mere craftsman; he sees his figures in the round and was therefore probably more used to working in the round than in relief, while his appreciation of the value of complex and contrasted rhythm, both in individual figures and in the whole design, shows that he worked under the influences which dominated Hellenistic sculpture towards the end of the second and during the greater part of the first century B.C.

II. *Group of three Maidens* (Pl. XIVb).—Three draped female figures of pseudo severe-archaic style with corkscrew curls move in slow procession to their right, each bearing a flower in her upraised right hand. The group was set in a frame of architrave, pilasters and plinth typical of fourth-century reliefs. When complete it must have measured approximately 46 cm. in width, but about  $9\frac{1}{2}$  cm. are broken away on the left side and an unknown amount at the top.<sup>10</sup> The lower part of the face of one figure only is preserved, and the whole surface has been so much rubbed down to conceal damage that the right-hand figure, whose heavy peplos had originally a pleated kolpos with swallow-tail points, appears to be clad in a transparent veil over an equally transparent tunic.

This triad is a stock pattern; two figures are in strict profile, one with the left leg bent, the right leg stiff, the left hand on the hip; the other with the left hand behind the back, left leg stiff, right knee bent. The third figure has the body full to the front, the legs in profile, and holds up her garment with her left hand to make transverse folds. The Nymphs on votive reliefs are almost always represented as a triad, but though they were *πολυανθείς* they are not depicted with flowers. This relief is unusually large for a votive tablet of this kind so it is possible that the donors bought 'from stock' a relief showing three graceful flower-bearing-maidens whom they turned into 'Nymphs' by their dedication. The interest of the relief lies less in its subject than in the inscription, which records the names, etc. of the four Rhodians who dedicated it 'to the Nymphs.'

The inscription had already been studied by Mr. W. H. Buckler before I saw the relief and he has generously handed over his transcription to me. The letters are blurred, especially in the top line, as if from attrition by wear or running water. The 'die formed by the front of the plinth is filled by the following text in lettering of the 2nd/1st century B.C.'<sup>11</sup>

{ ΨΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ ΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΤΕΛΕΣΙΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ  
 ΟΥΚΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΜΑΣΤΡΩΝ ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΑΣ  
 ΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ ΕΥΦΡΑΓΟΡΑΝΥΦΑΙΣ }

[Ἰερεῖς(?) Παι]υσίστρατος Ἀριστέα, Σωκράτης Τελεσιάννακτος,  
 [πάτρας(?)] Βουκο(λιδῶν), γραμματεὺς μαστρῶν Εὐκλείδας  
 [Λεωνίδα(?), γ]ραμματεὺς Ἡράκλειτος Εὐφραγόρα, Νύμφαις.

<sup>10</sup> Greatest width 37 cm.; height on r. side, 35 cm.; thickness 6 to 9 cm. Fine close-grained island (?) marble. From the Warren Collection. (Sale catalogue No. 93.)

Provenance unrecorded. I am indebted to Mr. D. B. Harden for kind help in obtaining an additional squeeze.

<sup>11</sup> Letters 8 mm. high with *apices*.



The Rhodian origin of the relief is proved (*inter alia*) by the phrase γραμματεὺς μάστρων which occurs in inscriptions from Kameiros<sup>12</sup> and Lindos.<sup>13</sup> The μάστροι were the senators of the three units of the Rhodian confederation.<sup>14</sup> They were elected, according to a decree of Kameiros,<sup>15</sup> by the members of each κτοῖνα, who were to meet in the most sacred shrine in the division and to elect one of their members as μάστρος. The number of the κτοῖναι, and therefore of the μάστροι, is unknown, but in all three units (Ialysos, Kameiros, Lindos) they are mentioned first in all decrees,<sup>16</sup> they distributed honours,<sup>17</sup> they supervised religious ceremonies,<sup>18</sup> and they had judicial powers.<sup>19</sup> The position of their secretary was a distinguished one: at Lindos we find that a man who had been eponymous magistrate of that territory rose later to the dignity of γραμματεὺς μάστρων;<sup>20</sup> in one decree from Kameiros (an honorary decree) his name occurs in the official dating;<sup>21</sup> another records the *cursus honorum* of a native of Kameiros who after being successively *strategos*, *hieropoios* and receiving two golden crowns was raised to the dignity of γραμματεὺς μάστρων.<sup>22</sup> The only reference to his functions is provided by the preamble to a decree of the Lindians dealing with the records of the temple of Athena Lindia.<sup>23</sup> It is enacted that the persons appointed to draw up the record shall only do so παρσόντος καὶ τοῦ γραμματέως τῶν μάστρων τοῦ νῦν ἐν ἀρχαίᾳ ἐόντος.

The inscription also recorded not only the official position of two of the donors but their πάτρα (or possibly their φρατρία). The *patra* was the smallest non-territorial unit of the Rhodian citizens; all its members claimed descent from a common ancestor, and they alone had the right to take part in the religious ceremonies peculiar to it. A group of *patrai* formed a larger group (*phratiria*?) the members of which were presumably connected by marriage. Our knowledge of the Rhodian πάτραι is derived from an inscription<sup>24</sup> found at Kameiros, a recension by πάτραι and φρατρίαί(?) of Althaimenis, one of the clans of the Φυλὴ Καμυρίς. In this inscription occur four πάτραι of Βουκολίδαι (under the heading Χυτρίειων) and another group of πάτραι under the heading Βουκολείων. The word Βουκο in l. 2, taken in conjunction with the rest of the text, can therefore only stand for Βουκο(λιδῶν) or for Βουκο(λείων). I have restored [πάτρας(?)] Βουκο(λιδῶν) in l. 2 because two inscriptions<sup>25</sup> record action by a πάτρα (erection of a statue and gift of a golden wreath), but I can find no instance of the use in Rhodian inscriptions of the term φρατρία.

The restoration ἱερεῖς in l. 1 is based on the following considerations: the

<sup>12</sup> *I.G.* xii. 1, 701<sup>8</sup>, 696<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* xii. 1, 762B<sup>17</sup>, 828<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> For a full statement of the evidence see H. van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodus*, pp. 237 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Inscr. in British Museum*, 351 (= *I.G.* xii. 1, 694).

<sup>16</sup> *I.G.* xii. 1, 761, ἔδοξε μάστροις καὶ Λινδίοις; 694 (Kameiros); 677 (Ialysos).

<sup>17</sup> *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 357 (= *I.G.* xii. 1, 761).

<sup>18</sup> *I.G.* xii. 1, 762 (Ialysos).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 677; 762B (Lindos).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 828; he held previously the priesthoods of Athena Lindia, Zeus Polieus and Artemis Kekoia.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 696.

<sup>22</sup> *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 353 (= *I.G.* xii. 1, 701).

<sup>23</sup> Blinkenberg, *Die Lundsche Tempelchronik*, A l. 25, B.C. 99.

<sup>24</sup> *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 352 (= *I.G.* xii. 1, 695).

<sup>25</sup> *I.G.* xii. 1, 832; *ibid.* 88 (= *I.B.M.* 345).

missing word must record the office held by the two men whose names follow and cannot contain more than six letters; the πάτρα was a very close family corporation with its own religious rites and therefore its own ἱερεῖς chosen from among its members. It would be very natural that when one of the πάτραι Βουκολιδῶν at one and the same time numbered a γραμματεὺς μάστρον and a γραμματεὺς (δαμόσιος) among its members the ἱερεῖς should join with them in an offering which delicately drew attention to the fact. This may also account for the unusually large size of the votive tablet.

The name Πανσίστρατος Ἀριστῇ appears in a long list of over five hundred men who, about 70 B.C., honoured a gymnasiarch of Rhodes.<sup>26</sup> The name Εὐκλείδης Λεωνίδα also appears in that list (l. 211) and is therefore restored in l. 3 as it fits the space. This inscription was found near Rhodes which was founded jointly (408 B.C.) by Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos (Diodorus, xiii. 72); their citizens may therefore have had duties and privileges connected with its affairs and, as Mr. Buckler has pointed out to me, the *Indices* of the *S.G.D.I.* contain so many cross-references to citizens of the three older states whose names appear both in local inscriptions and in the long Rhodian list that there is nothing unusual in the duplicate mention of Πανσίστρατος Ἀριστέα and Εὐκλείδης Λεωνίδα.

The name Τελεσιάναξ is new; other Τελεσι- names are Τελεσίης, Τελεσικράτης, the suffix -αναξ is extremely common in Rhodes, e.g. Ἀγησιάναξ, Θεσπεσιάναξ, Τιμασιάναξ, Πεισιάναξ, etc. Euphragoras is also a favourite Rhodian name, though rare elsewhere.<sup>27</sup>

On the evidence of the inscription it is clear that the relief came from Rhodes, or, at all events, that the dedication was engraved on it there. The donors probably belonged to Kameiros and lived in the first half of the first century B.C., a date supplied by the above-mentioned Rhodian inscription of B.C. 70.

C. A. HUTTON.

<sup>26</sup> *I.G.* xii. 1, 46, l. 445 (= *S.G.D.I.*, 3791).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Indices* to *I.G.* xii. 1; Maiuri, *Nuova*

*Silloge Epigraphica di Rodi e Cos*; van Gelder, *op. cit.*

## ATHENS AND EUBOEIA, 349-8 B.C.

THE accounts of the war in Euboea (349-8) given by Beloch<sup>1</sup> and Kahrstedt<sup>2</sup> are contradictory, their chief points of difference being:—(i) Was there only one expedition to Euboea at this time or two? (ii) When did the incident of the kidnapping of Molossus take place? (iii) Was the result of the war a victory for Athens or for Euboea, or was it indecisive? The ancient authorities upon whom we depend for the solution of these problems are divided into two kinds:—one fairly consecutive narrative (Plut. *Phocion*, XII-XIV), and many allusions or disconnected anecdotes to be found in the orators Demosthenes and Aeschines, and their scholia.

Let us start with Plutarch's narrative. For though he is later than most of our authorities it is only by connecting the fragments of his predecessors with his continuous account that we can hope to make a comprehensive picture of these events. He tells us:—*παραδυσόμενον δ' εἰς τὴν Εὐβοίαν τοῦ Φιλίππου, . . . καὶ τὰς πόλεις οἰκειουμένου διὰ τυράννων, Πλουτάρχου δὲ τοῦ Ἑρετριέως καλοῦντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ δεομένου τὴν νῆσον ἐξελέσθαι καταλαμβανομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνα ἀπεστάλη στρατηγὸς ὁ Φωκίων, ἔχων δύναμιν οὐ πολλήν, ὥς τῶν ἐκεῖ συστησομένων ἐτοίμως πρὸς αὐτόν. Εὐρών δὲ προδοτῶν ἅπαντα μεστὰ . . . εἰς κίνδυνον μέγαν κατέστη. καὶ τινὰ λόφον χαράδρᾳ βαθεῖα τῶν περὶ τὰς Ταμύνας ἐπιπέδων ἀποκρυπτόμενον καταλαβὼν, συνεῖχεν ἐν τούτῳ καὶ συνεκρότει τὸ μαχिमώτατον τῆς δυνάμεως . . .* (Here follow moralisings and an account of Plutarchus' desertion with his mercenaries. The Athenians sally led by Phocion τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἔχων, and preceded by the ἱππεῖς. The result is a victory.) *ἐκ τούτου τὸν τε Πλούταρχον ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑρετρίας, καὶ Ζάρητρα φρούριον ἐλὼν ἐπικαιρότατον . . . ὅσους ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους Ἑλληνας ἀφῆκε. . . ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπέπλευσεν ὁ Φωκίων . . . ταχὺ . . . ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ῥώμην τοῦ ἀνδρός. ὁ γὰρ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα Μολοσσὸς οὕτως ἐπολέμησεν, ὥστε καὶ ζῶν αὐτὸς ὑποχείριος γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις.*

Starting with the first question (how many expeditions were sent to Euboea), we note that Plutarch describes only one, that of Phocion; but Plutarch was only writing a biography. We must, then, see what other references can be identified with this expedition and the battle of Tamynae.

(i) An allusion to the ἐπίλεκτοι (cf. *supra*) is also to be found in Aesch. II. 169: *καὶ τὰς εἰς Εὐβοίαν στρατείας ἐστρατευσάμην*,<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὴν ἐν

<sup>1</sup> *Griech. Gesch.* III. i. 494 and ii. 278, following Schaefer, *Demosthenes*, II. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Forschungen*, p. 54, followed by E. Pokorny, *Studien zur griechischen Geschichte im sechsten und funften Jahrzhnten des*

*vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Diss. Greifswald, 1913, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> The plural here must not be allowed to confuse the issue. Aeschines is including the expedition to Euboea of 357 B.C.

Ταμύναις μάχην ἐν τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις οὕτω ἐκινδύνευσεν ὥστε κακεῖ στεφανωθῆναι καὶ δεῦρο ἦκων πάλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τὴν τε νίκην τῆς πόλεως ἀπαγγείλας, κτλ. This is evidently the same battle; and Aeschines goes on to confirm Plutarch's statement that Phocion was general there. The presence of only ἐπίλεκτοι, as shown by both authorities, suits Plutarch's reference to the few soldiers whom Phocion had brought over with him. For the ἐπίλεκτοι were not the élite of the citizen army, brigaded separately on the field, whenever Athens went out πανδημεῖ. They were the small number of citizen volunteers selected from the κατάλογοι, when a restricted citizen force only was required.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) In III. 86 seq., Aeschines gives a fuller account of this battle at Tamynae. It can be identified with the one in which he had taken part, because the orator drops from the second into the first person, when he comes to the actual narrative. . . . ἐπειδὴ διέβητε εἰς Εὐβοίαν Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθήσοντες . . . ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα εἰς Ταμύνας παρήλθομεν, the hostile Euboeans attacked us. καὶ εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν θεῶν τις ἔσωσε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐπειθ' οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ὑμέτεροι καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵππεις ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοί, καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἱππόδρομον τὸν ἐν Ταμύναις ἐξ παρατάξεως μαχῇ κρατήσαντες ἀφείσαν ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν ἡ πόλις αἰσχιστά παθεῖν. The last sentence confirms Plutarch's statement that the prisoners taken by the Athenians were released.

So we have already identified one expedition led by Phocion, which consisted of a small force only of infantry and cavalry, and which was seriously cornered at Tamynae, but managed with good luck to fight its way out. Are there any references to another expedition?

(a) [Dem.] LIX. 3 (343-0 B.C.) alludes to an expedition πανδημεῖ to Euboea as about to start at the same time as an expedition πανδημεῖ to Olynthus. This is, of course, literally impossible; but the sentence is loosely worded. What it does indicate is that an expedition πανδημεῖ to Euboea was under consideration at the time of the Olynthian war, i.e. 349-8 B.C. The expedition of Phocion and the ἐπίλεκτοι could not be described as πανδημεῖ.

(b) In Dem. XXXIX. 16 (348 B.C.), Mantitheus accuses Boeotus:—ὅτ' εἰς Ταμύνας παρήλθον οἱ ἄλλοι, ἐνθάδε τοὺς Χόας ἄγων ἀπελείφθη καὶ τοῖς Διονυσίοις καταμείνας ἐχόρευεν . . . ἀπελθόντων δ' ἐξ Εὐβοίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν λιποταξίου προσεκλήθη. The use of οἱ ἄλλοι implies that this was an expedition of all the citizens. Mantitheus does not say 'Boeotus was selected from the κατάλογος, but he failed to attend.' He merely says that when the rest went, Boeotus did not. Mantitheus also provides us with the means of dating this expedition more exactly: it covered the period from the end of February to the end of March (Χόες to Διονυσία), 348 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Aeschines in the same speech, § 75, I.G. II<sup>2</sup>. 680, l. 12 (274 B.C.), and Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 251, note 2, and p. 377.

<sup>5</sup> Kalrstedt also distinguishes this expedi-

tion from that sent to aid Plutarchus. His reason is that the first expedition was really sent to Eretria, so it could not be called an expedition 'to Tamynae,' since that only

Thus there are two allusions in Demosthenes to an expedition to Euboea πανδημεῖ, which cannot have been the expedition of the ἐπίλεκτοι already identified. The first reference speaks of it as under consideration: the second implies that it actually took place. A third passage from the same orator (XXI. 161 seq., 347 B.C.) confirms this second passage, and serves to bring the expedition πανδημεῖ into relation with Phocion's expedition while preserving the distinction between the two.

Demosthenes is speaking of the last three occasions on which voluntary contributions (ἐπιδόσεις) had been asked for by the Athenian state.<sup>6</sup> He alludes to the contributions for the Euboean war of 357,<sup>7</sup> and proceeds to take as further examples some ἐπιδόσεις εἰς Ὀλύνθον, and a third series, which (as the context shows) was raised for military purposes in Euboea. Again, as in the speech against Neaera, the two objectives are mentioned together. But our third passage from Demosthenes also tells us something about what forces actually were sent. Demosthenes says that Meidias did not at first contribute: ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολιορκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν Ταμύναις στρατιώτας ἐξηγγέλλετο, καὶ πάντας ἐξιέναι τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἱππέας, ὧν εἰς οὗτος ἦν . . . παρελθὼν ἐπέδωκεν. A few lines later Demosthenes mentions that Phocion ὁ στρατηγός sent for the cavalry from Argura εἰς διαδόχην: the context shows that these ἱππεῖς are οἱ ὑπόλοιποι (to whom Meidias properly belonged), and that in the interval they had reached Argura in Euboea. They were now being summoned to relieve some other cavalry under the command of Phocion. Thus Demosthenes implies an expedition πανδημεῖ to Euboea, following on an expedition led by Phocion.

The simplest way to interpret the situation is to recognise that the soldiers who were being besieged in Tamynae were Phocion and his troops, sent to aid Plutarchus. As we have seen, they (a small force of ἱππεῖς and ὀπλίται) had been hemmed in, and put to serious peril there. News of this danger reached Athens, and created such alarm that it was decided to dispatch a rescuing expedition of all the rest of the able-bodied citizens. Because Meidias was an ἱππεύς, Demosthenes in his attack on him only mentions that *all the rest of the cavalry* had to serve. But it follows, *a fortiori*, that all the hoplites also were sent.<sup>8</sup>

So we have shown that there is definite evidence for the sending of two expeditions to Euboea: <sup>9</sup> one of a few soldiers under Phocion to help Plutarchus, another raised πανδημεῖ to rescue Phocion at Tamynae. Before we conclude with a composite narrative of the whole campaign, our second question must

happened incidentally to be its goal: for the Athenians did not know they would be compelled to fight precisely there. This argument is needlessly subtle: Demosthenes only says παρῆλθον εἰς Ταμύνας, not ἢ εἰς Ταμύνας στρατεία. However, Kahrestedt in this particular happens to get the right result by whatever methods.

<sup>6</sup> On the general subject cf. A. Kuenzi, *Ἐπιδόσεις*, Diss., Bern, 1923.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Erich Radtge, *Zur Zeitbestimmung*

*des euboischen und olynthischen Kriegs*, Diss., Giessen, 1908, who cites Dem. XVIII. 99 and *I.G.* II<sup>2</sup>. ii. 1, 1612, l. 301 (356-5 B.C.).

<sup>8</sup> The above account is not widely divergent from that in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VI. p. 231: but Mr. Pickard-Cambridge has not fully represented the character and importance of the second expedition, as the last sent out πανδημεῖ before Chaeronea.

<sup>9</sup> Beloch had denied this, *loc. cit. supra*.

be answered: when was Molossus captured? By identifying οἱ ἐν Ταμύναις στρατιωταί with Phocion's force, we avoid Kahrstedt's worst error. He identified these soldiers with Molossus and his garrison: and so was compelled to suppose that Phocion in 349-8 (winter) went to Euboea, left a garrison in Tamynae under Molossus, and then returned to rescue them. This course of events, which Kahrstedt admits to be beyond explanation, needlessly diverges from Plutarch's narrative. According to Plutarch, Molossus was an official successor to Phocion: and we have no indication that he was captured at Tamynae rather than anywhere else in Euboea.

On the other hand, Kahrstedt is certainly right in identifying Molossus and his force with the Athenians, of whom we hear in *Schol. ad Dem. V. 5*:—(Πλούταρχος) διαλυσάμενος ἀπαιτούντων τῶν ξένων τὸν μισθόν, αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων λογάδας δήσας ἔδωκεν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ν' τάλαντα πέμψαντες ἔλυσαντο αὐτούς (cf. *Schol. ad Dem. XXI. 110*). The last which Plutarch had told us about his namesake, Plutarchus, was that Phocion expelled him from Eretria. Evidently, Plutarchus had no hopes of placating the general whom he had betrayed: but later a reconciliation was effected with the Athenians (διαλυσάμενος). With this event should be connected the scholia to Dem. XIX. 290. Demosthenes has alluded to the prosecution of Hegesilaus, Eubulus' nephew, and the scholiast explains:—οὗτος εἰς Εὐβοίαν ἐπεστρατήγησεν ὅτε τῷ Πλουτάρχῳ τὴν βοηθείαν ἔπεμψαν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥς εἶπεν ἐν Φιλιππηκοῖς (i.e. V. v). ἐκρίθη δὲ ὡς συνεξαπατήσας τῷ Πλουτάρχῳ τὸν δῆμον, κτλ. By ἐπεστρατήγησεν some kind of additional command is meant<sup>10</sup>: i.e. either a command held along with another στρατηγός, or one taken over in succession to another στρατηγός. As the word is not found again, except when used of the Hellenistic or Roman officials in Egypt (e.g. Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* II. No. 708, l. 18), the choice between these meanings must be determined by reference to the possible facts. It is unlikely that there was any general additional to Phocion in command of the ἐπίλεκτοι, since they were only a small expedition. So if Hegesilaus held an 'additional' command as a στρατηγός, and joined with Plutarchus in deceiving the Athenian people, we should rather connect his treason with the reconciliation and the kidnapping of Molossus.

When, then, can a successor to Phocion in Euboea have been required? As we have seen, the expedition πανδημεῖ lasted roughly from February to March. So some three months must still have remained till the end of the official year (July, 348) after the worst of the difficulties in Euboea had already been settled. We have no evidence that Phocion continued in Euboea: on the contrary, from *I.G. II<sup>2</sup>. i. 207*, we find that in Thargelion (May), 348, he was associated with Chares and Charidemus in the command of an army, which was somehow connected with Orontes, satrap of Dascyleum.<sup>11</sup> Hence

<sup>10</sup> Cf. ὑποστρατηγέω (= to hold a subordinate command).

<sup>11</sup> The inscription is known from four small fragments (one of which is only extant in copies). It is dated in the prytanis of

Pandionis: the thesmothetae of 349-8 (ἐπι Καλλιμάχου) and the month Thargelion are mentioned in the text. Since the prytanis of Pandionis actually fell in Thargelion this year (cf. Kirchner *ad loc.*), the date May 348

it is reasonable to suppose that by that date Phocion must have left Euboea, and was with these two generals probably on the Hellespont.

The only serious difficulty of this hypothesis is that it compels us to suppose that Plutarch has omitted from his narrative a στρατηγός, who occurred between Phocion and Molossus. But this supposition is not hard to credit when one considers the moralistic character of Plutarch's account. He only mentions Molossus at all to point the contrast with Phocion : for this purpose Hegesilaus was not so appropriate.

Then it will have been during Hegesilaus' period of command that the reconciliation was effected. This would have been the most likely time, for Hegesilaus, as Eubulus' nephew, was connected with the party responsible for the original help to Plutarchus (Dem. XXI. 110). So far as the scholiast gives any indication, it appears that there was an interval between the reconciliation and the treachery toward Molossus. Hence we may suppose that Molossus succeeded Hegesilaus in July, 348, and was kidnapped shortly afterwards. When the reconciliation was seen to be fallacious, it would be natural that Hegesilaus was accused of having occasioned it corruptly. Plutarchus to secure pay for his mercenaries demanded a ransom of 50 talents.<sup>12</sup> It was paid, and the prisoners were restored : hence we find (Paus. I. xxxvi. 4) that Molossus' grave was in Attica.

Our last question—who, if anybody, won this war—is best answered by a narrative illustrating our conclusions.

In 349 (summer), Philip, who had begun his attack on Olynthus, set on foot a plan to prevent the Athenians from aiding the Olynthians (Plut. *Phoc.* XII). His method was to support various aspirants to the post of tyrant in the cities of Euboea. One of these, named Cleitarchus, an exile (Aesch. III. 87, schol.), tried to create a popular insurrection in Eretria, a city which was then in the control of Plutarchus, a supporter of Athens (*Schol. ad Dem.* V. 5).

Contemporary Athenians do not give Plutarchus any title; but he seems to have been in fact a τύραννος (*ibid.*) (though perhaps nominally προστάτης τοῦ δήμου). Plutarchus appealed to Athens for help; and this request was opposed by Demosthenes (*ibid.* and *Schol. ad Dem.* XXI. 110), who foresaw that it would prejudice the chances of helping Olynthus. But Eubulus, influenced by Meidias, who was a personal friend of Plutarchus (Dem. *ibid.*), brought it about that Phocion with οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι and some ἱππεῖς was sent (Plut. *Phoc.* XII). The date of the expedition cannot be determined exactly. Phocion found the situation in Eretria made perilous by treachery (Plut. *Phoc.*, *ibid.*). Perhaps he thought it unsafe to remain in the city itself : at any rate he marched

seems almost certain. What exactly the three generals had to do with Orontes is not quite clear. Chares had been in Chalcidice, but had left there : Charidemus was the general on the Hellespont (Philochorus, Frag. 132). Both went to help Olynthus in the summer of 348. Hence it is likely that this inscription with its reference to

στρατιῶται is concerned with the raising of mercenaries for the coming campaign.

<sup>12</sup> Contemporary estimates of ransoms vary greatly : e.g. Dem. XIX. 169 quotes 3–5 minas a man; Aesch. II. 100, at least a talent a man, when they are speaking of the same prisoners !

to a position near Tamynae, where he found himself threatened on all sides by hostile forces (*ibid.* and Aesch. III. 86).

Cleitarchus is not mentioned at this point by our authorities (except *Schol. ad Aesch.* III. 87): instead, we are told that there was a general movement against Athens throughout Euboea, inspired by fears of Athenian annexation (*Schol. ad Dem.* XXI. 110). The leaders specially named by Aeschines are Callias of Chalcis who had rallied all Euboea, and brought over additional forces from Macedon (Aesch. III. 87), and his brother Taurosthenes, who had imported Phocian mercenaries.<sup>13</sup> In face of the enemy, Phocion fortified a naturally strong position, and awaited their attack. Meanwhile he must also have managed to send a messenger to Athens announcing his danger. The soldiers, as was typical of Greeks, found Phocion's policy of waiting trying on their nerves; and Plutarchus (who was present supported by his own mercenaries), in addition suspected Phocion of cowardice. Hence, contrary to Phocion's orders, he led his ξένοι in a sally in which they were followed by the Athenian ἱππεῖς. Both forces were beaten. Plutarchus and his mercenaries scattered, and made their escape: the cavalry were later rallied by one Cleophanes. As the enemy began to assault the stockade, Phocion made a counter-attack in which the ἐπίλεκτοι distinguished themselves.<sup>14</sup> Phocion thus turned his apparent failure into a complete victory, and succeeded later in coming to terms with his opponents by generously releasing his prisoners. Meanwhile a relief expedition πανδημεῖ had been sent from Athens: the cavalry landed at Argura, the hoplites near Styra (*Dem.* XXI. 132 seq.). It was evident at once that they were not needed for their original purpose, but Phocion employed some of the cavalry to take the place of his tired troops.

It remained to deal with Eretria itself. Plutarchus by his disloyalty at Tamynae had forfeited the good-will of Athens. Since he could not be trusted to stand firm in an emergency, Phocion expelled him from Eretria, and handed over the city to the δῆμος. It seems that Athens maintained a garrison of her own ξένοι there till peace was concluded.<sup>15</sup> The main Athenian stronghold, however, was placed at Zaretra, a commanding point in the centre of the island. After establishing a force of citizens there, Phocion left Euboea: the rest of the citizen army returned to Attica, or went on to serve in Chalcidice (*Dem.* XXI. 197).

With Phocion's successors Hegesilaus and Molossus we have already dealt. It may seem strange that Athens was content merely to ransom her citizens. The explanation lies in the other serious commitments in which

<sup>13</sup> It seems impossible to determine whether these were obtained by express agreement with Phalaecus, the contemporary τύραννος of Phocis, or whether they were merely allowed to earn their living in the winter months by finding casual employment abroad. The scholiast seems to have confused them with the fugitive Phocian mercenaries of 346.

<sup>14</sup> It is difficult to unravel the exact

details of Plutarch's account of this battle. Perhaps he did not quite understand his authorities. He distinguishes the φάλαγξ from the ἐπίλεκτοι. As the ἐπίλεκτοι will have been the only Athenian infantry on the field, perhaps these were the brigade of loyal Eretrians.

<sup>15</sup> Aesch. I. 113, with schol., which can only belong to this period.



Athens was momentarily involved. She had to protect the Chersonese against Philip and to help the besieged Olynthians. Hence also in the summer of 348 pay was not forthcoming for the dicasts (Dem. XXXIX. 17); and it was proposed to appropriate the Theoric fund for military purposes ([Dem.], LIX. 3), though this motion was quashed by Eubulus. So Athens could not spare the men or the money for another campaign abroad. It was cheaper to pay the ransom and have done with Euboea.

Before the Olympic truce of 348 (Aesch. II. 12), there were present in Athens ambassadors from Euboea discussing peace. Aeschines' statement cannot be interpreted to prove whether the initiative in these negotiations came from Euboea or from Athens. In our reconstruction of the Euboean war the final stage is seen to have been practically a defeat for the Athenians. But the terms of peace were inconclusive. Athens withdrew her garrisons from Euboea, and the cities were left free to choose whether they would support her or Philip. Carystus seems to have been loyal to Athens ([Dem.] VII. 38): Eretria was divided between the two factions:<sup>16</sup> other cities, like Oreus, soon became definitely hostile. In fact, the result was indecisive, and gave Philip an opportunity again to use Euboean parties for his own ends, till in 341 B.C. Athens created the Euboean league.

H. W. PARKE.

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<sup>16</sup> Dem. IX. 57: there is no evidence that the reconciliation with Plutarchus ever had involved his return to power.

## ATTIC BLACK-FIGURED FRAGMENTS FROM NAUCRATIS

[PLATES XV-XVII]

WE understand that it is not proposed to publish the Attic vase-fragments found at Naucratis in the London section of the *Corpus Vasorum*: we have therefore asked Mr. Walters for permission to publish a selection of them; and our request has been kindly granted.

The fragments are all from Naucratis, except Nos. 11 and 50. In references to the *Corpus Vasorum* we omit the rubric III He, and represent III Hd by *d* only. We refer freely to the second Oxford fascicule, soon to appear, of *Corpus Vasorum*: to Payne's forthcoming *Necrocorinthia* (abbreviated *N.*);



FIG. 1.—OINOCHOE IN LONDON.

and to Beazley. *Attic Black-figure: a Sketch* (abbreviated *ABS.*). We had hoped to give page-references to *Necrocorinthia*: but the page-proof has been held up.

1. Fig. 1. 88. 6-1. 566. Olpe. *Naukratis*, ii, Pl. 9, 5. Handle and foot modern. Ram. The filling ornament is of early character. For the ornament below the ram's neck compare the Piraeus vase in Athens (Pfuhl, Fig. 88), and the lion amphora in London (74. 4-10. 1: Jacobsthal. *Ornamente*, Pl. 7); for the worm-like lines adhering to the border we must go back even farther, to Phaleron vases like the centaur krater in Athens (*Jahrbuch*, 2, Pl. 4) or Acropolis 364 (Graef, Pl. 13).

Another ram on an olpe of the same class, Oxford 505 (C.V. Oxford, Pl. 13, 1-2).

End of the seventh century (Payne, *N.*). This vase, and Nos. 2-5, belong to a group of tall oinochoai ('olpai') with trefoil mouth, echinus foot, high double handle, picture on the side. For the shape complete, see Morin-Jean, *Dessin des animaux*, p. 161, Fig. 187, or *J.H.S.*, 27, p. 297, 1 (better, C.V. Oxford, Pl. 13, 1-2). The shape is a favourite with Corinthian potters: the *Attic* group to which ours belongs has been dealt with by Payne (*N.*). Add to his list the following:—

1. Villa Giulia, from Cervetri. Siren.
2. Florence, fragment. Siren.
3. Boston 555. Fairbanks, Pl. 64. Siren.
4. London B 102. 3. *Naukratis*, i, Pl. 6, 2. Siren.
5. Berlin 1658. Boar.
6. Villa Giulia, from Cervetri. Fore-part of boar.
7. Heidelberg M 43, fragment. (Horse.)
8. Stuttgart V 36. Cock.
9. Tübingen C 41. Watzinger, Pl. 4. Cock.
10. London B 102. 2. *Naukratis*, i, Pl. 6, 1. Cock.
11. Delos. *Délos*, x, Pl. 44, 591. Dolphins.
12. Delos. *Délos*, *ib.*, 592. Anchor.
13. Boston, fragment from Naucratis. Fairbanks, Pl. 38, 353, 3 (Herakles and Triton?).
14. Oxford, fragments of several: see C.V. Oxford, Pl. I, 25-32.

These jugs, and those given by Payne, form a compact group: the lion olpe Brussels A 1388 is a late straggler. The shape continues to be used by the Amasis painter and his contemporaries, but differently decorated. The latest example is Louvre F 322.

2. Pl. XV, 32. 86. 4-1. 1171. Olpe. Rider: what remains is the bridled head of the horse, and part of the reins. The cheek is chipped. For the subject compare the olpe Louvre MNB 2035, another in Taranto, and fragments of a third in Heidelberg (M 43, head of a bridled horse). A good specimen of the dank-maned, ghostly rocking-horse of the seventh century and early sixth (Piræus amphora: Louvre dinos E 874).

About 600.

3. Pl. XVII, 10. B 102. 22. Olpe. A winged thing with eye and eye-brow. We can't think what on earth this is.

Early sixth century.

4. Pl. XV, 10. B 102. 23. Olpe. A lion carrying off a fawn in its mouth. The necks, and the lion's eye and nose, are red. White spots on the lion's nose and brow, and also on the forehead. For the subject compare an Etruscan bucchero oinochoe in the Louvre, C 563 (Morin-Jean, p. 151).

Early sixth century. Payne, *N.*

5. Fig. 2, 4. 88. 6-1. 588. Olpe. Payne, *N.* Lion (sejant regardant). Muzzle, tongue, cornea, neck, red: white teeth.

Early sixth century: in style near No. 4. Recalls the painter of Louvre E 874 (Payne, *N.*).

6. Fig. 2, 1-2. B 601. 25 and 23. Large plate. In the centre, gorgoneion. In the zone next it, a floral ornament, and a lion sejant regardant. There was no doubt a similar lion on the other side of the plant. Then came another



FIG. 2.—FRAGMENTS IN LONDON.  
1-2, PLATE; 3, DINOS; 4, OINOCHOE.

zone: the hind-paw of a feline remains, and the hind-hoofs, with pasterns, of a horse. On the rim, a floral ornament, and a ram (not a goat as in the catalogue), then a lion, and the tail of a sejant feline, probably a sphinx. On



FIG. 3.—COLUMN-KRATER IN LONDON.

the edge, chevrons. There are two other fragments of the same plate in Oxford (*C.V.* Oxford, Pl. 1, 3-4).

Beginning of the sixth century. By the painter of the Louvre dinos E 874 (Payne, *N.*): compare the plate Acropolis 515-516 (Graef, Pl. 23).

7. Fig. 3. B 101. Column-krater. *Naukratis*. ii, Pl. 13, 2. A griffin-bird between two sphinxes. Part of the griffin's breast is lost. On the griffin-bird, common in Corinthian, rare in Attic, see Rumpf, *Wandmalereien in Veii*, p. 48, and Payne, *N.* A good example on the amphora Louvre E 816 (*C.V.* Louvre *d.* Pl. 1. 9).

First quarter of the sixth century: the whitish clay connects it with three other vases, among them the lekanis in Dresden (Payne, *N.*).

8. Pl. XVII, 8. B 601. 26. Dinos. Above, floral ornament: below, sirens confronted. This belongs to the small dinos London B 100 (*Naukratis*, ii, Pl. 9, 6: new, Figs. 4-5), and fits in under the panthers.

First quarter of the sixth century.

The single human figure who often appears among the monsters of the 'mixed animal frieze' in Corinthian and early Attic black-figure is often characterised as Hermes by a caduceus. Hermes is not picked haphazard: as traveller and mediator he links the world of monsters to the world of man and civilisation.

9. Fig. 2, 3. B 103. 14. 2. Dinos. Riders. To the left, nose, mouth, beard, and shoulder of the horseman. Walters noticed that this belonged to the same vase as the fragment published in *Naukratis*. ii, Pl. 9, 7.

First quarter of the sixth century.

10. Pl. XV, 11. 88. 6-1. 588. Small dinos. Lioness, boar.

Late first quarter of the sixth century. Akin to the Komast group (see below on Nos. 12, 16-22).

11. Pl. XVII, 7. 86. 4-1. 1229. Dinos. Part of a feline: below, a boar. The vase seems to have a thin pale-buff slip; but so has the Piraeus amphora; and our fragment is not certainly un-Attic.

Early sixth century.

12. Pl. XV, Figs. 6, 2, and 1. 88. 6-1. 599, three fragments. Column-krater. A, warriors setting out: two horses, one with bent head (probably part of a quadriga), a hoplite with spear, and another hoplite (face with cheek-piece remains) looking at him. The horse's eye is red. B, komos: two men dancing, dressed in short shirts: shirts and faces and necks red. These two fragments are by the same hand as the warrior fragment, and no doubt belong to the same vase, in spite of the pattern above being narrower. A fourth bit of the same vase is in Oxford (*C.V.* Oxford, Pl. 2, 3).

First quarter of the sixth century: one of a number of column-kraters belonging to the Komast group (see Payne: *N.*: and below, Nos. 16-22). On early Attic column-kraters in general, see Payne, *N.*

13. Pl. XV, 4-5, and 18. B 601. 16 and 44. Small kantharos. 16 gives the upper half of Hermes (ΘΞ . . .), wearing chiton and mantle, and holding out his caduceus; and part of a large lotus-flower. Above the picture a red line: inside the vase, a pair of red lines. 44 gives the legs of two male figures, with part of the cul of the vase. One figure has a long chiton, the other a shorter chiton; both have mantles and staves. Below the picture a red line: then a plastic fillet with dots on it: then, on the cul, three lines, and a band with dots from top and bottom. For the drawing of the mantles, compare the



FIG. 4.—DINOS IN LONDON.

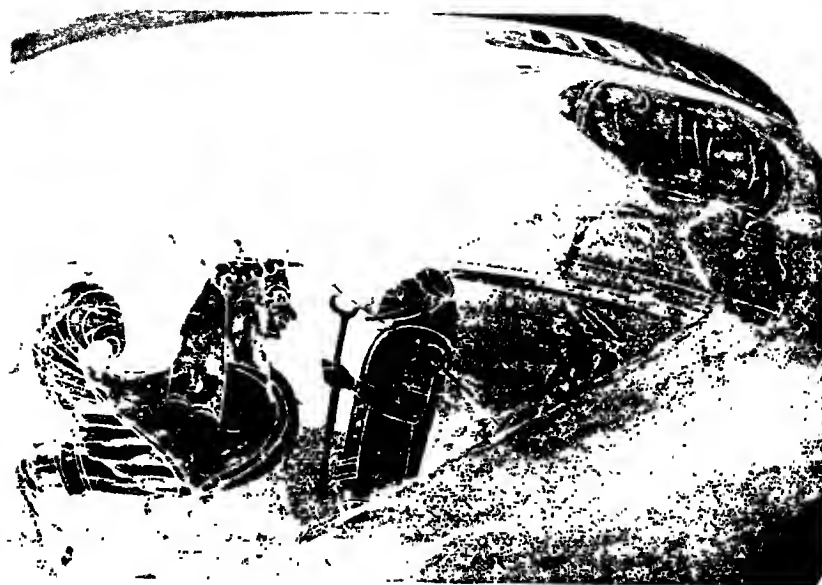


FIG. 5.—DINOS IN LONDON.

Berlin fragment 3987, and the cup-fragments Acropolis 1611 (Graef, Pl. 82). The draped figures have an old-fashioned, stuffed look—same back and front—which recalls the Crow corslet (*Olympia*, iv, Pl. 59) or even, earlier, the Alexandros of the Chigi vase: see Payne, *N*.

Early sixth century. On the shape, see No. 14.

14. Pl. XV, 17. B 601. 14. Small kantharos. Above, a red line. Inside, a red line. The chariot of Achilles. What remains is part of a horse's mane, the head of a man at the horses' heads, and the inscription ΠΑΤΡΟΟΛ(ος) retrograde. The horse's mane and the man's face and neck are red. For the subject, compare the big kantharos by Nearchos, Acropolis 611 (Graef, Pl. 36; Pfuhl, Fig. 236), though there it is Achilles himself who stands at the horses' heads (see Wrede in *A.M.* 41, pp. 267 and 341). On koppa in Attic vases, see Kretschmer, p. 100: the latest koppas are on little-master cups: to Kretschmer's examples add the lip-cups Louvre F 90 (Pottier, Pl. 70) and Munich 2148 (J. 26).

Early sixth century. From a kantharos of just the same type and style as No. 13. A fragment of a third kantharos, of the same type and style, from Naucratis, is in Cambridge (N 131. 71: part of a frontal chariot and of a warrior to the left of it: below, a red line, then a plastic fillet, dotted: inside, shiny black, with a red line): and fragments of two others, from Naucratis, which are at least close, are in Oxford (C.V. Oxford, Pl. 3. 11-12). That such kantharoi should be common at Naucratis is natural: they must have been meant to replace the 'chalices' of Ionian, 'Naucratis' fabric.

The kantharos-fragments Acropolis 2133 (Graef, Pl. 93) are later than our group, are well on in the second quarter of the century, but resemble ours in the small size, the dotted fillet, and the elaborate decoration of the cul. The earliest complete kantharoi of the shape are Berlin 1737 (Gerhard, *E.C.V.* Pl. 13. 1-3; Schaal, *S.f.* Fig. 32) and London 94. 7-18. 1 (*J.H.S.*, 18, p. 289 and Pls. 16 and 17. 1).

15. Pl. XV, 19. B 600. 50. Probably a kantharos. Part of the upper edge is preserved, without border. The break to the left below is recent, but we have not been able to find the lost piece. ΠΡΙΑΜΟΣ, retrograde, and puzzling remains of the picture. The right-hand thing looks like a Doric column, but has a row of white dots running down the middle.

Early sixth century. The lettering resembles that of the kantharos No. 14.

16. Pl. XV, 15. B 601. 46. Small concave-sided vase, probably a kantharos or the like. Inside, shiny black, with two pairs of red lines. Komos: a naked man and a woman dancing. The woman's cornea red. Above, two black lines.

Early sixth century: resembles the Komast group, division ii (see on No. 17).

17. Pl. XV, 16. No number. Small kotyle. Komos: a man dressed in a short red shirt; to the left, part of the hands of another. Above, a black line.

Early sixth century: Komast group. Small Attic kotylai of Corinthian shape are common in the early part of the sixth century: for complete kotylai in the same style as ours see Greifenhagen, *Eine attische sf. Gattung und die Darstellung des Komos im vi. Jahrhundert*. Pls. 3-4, and Payne, *N*. See also C.V. Oxford, text to Pl. 13. 4 and 7.

18. Pl. XV, 9. No number. Small kotyle. Two sirens confronted. Above, a black line.

Early sixth century : akin to the Komast group.

19. Pl. XV, 23. B 601. 39. Small kotyle. A hairy man. To the left, high up, a woman's hand, the white laid directly on the clay (see below on No. 27). From the position of the hand, she may have been dancing. Above, two lines. The man may be a satyr (satyrs sometimes have human ears) or he may be a human reveller.

Early sixth century : contemporary with the Komast group.

20. Pl. XV, 8. 1914. 3-17. 10. Cup. Convex lip, with zigzags. Then a red line. Then part of an animal frieze (lion). Inside, two red lines half-way down the lip, one between lip and bowl, one on the bowl.

First quarter of the sixth century. Komast group (Payne, *N.*). On this class of cups see below, on No. 21.

This cup differs not only from its fellows, but from all other Attic cups, in having a pronounced convex lip. (One or two later cups have a very slightly convex lip, see below on No. 45.) The convex lip is common though not universal in Corinthian cups (Munich 210. Lau. Pl. 7, 2. Hackl and Sieveking Pl. 7 and pp. 8 and 9, Figs. 11-13 : Brussels A 2182), and in Ionian cups (Munich 485, Hackl Pl. 18 : Copenhagen, *C.V.* Pl. 118. 7. Ionic, not Attic as stated in the *Corpus*); but in Attica offset lips are either straight or slightly concave. The zigzag pattern is found on Corinthian cup-lips. So a link between Attic and Corinthian.

21. Pl. XV, 12. B 600. 6. Cup. Komos : not a silen and a maenad, as in the catalogue, but parts of three male revellers, all dancing and holding horns. The picture may be completed by means of a cup in Athens by the same hand as ours (649 : Greifenhagen, Pl. 2).

Early sixth century. Komast group, second division (see Greifenhagen, pp. 9 ff., and Payne, *N.*).

This and No. 22 (with which we may associate No. 20) belong to the earliest group of Attic b.f. cups, a group which has been studied by Greifenhagen and Payne. The shape (offset lip, decorated with rosettes or network, short flaring foot) is taken, with modifications, from Corinth. Another fragment of such a cup, from Naucratis, is given in *C.V.* Oxford, Pl. 2, 4.

22. Pl. XV, 7. B 103. 28. Cup. Outside, komos : legs and left hand of a reveller dancing : short shirt. Below, two lines.

First quarter of the sixth century. Komast group (Payne, *N.*) : see on No. 21.

23. Pl. XVI, 10-11 and Pl. XVII, 23. B 601. 41, and other fragments. Cup. Outside, on the lip, flowers ; below, A, Herakles ; B, komos. The bud is white. Herakles (chiton, lion-skin, quiver) moves quickly to r., looking round. The subject would seem to have been the Struggle for the Tripod, and the tripod will have been held in the left hand, the club in the right : but this is exceedingly early for the subject. On the other side of the cup, a naked man is dancing with a phiale in his left hand.

Early sixth century. Intermediate between the Komast cups and the



Siana cups (see above on No. 21 and below on No. 25). The style of the drawing is close to that of the Komast cups (see Payne, *N.*), but the scheme of decoration is that of the Siana cups. For the pattern, compare the Siana cup Athens 529 (Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, 2. Pl. 2; A. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, Pl. 67, c).

24. Pl. XVII, 2. B 103. 17. Cup. Inside, two lions confronted, with a flower between. The stump of the cup-foot remains, and shows that the foot was at least of the same general type as in the Siana cups.

Early sixth century. Related to the Komast group.

25. Pl. XVI, 2. B 103. 2. Cup. The picture extends over the offset lip as well as the handle-zone. Komos: a youth and a girl dancing: the youth naked, the girl dressed in a short chemise. The youth's chest is red.

Beginning of the second quarter of the sixth century. Very close, and probably by the same hand, a cup of the same type and subject in Göttingen (Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*, Pl. 4): close also an amusing cup in Copenhagen (5179: *C.V. Cop.* Pl. 113, 3), and the Louvre kotyle MNC 676. In style and subject the picture may be thought of as continuing the dancing-scenes of the Komast group.

This cup and Number 26 belong to the second great group of Attic black-figured cups, which may be called the Siana group from two well-known cups found at Siana, and long held un-Attic, in the British Museum. The shape is derived from that of the Komast cups, and is the same in the main: but the lip is longer, and the foot, though still stout, taller. Good illustrations of the shape are given in Lau (Pl. 18, 3. Munich 2122), by Jacobsthal (*Ornamente*, Pl. 67, a. Munich 2121), and in the Copenhagen *Corpus* (Pl. 113, 3 and 4. Pl. 114, and Pl. 100, 1). There is a picture inside as well as outside. The outside pictures are often restricted to the handle-zone as in the Komast group, the offset lip being patterned; but often, as in our cup, the figures spread over both handle-zone and lip; and sometimes both modes of decoration are used on one cup. Overlap decoration is not a very good idea, but the cups make up for it by their clean and vigorous technique. Later, overlapping naturally appealed to Nikosthenes, who does something of the kind on his miserable neck-amphorae.

26. Pl. XVI, 5. B 600. 28. Cup. *Naukratis*, i, Pl. 13, 4. Inside, a man courting a boy. The man's knees were bent: his left arm chucks the chin: his right was in the same position as in No. 47. The boy raises his hand towards the man's beard: he has long hair, with a side-lock: the line at the end of the mouth is not a fossette but an accidental scratch. The chests are red. What is to the right is probably part of a garment hanging in the field.

This group of man and boy is a favourite in Attic black-figure from the second quarter of the sixth century onwards. The degree of intimacy varies. Good examples: lip-cup in Berlin, 1773: fragment of a little-master cup in the Louvre, F 85: cup in Athens, Licht, *Sittengeschichte*, Suppl. p. 208; tripod in Yale, 122 (Baur, Pl. 4); amphora in Würzburg (Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, Pl. 13, 5). See also Beazley in *C.V.* Oxford, Pl. 3, 23. In red-figure the group

is not so common : cup by Peithinos in Berlin (Hartwig, Pl. 25); cup, manner of Douris, in Munich. 2631.

Early second quarter of the sixth century. Siana cup. Belongs to the same stylistic group as the Sianas Athens 529 (Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, 2, Pl. 2 = Baur, *Centaurs*, p. 14: A. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, Pl. 67. c). Louvre F 67 (Pottier, Pl. 68). Louvre A 478 (Pottier, Pl. 17).

27. Pl. XVI, 8. No number. From the shoulder of a large vase. Thick : inside reserved. A naked girl between two men, whose beards show to left and right. They were probably dancing—compare the late Corinthian neck-amphora London B 36 (Greifenhagen, Pl. 5).

About 570 : time of Sophilos. The flesh-white is laid directly on to the clay ground, as in vases by Sophilos and Klitias and certain other Attic pieces of about the same period : see C.V. Oxford, Pl. 2. 1.

28. Pl. XVI, 12. B 600. 29. Eggy neck-amphora ('Tyrrhenian' shape). *Naukratis*, i, Pl. 13, 5. The armour of Achilles. The hero, naked and bearded, takes his helmet by the nasal. In front of him a woman (Thetis) holds the shield and the sword. The shield has white roundels on the rim. The thing looking like a spear-head in the lower right-hand corner of the fragment is the breast of the goddess and part of her upper arm : above this, the tip of the helmet-crest. Behind Achilles, a male hand holding a spear as a staff. Neck, breast, and flank of Achilles are red.

Second quarter of the sixth century. Same style as in two other representations of the same subject, on vases of the same shape as ours in London (1922. 6-15. 1 : C.V. Pl. 23, 1) and Munich (1450). On this subject, see Beazley, *Vases in Poland*, pp. 1-2. The loop held in Thetis' right hand is probably the baldric of the (concealed) sword—the shield being held on her left arm : compare the band-cup Vatican 325 (Albizzati, Pl. 36) or the Etruscan 'Pontic' vase Cabinet des Médailles 172 (C.V. C.M. Pl. 29, 4) : although on a hydria in the Louvre, E 869, of the same period and class as our fragment and its companions (C.V. Louvre d, Pl. 13), it seems to be thought of as supporting the shield.

29. Pl. XVI, 16. B 599. 1. Probably an eggy neck-amphora. The handle came to the right. Above, red and black tongues. The Judgment of Paris. The right-hand figure is Paris : he wears a long white chiton, with a red mantle over both shoulders (worn as in the Lydan eggy in Florence (*J.H.S.*, VII, Pl. 70) and other vases with the same subject (C.V. Louvre, Pl. 11, 4 and 7, and 6). The hair is bound with a fillet. The nose was longer than appears : the bridge is normal, what seems a wart is part of the border. Paris is probably moving away from Hermes and the goddesses, and looking back at them. The remains to the left are perhaps part of Hera's hand, holding a wreath, as in the Louvre tripod pyxis CA 616.

The incised inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΔΡΟΣ was hardly written by the artist. The four-stroke sigma occurs at all times in Attic vase-painting, but the Ionic xi hardly before the second half of the fifth century : the only xi we recall is in a nonsense inscription on a Siana cup in Berlin (inv. 3755 : Schaal, *Sf.* Fig. 35 : Ξ).

Second quarter of the sixth century : not far from No. 28.

30. Pl. XVI, 7. B 601. 18. Neck-amphora, quite likely an eggv of 'Tyr-rhenian' shape. Judgment of Paris. What remains is part of a woman to left (not to right as in the catalogue), dressed in a red peplos (the tip of the overfall shows to left of the letters) holding a wreath and a flower with a long stalk. Inscription, in red, ΘΞΡΑ. The wreath is incised against the body, but against the background (where the label covers it in the photograph) painted only. In pictures of the Judgment of Paris the goddesses often carry wreaths (C.V. Louvre, Pl. 11, 4 and 7, and 6) or flowers (C.V. Copenhagen, Pl. 106, 1). Red inscriptions are rare in Attic black-figure: Acropolis 586 and 588; eggv neck-amphorae Tarquinia RC 5564 (*Mon.* 12, Pls. 9-10: photos. Moscioni 8259 and 8635) and Cambridge 44 (E. Gardner, Pl. 7: C.V. Cambridge); hydria in London, B 76 (phot. Mansell); Tyrrhenian eggv in Berlin, 1710 (Micali, *Storia*, Pl. 83); fragment Eleusis 881 (Demeter and Kore, inscribed ΕΥΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ); and a number of Panathenaic prize amphorae. The vases in Cambridge and Tarquinia are in a single style; and our vase belongs to the same period and broadly speaking the same stylistic group.

Early second quarter of the sixth century.

31. Pl. XVI, 17 and 6. B 601. 13. Two fragments. Amazonomachy. (α) lower right-hand corner of the picture: an Amazon, Lykopsis, fallen; another Amazon running past her—what remains is left leg and calf. To the right, a spear. Blood shows on the lower part of Lykopsis' chiton, and her cornea is drawn up to the upper eyelid. (β) A bit of the left side of the picture: two warriors (not one, as in the catalogue) running side by side; one of them is called [P]elagou. Part of the right thigh and greave of the farther warrior remains. Below the lower border of the picture, two red bands. The bounding-line of the side-border in (α) has been gone over with a red line: not in β.

The vase is called a hydria in the catalogue: against this, that it is a pretty shiny black inside (and the inside of a hydria is reserved). It may be such a vase as Acropolis 474 (Graef, Pl. 17), a sort of nuptial lebes.

Early second quarter of the sixth century. Smith noticed (*Cl. Rev.* 1888, p. 233, No. 16) that the fragments were very like the François vase in style. They stand very close to the hydria-fragments Acropolis 601 (Graef, Pl. 28; see Beazley in *J.H.S.* 47, pp. 224-6 and *A.B.S.*, p. 16), which are probably by Klitias. In two technical points, also. London and Acropolis tally: the reserved details (face, arm, headband, girdle of Lykopsis: throne of Zeus), and the scumbled under-painting for a white which has now disappeared (leg of the running Amazon: long chiton beside Hephaestus). The scumbling is regular in Caeretan hydriai, extremely rare in Attica. For the drawing of the shield, compare the shield behind Icarus in Acropolis 601, and the shield of Ares on the François vase.

32. Pl. XV, 24. B 601. 17. Shape doubtful. Thin: shiny black inside, with a red line. Kantharos? Aphrodite with Eros in her arms. ΑΦΡΟ(ΔΙΤΕ) retrograde. To the left, part of something. Peplos and mantle red with white rosettes.

The black-figure representations of women with children in their arms are collected by Hall in *Philadelphia Museum Journal*, 6, pp. 86-7, and von

Massow in *A.M.* 41, p. 52; see also Greifenhagen, p. 98. Thrice, the woman is certainly Aphrodite: kotyle Acropolis 603 (Graef, Pl. 29); plaque Acropolis 2526 (Graef, Pl. 104: put together wrongly); and our fragment.

About 560-550.

33. Pl. XV, 13. B 600. 39. Lid? Shiny black inside. A man and a youth. Red hair and beard. Above, the pattern.

Early mid-sixth century: recalls Lydos.

34. Pl. XVII, 3. B 600. 20. Amphora. Theseus and the Minotaur. Theseus grasps the monster's wrist, as often (*e.g.* Vatican amphora 313, Albizzati, Pl. 32: London amphora B 148, *C.V.*, Pl. 25, 5 *b*). A young man looks on: his cloak has red roundels on it with white dots round them.

Early mid-sixth century.

35. Pl. XV, 25. B 601. 9. Shiny black inside (*e.g.* a Nicosthenic pyxis?). Part of a figure to left, in long chiton and red mantle: and the naked leg of a male hastening up. . . . ΒΙΣΚΑΛΩΣ. Klein (*Liebl.* p. 38), suggests Κλεοβίς καλος. But the name may be any -βίος name with the non-Attic contraction to -βίς—Πολυβίς, Παμβίς, or what not.

Late middle of the sixth century. For folds and border of mantle, compare Acropolis 2112 (Graef, Pl. 92), for the folds the Chariklo of the François vase, but also a fragment in Oxford (*C.V.*, Pl. 3, 18) which must be nearer the date of ours.

36. Pl. XV, 28. B 601. 48. Probably a kantharos. Inside, shiny black, with two red lines. Gigantomachy. Two giants to left, one striking with his spear, the other hurling a stone. Shield-devices, the forepart of a panther in profile: and pellets. A god is driving his chariot against them (forelegs of two horses, and part of the bent head of one, remain). Fire, rendered by brown strokes, falls on the shield of the foremost giant.

About 550-540.

37. Pl. XVII, 4. 1914. 3-17. 7. Kantharos. All that remains of the chief picture is the peaked lower end of a long chiton to the right of the handle. The handle is concave, with a red line on each side. On the cul, dot-band, palmettes, dot-band, double rays, then a red line: then came the stem. Inside, red lines (once a pair) half-an-inch apart. For the exquisite palmette pattern compare the ivory bands, Hogarth, *Ephesus*, Pl. 42, 15 and 19, and, in a measure, the seventh-century gold band from Thera, *A.M.* 28, Pl. 5, 13-14.

About 540-530.

38. Pl. XV, 20. B 601. 19. Kantharos-like vase. Concave. Shiny black inside. A head of Dionysos remains.

About 540.

39. Pl. XVII, 5. 88. 6-1. 592. Lid. A large lid, nearly flat, not unlike a lekanis-lid. A hole in the middle. Inside, shiny black, with a red line at the edge of the hole, and two others at intervals of an inch. The hole may have served to pass a bronze ring-handle through, as in red-figured pyxides of type C: but we do not remember any analogy in black-figure. In any case the lid must have belonged to some sort of pyxis. Patterns; animal frieze (a panther remains).

About 540-530.

40. Pl. XVI, 14. B 600. 48. Olpe? (either that, or one of those small amphorae which this painter affects: but more probably an olpe). The lower parts of three males, two naked, one wearing a long white chiton and a himation and holding a spear staffwise. To the right, the two lines of the side-border. Between the two naked males, the tips of the hinder one's fingers: the gesture was the favourite Amasian (see the Würzburg olpe, *W.V.* 1889, Pl. 4, or the Berlin amphora 1688, Adamek, p. 25).

Middle of the sixth century. By the Amasis painter (Beazley, *A.B.S.* p. 35, No. 37). Conipare, for instance, the Munich amphora 1383 (*F.R.* Pl. 154, i, and iii, p. 224).

41. Pl. XV, 29. B 600. 31. Oinochoe, shape III *Naukratis*, i, Pl. 13, 7. Fight. A hoplite rushing forward with red shield and raised spear. Facing him a horseman striking downwards with his spear. To the right the spear of a third warrior. The reins, which are ornamented with pairs of white studs, seem to lie high on the horse's neck, but perhaps they are held in the rider's left hand on the offside. The black part below the right upper arm of the rider seems to be his left upper arm.

The horse has a pompon: his teeth are white. The horseman wears a red cap (no flaps) with a white border: the border is decorated with diagonal incised lines. Every other bud in the pattern above the picture is red.

Early third quarter of the sixth century. By the Amasis painter (Beazley, *A.B.S.* p. 35, No. 39). Very close, the fight on a fragment of a squat oinochoe in Oxford (*C.V.* Pl. 3, 17): and the hoplite's crest-holder there is done in the same way as the cap-border here. For Amasian horses compare No. 54; the amphora in Petrograd, *Jahrbuch*, 42, Pl. 11: the amphora in Geneva, 4; the London oinochoe B 524 (Beazley, *A.B.S.* Pl. 11, 1), and the fragment in Palermo (*Mon. Linc.* 32, Pl. 91, 1).

The shape, oinochoe Type III, is common in Attic from the time of Taleides, about 550, onwards.

42. Pl. XVI, 15. B 600. 46. Neck-amphora. Reserved inside. Below, two black lines, then one or two red bands. Part of a four-horse chariot. On the offside, two figures moving together to right—a male, wearing a spotted skin round his middle (the ends show between his naked legs) and winged boots: and a female wearing a long peplos. Facing them a third figure, male, with naked legs and winged boots. The boot-wings are edged with white. The description in the catalogue is erroneous.

Third quarter of the sixth century: by the Affecter (Beazley, *A.B.S.* p. 38).

43. Pl. XV, 27. B 600. 49. Thin, reserved inside. Dionysos to right, holding a vine-branch in his right hand, and a kantharos in his left: beside him, Ariadne to right, in her left hand a horn: the white dots at Dionysos' knuckles probably represent her right hand. In front of them, a male, probably Hermes, standing to right, wearing a short chiton with a spotted skin tied round it. There are tendrils on the vine: the bunches of grapes are some red, some plain black, some black with incised strokes. The description in the catalogue is wrong.

Third quarter of the sixth century: near the Affecter.

44. Pl. XVII, 6. B 600, 19. Large Nicosthenic pyxis. Inside shiny black, with a red line at the level of the peytrel. Chariot, seen from the front: a white-robed charioteer in it: his goad shows to the left. On the cul, which is slightly offset, a lion attacking an animal (no doubt a bull): above this, a brown line.

On the animal group (lion or two lions attacking a bull) see Buschor in *A.M.* 47, Pls. 12-14 and pp. 101-2: other good examples, on b.f. columnkraters Munich 1736 and London B 360, ivory plaque in Würzburg. *A.M.* 41, Pl. 3, r.f. hydria-fragment in the Roman market (*Rendiconti Pont. Acc.* 10, p. 205: by the Harrow painter). Characteristic the mounded neck of the lion.

The horses evidently belong to the same period as the Lysippides painter's (*C.V.* Oxford, Pl. 10, 4).

On the shape ('Nicosthenic' pyxis) see Welter, *Karlsruher Vasensammlung*, p. 4, and von Mercklin in *R.M.* 38-9, pp. 80-82; add to their lists Eleusis 847 (shape much as Karlsruhe 61. Welter, Pl. 3, Fig. 8); Eleusis 1009; London B 596 (lid: not Herakles and Antaios—the 'uncertain object' is a sandal); Orvieto, Faina 59; Orvieto, Faina: Orvieto, Civico 1013 (phot. Armoni); London B 366 (not a bell-krater as in the catalogue). These run from about 550 to about 520. Ours must be 530-520.

45. Pl. XVII, 11-19 and 21-22. B 601. Cups with the signatures of Klitias and Ergotimos; and of Söndros.

That the beautiful little cup signed by Klitias, found at Gordion in Phrygia and now in the Berlin Museum, stood outside the ordinary run of little-master cups, was duly noted by the brothers Körte in their publication of their finds (*Gordion*, Pl. 7 and pp. 140-3: after Körte, Pfuhl, Figs. 213-4; new, Hoppin, *Bf.* p. 149; see Beazley, *A.B.S.* p. 16). It is neither a typical lip-cup nor a typical band-cup (see below on No. 49). First, the stem, though of the same general shape as in the little-master cups, is a good deal shorter and stouter: in fact the foot is still the regular foot of the older, the 'Siana' cups. Secondly, the flat underside of the little-master foot is invariably left plain. The foot of the Klitias cup is decorated with lines: three brown lines close together in the middle; and a red line at each edge of the flat surface. Thirdly, the lip, as in the lip-cup, is well tooled off from the bowl: but it is painted black as in the band-cup. Fourthly, the lip, instead of being straight or slightly concave, is distinctly convex. The Körtes noticed that one of these peculiarities, the treatment of the underside of the foot, occurs on the second cup found at Gordion, Berlin inv. 4605 (*Gordion*, Pl. 8 and p. 142), and we add that the profile of the foot is the same, and that the lip is the same, except that it is reserved. The two cups are evidently closely related, although the pictures need not be by the same hand. A third cup that takes its place beside these two is the exquisite cock cup in the Vatican (Albizzati, Pl. 34, 318). The foot is the same, both its profile and its underside; the lip is tooled off, and black, and the zone below it is once more bordered with black lines. The profile of the lip, however, has the usual curve.

Two other cups are intermediate between these three and the ordinary little-master cups. One of these is the London cup with the signature of

Archikles. B 418 (Hoppin, *B.f.* p. 59: *C.V.* B.M. Pl. 15, 9): the lip is tooled off, and black, though of normal curve: but the stem is very little shorter than usual, and the underside of the foot is plain. The other is Louvre F 98: foot, and black, tooled-off lip are the same as in the London Archikles cup, and the inscriptions ought, one feels, to be *Αρχικλες εποισεν*; the number of letters is right, but they run well off the rails, and what we get is *ΑΡΥΑΕΝΟΥΕΠΟΥΠΟΕΝ* and *ΝΑΥΕΑΝΟΥΕΣΥΕΝΣΥΝ*. A sixth cup, in Florence, is fragmentary: the lip is lost; the foot is an ordinary little-master foot—but the underside is decorated with the same five lines as in the Berlin cups, only all black: the inscription is . . . *ΚΛΕΣΕΠΟΙ* . . . in big letters, possibly [*Αρχικλες εποισεν*]. The only other examples of this underside we recall are in a lip-cup in Capt. Spencer-Churchill's collection (I, gorgoneion: B, inscription, see Beazley, *Vases in Poland*, p. 4, and *J.H.S.* 49, p. 109: on the lip, *ινυ*): in a cup in Florence (what remains is a foot like the Klitian but larger): and in a cup of the type with merrythought handles in Würzburg (104: the lines all black).

Now let us turn back to the London fragments. B 601. 5. 3, with [*Κλιτι*]ΑΣ: *ΕΛΡΑΦΣΕΝ*, has a black lip, well tooled off from the bowl: a black line above the inscription and another below: and inside, below the lip, a reserved line. It evidently comes from just such a cup as the Berlin Klitias. 4. 1, with [*Ε*]ΡΑΟΤΙΜΟΣ *Ε*[*ποισεν*], in spite of the absence of interpoint, probably comes from the same cup as 5. 3; and 4. 2, with . . . *εποισεν* probably also. 4. 3, with [*Κλιτ*]ΙΑΣ: *Ε*[*γραφσεν*] comes from a second cup: what the lip was like one cannot say. A fragment not figured here, B 601, 10, from its black tooled-off lip, and the character of the letters, goes with these: what remains is the end of the inscription, . . . *ΙΚΑ*, and then an ordinary palmette.

We now pass to the fragments with name of Sōndros.

B 601. 6. 1, with *ΣΟΝΔΡΟΣ*?, and the hasta of a letter following the name, has a black line above the inscription and another below, and inside, below the offset, a reserved line. 6. 4, with *ΣΟΝ*[*δρος*], belongs to this, and 6. 5, with *επ*]ΟΙ*Ε*[*σεν*], is very near the last, and may well belong. 6. 2, with *ΣΟΝΔ*[*ρος* . . .], comes from a different cup: 6. 3, with *Ε*]ΠΟΙ*Ε*ΣΕΝ, might belong to it. 6. 6, with *Σ*]ΟΝΔΡ[*ος*], is from a third cup: black line above the inscription, none below, no reserved line inside, letters corroded: 5. 1, we read *ΣΟΝ* . . . (not . . . *ΜΟΣ* as in the catalogue) and are inclined to attribute to the same cup as 6. 6. What remains of these Sōndros cups connects them with the Klitias cups. The only other signature of Sōndros is on a fragment of a little-master cup in the Villa Giulia—part of the bowl, with an ordinary palmette, and *ΞΟΝ*[*δρος* . . .]: four-stroke sigma, the lettering not particularly good, the cup probably an ordinary lip-cup or band-cup, not out of the common like the Sōndros fragments in London. Finally, the signature noted by Conze on a cup-fragment which is or was in Castle Ashby (we could not find it) has hitherto been restored as *Νεαλνδρος εποισεν*. [*Σο*]νδρος is equally possible. Neandros is known from a single much-restored lip-cup in the Louvre.

The beautiful calligraphy of Klitias and the London Sōndros cups deserves

a moment's notice: it is the exact counterpart of the Klitian figure-style and the Klitio-Ergotiman form-sense. The inscriptions on Attic vases of the seventh century and the early sixth are usually though not always written in a subrustic hand. Sophilos is still no Vere Foster. With the new spruceness and fastidiousness of the full sixth century comes the calligraphy of Klitias and Sondros. In the little-master cups of the next generation—the work of the sons of Nearchos and Ergotimos—the lapidary script gives place to a hastier, more cursive manner—and to this generation we attribute a fragment with . . . ΠΑΟΤΙ . . . (Pl. XVI, 20) which we would refer to Eucheiros or another son of Ergotimos. Exekias, as might be expected, keeps up the standard of Klitias, at least on his big vases: and the Amasis painter almost. In lettering, as in other matters, Nikosthenes touches bottom. Then came the red-figure technique and purple inscriptions on a black background instead of black on a light. This was as fatal to calligraphy as the invention of the Waverley pen in our fathers' days; and few inscriptions on red-figured vases have any beauty.

46. Pl. XVII, 24. B 601. 38. Cup. Inside, Herakles and Nessos. White dots in the tongue-pattern. Outside, part of the patterns below the pictures—lines, dot-band and rays. What remains of I is the head of Herakles, to right (red, the face, and the ear of the lion-skin), and, as Walters has seen, the head of a woman to left (red hair-band). The woman is probably Deianeira, and Nessos to be supplied on the right: cf. the Siana cup Athens 529 (Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* Pl. 2, 2). For the markings on the lion-skin, cf. the lions' manes on the dinos by Lydos in Athens (Graef, Pl. 34), and on works from the school of Lydos (column-krater in Harvard, C.V. Hoppin, Pl. 3, Attic not Chalcidian, see Beazley in *J.H.S.* XLVII, p. 148, and Albizzati in *Historia*, 1929, p. 81: egg-neck-amphora in the Vatican, Albizzati, Pl. 31, 309; another in Munich, 1435); but also on No. 36.

This cannot have been an ordinary little-master cup, either lip-cup or band-cup; for in neither class is there any pattern under the external pictures. Early mid-sixth century.

47. Pl. XVI, 3. 1909. 2-16. 2. Cup. Inside, a man courting a boy: the man puts out his hands, one up and one down: the boy holds a wand or spear in one hand, and a wreath in the other. The motive is the same as in the older cup No. 26; but there the rendering is rude, here exquisitely precise. The wreath is common in this scene: compare a cup in Florence (Vagnonville room).

Mid-sixth century: for the style compare No. 48.

48. Pl. XVI, 4. No number. Cup. Inside, Orion. A hunter walking home with a club in his right hand and his bag—a hare and a fox—over his left shoulder. To the right of the figure is something black which may be part of another hare. To complete the figure compare the Tlesonian lip-cup London B 421 (C.V.B.M. Pl. 11, 2), the Amasian oinochoe London B 52 (*Rev. arch.* 1912, ii, p. 367), and, earlier, the metope of the Temple of Apollo at Thermion (*A.D.* 2, Pl. 51, 2). The club makes it likely that the man is Orion, whose club was famous. Odysseus found him hunting with a club in Hades (*Odyssey* II, 575):—



χερσὶν ἔχων ῥόπαλον παγχάλκεον, αἰὲν ἀγῆς.

Aratus says that Orion was believed to have assaulted Artemis while hunting with a club in Chios (*Phaen.* 631):

Χίῳ ὅτε θήρια πάντα  
κάρτερος ὠρίων στιβαρῇ ἐπέκοπτε κορύνῃ.

Middle of the sixth century. The style is so like that of No. 47 that the two cups may be by the same hand.

The cup was not a normal little-master cup; the foot (part of the stem remains) was probably of Siana shape.

If you look up the foot you see that the bottom of the bowl is decorated in red with two circles and a dot. The only parallels we know to this in cups are given by the deep cup Vatican 343 (Albizzati, Pl. 38) and the Timenor cup Louvre CA 1778 (Hoppin, *B.f.* p. 363).

49. Pl. XVII. 29. B 600. 40. Lip-cup. Outside, a youth riding, dressed in a short shirt. Below . . . Π<ΟΙΕΑ<ΞΕ . . . "There may well be space for the whole of Ποιέας (or some such name) ἐποίησεν" (C. Smith in *Cl. Rev.* 1888, p. 233). "Π<ΟΙΕΑ<ΞΕ [ΠΟΙΕ<ΞΕΝ?]" (Hoppin, *B.f.* p. 318). But Π< is not an Attic writing for Ψ; and Psoieas is hardly a conceivable name; and what of the following inscriptions:—

Π<ΟΙ<ΚΠ< on a fragment of a band-cup in Florence. +Π<ΟΙΕΝ on a kind of band-cup in the Villa Giulia. 50472. Π<Ο followed by five shapeless letters on a lip-cup in Munich (2166: *Jahrbuch*, 22, p. 104)? The fact is that all four are nonsense-inscriptions of the kind discussed in Beazley, *Vases in Poland*, p. 4, which toy with the letters of ἐποίησεν and of other familiar runes.

This fragment brings us to the third great group of Attic black-figure cups, the 'lip-cups.' We use the word in Buschor's sense, distinguishing the lip-cup from its sister the band-cup (*F.R.* iii. p. 219). The proportions are the same in both. The foot is the same: it has a much taller and slenderer stem than in the Siana cup, and the underside is flat and reserved. In the lip-cup the lip is tooled off sharply from the bowl, and is reserved: in the band-cup the lip passes gradually into the bowl, and is painted black. In both there is sometimes a thin fillet between bowl and stem. Good examples of the lip-cup, Lau, Pl. 16, 2; Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, p. 168; Beazley, *A.B.S.* Pl. 1, 4: of the band-cup, Caskey, p. 170; Hoppin, *B.f.* p. 419: *F.R.* iii. p. 219. Illustrations are to be distrusted, as the stems are fragile and little-master cups are particularly liable to have alien feet.

The lip-cup is pretty often decorated within as well as without, the band-cup rarely: on the other hand, many-figured external compositions are almost confined to the band-cup.

50. Pl. XVI. 1. B 402. 1. Lip-cup, from Salamis in Cyprus. *J.H.S.* 12, p. 143; *Jahrbuch*, 11, p. 290, Fig. 27 (Studniczka); *A.J.A.* 1905, p. 290 (Tonks: redrawn beyond recognition). Outside, a female head: below, <Τ[ροιβος καλος].

On this special class of lip-cup ('head-cup') see Hackl in *Jahrbuch*, 22,

pp. 102-5, and Beazley, *A.B.S.* pp. 16-17. Add to the cups there mentioned two in Florence, and fragments in Berlin (1757) and Oxford (G 137.31).

Mid-sixth century. By Sakonides (Beazley, *l.c.*: see also Swindler in *A.J.A.* 1916, p. 320).

Sakonides, in his outline heads, continues the lower line of the jaw far past the line of the neck; the Hermogenes painter a short distance only; in the other heads the jaw-line stops at the neck-line.

51. Pl. XV, 14. B 601. 47. Band-cup. Three males holding spears as staffs: one is young, another bearded. Onlookers.

Mid-sixth century. Compare the band-cup signed by Archikles and Glaukytes in Munich (*F.R.* Pl. 153. 1).

52. Pl. XVI, 9. 1914. 3-17. 6. Band-cup. The Return of Hephaistos. The young god is riding a donkey, which is being fondled by a satyr. The satyr turns his face towards us: his mouth is not indicated: his body has come out in red spots. Inscription ΚΕ. . .

The amorous satyr, looking round at us in triumph ('What a good boy am I!'), is regular in Attic black-figure representations of Hephaestus' return: see for example *C.V.* Oxford, Pl. III H. Pl. 4. The whole story, as we know it from vases, has been supposed to go back to a lost 'Homeric hymn' (Wilamowitz), but this incident, at least, can scarcely have had an epic original, must have been invented by a painter.

Hairy satyrs are common, and satyrs with white spots, but satyrs with red spots we do not remember encountering elsewhere.

Middle of the sixth century.

53. Pl. XV, 30. B 601. 15. Band-cup. Outside, a fight. Unmeaning inscriptions. A chariot rushing to right, a warrior fallen noseling, another rushing to right, a third to left.

About 550: from a cup like that with the signature of Glaukytes in London (*W.V.* 1889, Pl. 2. 1; *C.V. B.M.*, Pl. 18. 1). On band-cups in general, see above, on No. 49.

54. Pl. XVI, 26, and Pl. XVII, 28. B 601. 37. Band-cup. *W.V.* 1890-1, Pl. 6, 4d. Outside, a fight: part of two groups:—a chariot, and a fleeing warrior: and a warrior attacking. The lither horse's teeth are white.

About 540-530. The style was compared by Cecil Smith (*Cl. Rev.* 1888, p. 234) to that of the Nikosthenes volute-krater in the British Museum, but the resemblance is superficial. Comparison with the small battle-picture on the shoulder of the Amasian neck-amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles (*W.V.* 1889, Pl. 3, 2; *C.V. C.M.* Pls. 36-7) shows that the style is the Amasis painter's (Beazley, *A.B.S.* p. 36, No. 41).

The shield-device, a whirligig of five wings, can be matched by the double wing on the signed neck-amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles, and by the quartet of wings on the Amasian oinochoe in Oxford (*C.V.* Oxford, Pl. 3, 28). A simple wing occurs as a device on a band-cup, not Amasian, in the Acropolis collection (Graef, Pl. 84, 1632).

There are two other band-cups, both with battle-scenes, which resemble the work of the Amasis painter: Louvre F 75 (Pottier, Pl. 69) and Berlin

1795 (Gerhard, *T.G.* Pl. 1, 4-6: much restored). See also *C.V.* Oxford, Pl. 3, 17.

55. Pl. XVII, 27. B 600. 37. Little-master cup. Inside, a panther and a plant. The surface damaged.

Mid-sixth century. For the combination of animal and plant, compare the little-master cup Vatican 318 (Albizzati, Pl. 34: see above on No. 45).

56. Pl. XVI, 18. B 601. 42. Little-master cup. Inside, gorgoneion. The red tongue and white teeth do not show in the photograph.

About 540-530. The gorgoneion appears times out of number as the decoration of cup-interiors, but this is perhaps the finest of all.

The foot, as the small stem-stump shows, was that of a little-master cup.

57. Pl. XV, 21. B 601. 34. Little-master cup (band-cup?). Outside, komos: a naked youth and two naked women, dancing. Red patch on the youth's breast. The women have the usual incision (in spite of the catalogue).

About 540-530. A slight work by Elbows Out, the painter of a neck-amphora in Castle Ashby (see Beazley in *B.S.R.* 11 and *A.B.S.*, p. 23).

58. Pl. XVII, 26. B 601. 7. Little-master cup. Cecil Smith hesitatingly interpreted what remains of the inscription as a signature of Eucheiros, and so the catalogue: Hoppin (*B.f.*, p. 86) repeats without the question-mark. The reading does not seem to us possible.

Third quarter of the sixth century.

59. Pl. XVII, 25. B 600. 38. Cup. The fragment is upside down on the plate, the photographer having been misled by the pencilled number. What remains of the external decoration is part of a lotusbud-band; then four lines; a black band; four lines; a band of cocks and hens, upside down, in pure silhouette; four lines; a red band; black.

Third quarter of the sixth century. This belongs to a class of cups which has been dealt with by Droop (*J.H.S.* 30, pp. 21-7). The shape is best shown in Lau's picture of Munich 2259 (Lau, Pl. 16, 1: *J.H.S.* 30, p. 23, *b*). The walls of the cup are stout: the offset lip curves in deeper than the lip of the little-master cups, and the stem is thicker: the edge of the foot is a stout torus, painted (this is rare) black; the underside of the foot is flat; there is a red fillet between bowl and stem, and the upper part of the stem is reserved and channelled with rings. Outside, the lip is black, the bowl decorated with lines and pattern-bands: red bands are common; a favourite design is a thin band of animals (often cocks and hens) in pure silhouette without incision or red; occasionally there are more elaborate figure-scenes. Inside, the cup is black, or has at most a small reserved disc with a dot in the middle.

We should like to call these cups 'Droop cups.' Droop gives fifteen of them. From his list in *J.H.S.* 30, p. 25, we omit the Cassel cup, shall speak of it later; and we add three vases mentioned on his p. 27—Thebes, from Rhitsona; and Munich 2256 and 2258, which differ from the others in foot only, it is of the ordinary little-master type. We add, further, the following vases:

1. Copenhagen 7116 (*C.V. Cop.* Pl. 118, 3).

2. Vatican, fragment: this is the foot which has been wrongly attached to the Taleides cup. Albizzati, Pl. 35, 321.

3. Louvre. The birds have incision.
4. Vatican 336. Albizzati, Pl. 33.
5. Hague 3304. C.F. Scheurleer, Pl. 4, 4.
6. Florence, fragment. Chariot-race.
- 6 *bis*. Toronto 289. Chariot-race.
- 6 *ter*. Cambridge N 111, fr. from Naucratis. Chariot.
- 6 *quater*. Cambridge N 116, fr. from Naucratis. Frontal chariot.
7. Bologna 102. Pellegrini, *V.F.* p. 34. Amazonomachy.
8. Paris market. *Coll. Hirsch*, Pl. 7, 148. Inscription +ΑΙΡΕΤΕΡΑΙΔΕΣ.
9. Acropolis 1843. Graef, Pl. 88.
10. Oxford, fr.
11. Oxford, fr.
12. Rhodes. *Annuario*, 6-7, p. 320.
13. Florence, fragment. Cocks upside down.
14. Reading.
15. Athens 339. Collignon-Conve, Pl. 33, 821.
16. London B 600. 44. See below, No. 60.
17. Vatican 226. Albizzati, Pl. 33. Little-master foot.
18. Munich 2244 (J. 1035). Different foot.

Connected are the two cups with the signature of Antidoros in Taranto (*Notizie*, 1897, pp. 231 and 232, whence Hoppin, *B.f.* pp. 52 and 53): a cup formerly in the Weber collection (*Cat. Sotheby* 22-23 May 1919. Pl. 4); and a small cup in Würzburg, inv. 932.

Droop calls his cups Attic imitations of Laconian: we call them Attic, and see no reason to suspect Laconian influence.

Let us return for a moment to the Cassel fragments (Boehlau, *Nekr.* Pl. 10, 2) which we excluded from the list of Droop cups. This belongs to another group, which we shall call the Cassel group. The shape is that of the band-cup, but the decoration is different: both lip and bowl outside are covered with pattern-work. The members of the group are as follows:—

1. Cassel. Boehlau, *Nekr.* Pl. 10, 2.
2. Munich 2260.
3. Villa Giulia, Castellani collection.
- 4-6. From Olbia, three; *Ann.* 1913, p. 205, Fig. 53.
7. Munich 2262. *J.H.S.* 30, p. 28, *d.*
8. Munich 2261. *Ibid.*, *c.*
9. London 90, 7-31. 30. C.F. Pl. 16, 8.
10. Berlin 2040. (The foot alien.)
11. Louvre E 673.
12. Florence. (The foot alien?)
13. Oxford.
14. Cassel. *Sammlung Vogell*, Pl. I, 3.
15. London B 457. C.F. Pl. 16, 7.
16. Würzburg 159. Graef, p. 151.

The last four have figure-work as well as patterns.

60. Pl. XVI, 13. B 600. 44. Cup. A fight, with a woman and youths looking on. Then came, to the right, an onlooker mounted or holding a horse, as in the cups mentioned below: the horse's open mouth remains. Mock inscriptions. Red rings round the nipples.

The sharp angle between lip and bowl, the deep incurve of the black lip, and the reserved line inside near the bottom of the lip, show this to be a Droop cup (see above on No. 59).

About 540 B.C. For the style, compare the band-cup Villa Giulia 3559 (C.V. V.G. Pl. 27, 4 and Pl. 28); for style and subject the band-cup *Cat. Sotheby*, 14 March, 1929, Pl. 2, 1.

61. Pl. XVII, 9. 1900. 2-14. 3. Cup. Inside, a warrior running. What remains is the front of his crest and part of his Boeotian shield, with the letters ΕΓ[ΟΙΕΘΕΝ], part of the maker's signature, retrograde. For the design, compare the earlier (Siana) cup Villa Giulia 16336 (C.V. V.G. Pl. 26, 5).

This can only have been a cup of the type which has been called Type A (Beazley, *Att. V.* p. 4); and it must have been a 'bilingual' cup—black-figure inside, red-figure out. Of such maker's names, in the interior of such cups, we have Nikosthenes (once), Pamphaios (once), Chelis (once), Hischylos (seven times). Of the four, Hischylos is the most likely here: but of course other makers may have signed in the same way. About 525.

The cup Type A, the favourite shape of the earliest red-figure vase-painters, comes in with Exekias. It has forerunners, but the earliest example of Type A proper is the Exekias cup with Dionysos in Munich (*F.R.* Pl. 42). Good illustrations of the shape:—Lau, Pl. 17, 1; Genick, Pl. 27, 1; Caskey, *Geometry*, pp. 175-7. The external decoration of our cup must have been, on each cup-half, an object or figure between eyes and palmettes.

70. Pl. XV, 3. No number. Cup, Type A (part of the stem remains). Inside, in pure silhouette, a tiny design of four half-satyrs, frontal, conjoined, gesticulating like bandmasters. The black has flaked in places.

For the type of design compare the protomes set round a whirligig on the bottom of the dinos Acropolis 606 (Graef, Pl. 32), the similar design in the interior of a little-master cup, Acropolis 1773 (Graef, Pl. 87), the four heads of Athena in the interior of a lip-cup in the Borély Museum at Marseilles.

For pure silhouette in the interior of cups or stemless cups, cf. cups in Athens (445, C.C. 832: plane-leaf, not laurel as Collignon), Würzburg (209: star), Villa Giulia (1226, C.V. V.G. Pl. 35, 4: star or flower): Athens (Acropolis 1740, Graef, Pl. 86: Athena): and No. 71.

71. Pl. XVII, 1. B 600. 3. Stemless cup. The side of the foot is a stout black disc: the fillet between foot and bowl is concave and red: on the bottom of the bowl a black circle and a black spot within the circle. Inside, in pure silhouette, a satyr, head to left. For the subject see Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pp. 346-7: and Tartaretus, *passim*.

A fragment of a stemless cup in Oxford has a similar foot and fillet, except that the side of the foot is concave: within, a gorgoneion.

Late sixth century.

J. D. BEAZLEY.  
H. G. G. PAYNE.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture.** By D. S. ROBERTSON.  
Pp. xxiv + 406, with 135 figures in the text and 24 plates. Cambridge University Press, 1929.

It has been the defect of most handbooks of ancient architecture that they do not properly cover the ground. They introduce us indeed to the main features but omit too much. This reproach cannot be brought against Professor Robertson's book. Its outstanding merit is that in the compass of merely four hundred pages there can hardly be a Greek or Roman building of any importance that does not obtain mention, and not mere mention, but mention for the characteristic or illuminating feature; with, moreover, in a geographically arranged appendix full information as to where all details are to be found. The book thus not only treats the main features of its subject in an admirably clear manner, but will serve as a work of reference, and thus wins among its fellows the high status of a Baedeker.

A natural result of these virtues is a certain austerity inseparable from such an aim carried out within the limits imposed on the author, and in the process of dry exposition something perhaps of the glory and grandeur is found to have evaporated. Thus this very sound work is perhaps rather for those who have already felt the charm of the subject than for the very beginner.

The illustrations cannot be complained of; they are perfectly adequate. But an effect that we regret is perhaps in part the result of the heavy preponderance of line blocks over photographs, due probably to considerations of cost. Or is it to the scientific atmosphere of Cambridge that is due the preference for the restored drawing? No doubt the restored drawing is the more informative. To take an example, the five illustrations of the Erechtheum in this book, only one of which is a photograph, probably give more clear and detailed information than do the eight, only two of which are line blocks, in Dinsmoor's *Architecture of Ancient Greece*. But there can be no question which set best conveys the exquisite charm of the building.

In this connexion we regret that more space could not have been given to the subject of Greek mouldings and the harmony, so often seen as to be unquestionably designed, between their profiles and the designs that decorate them. And no book that deals with Greek and Roman architecture in one cover should in our view omit to point out with more stress than is to be found here the Romans' twofold error in taste in the borrowing of Greek architectural forms as ornament; first in their detasement of the Greek designs (this is well seen if the leaf and dart and egg and tongue on Plate XII are compared with those in Figs. 16 and 18), and secondly in their pitiful obsecration of the noble effect of their own arches by the applied columns and entablatures. That, however, is perhaps a critical divagation which is outside the scope of Professor Robertson's book, the aim of which is to describe rather than to appraise.

If we turn to details there are very few points to criticise. Greek walls, the varieties both of ashlar and polygonal masonry, might have been given more space, for the references on pp. 4 and 42 are inadequate, and fortification is barely mentioned. On p. 51 we find yet again a reference to the translucency of marble tiles, which is inconceivable except in a tile of impossible thinness. Page 4 seems to promise a setting forth of a sound means of wall-dating provided by the gradual development of the form of the metal clamp, which promise is not fulfilled and is probably impossible of fulfilment, for most forms are found in the sixth century and are apt to reappear. The statement on p. 116, that in Greece

proper it is doubtful whether entasis occurs before the fifth century, surely implies, unless our eyes have always deceived us, a forgetfulness of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth. These three, however, are probably the only rash statements in the book. If criticism in these pages of a work dedicated to the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies should seem ungrateful, we can only submit that the horse is a worthy horse obviously challenging the most searching scrutiny.

Wholly admirable, on the other hand, and a very fitting contribution from Cambridge, is the lucid exposition of the mathematical problem with which the Doric order was cursed, and which led to its disuse; the summing up on the question of 'refinements' is a model of common sense; there is a most praiseworthy restraint shown in the complete divorcement of the treatment of the Prehistoric Greek buildings in chapters two and three from any racial theories; the chapter on Greek and Roman town-planning is very welcome and forms a good tie between the two halves of the book, while the last chapters on Greek and Roman Houses and Palaces puts what is known of a very complicated subject concisely but clearly. Here in dealing with the Pompeian house it is interesting to see that Professor Robertson adopts Mau's interpretation of *fauces* as the passage in from the front door, which Vergil, *Æneid* VI, 273, would seem to put beyond doubt. But the alternative view, which has recently received the support of Dr. Ashby, is scrupulously indicated in one of the three excellent appendices which complete the volume. The first contains a 'select' but very full classified list of buildings with text references, the second the bibliography already referred to, while the third has a select glossary of architectural terms, which is exceptional in giving not only the Greek and Latin equivalents of modern terms, but the very desirable explanation of many general names such as 'console,' 'fillet' and 'pitched roof.' We all understand them, but, like M. Jourdain, are very glad to be told what they mean.

As the work of a scholar greatly distinguished in other fields the book is a remarkable achievement. A by-product of the study of Greek, it is an eloquent testimony to the inherent virtue of that tongue.

J. P. D.

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**Eleusis.** By FERDINAND NOACK and others. Pp. x + 334, with 43 plates and 112 illustrations in the text. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1927.

Eleusis presents to the student at Athens splendid material for the study of Greek foundations. They are of many periods and readily accessible. But hitherto the absence of any reliable guide to the tangled mass has perhaps been a discouragement to all except the specialist. This has now been removed by the publication of Dr. Noack's thorough study of the remains, a work pursued through many interruptions over a number of years.

We may regret indeed that his expert knowledge was not available some forty years since, when the site was first dug. We cannot, indeed, say that what is now given us is the results of analysis made after an exhumation (that is precisely what it is not), yet metaphorically that represents the case, for Dr. Noack has had to struggle against many difficulties due to the passage of time over a body of evidence which once was fresh. To a large extent he has surmounted them, and the history of the Sanctuary as written in the foundations is carefully followed out.

There was a settlement marked by graves and the walls of houses under the shelter of the rock facing the sea in the second and third millennium B.C., and a cult in connexion with the cave which faces N.E. may be presumed for those days.

Terracing began in the earliest Greek times, but there was no building connected with the cult till the beginning of the seventh century, when a temple was built to the Earth goddess on the rock above the cave. The absorption of Eleusis by Athens in the course of this century is reflected by the building of the first Hall of the Mysteries and its surrounding wall, and of a small shrine to Pluto in front of the cave. Then followed extensive building under Pisistratus, including a new Hall of the Mysteries, destruction by the Persians, and rebuilding on a great scale in the fifth century. The new Hall planned by Cimon was never finished, and a makeshift served the Mysteries until, after the completion of the Parthenon, Ictinus remodelled Cimon's plan, reducing the number of interior columns from seven rows of seven to four rows of five.

The details of this and of much more are carefully set forth and extensively illustrated by plans and photographs which are excellent, though it would have added to the convenience of the book if the numbers of the folding plates had been printed also on their outsides, and if the fine plans of the Sanctuary, which are numbered in sequence, had had each its period added to its legend.

Yet to all but students of architecture the chief interest of the work will be in the chapter devoted to the Mysteries themselves. In this Dr. Noack takes as guide the conditions imposed by the architectural facts of the Hall, which in spite of improvements remained essentially the same for a thousand years, and sketches an account of the final festival, which is consistent with those facts and yet conforms to such literary evidence as we possess.

The arrangement by which the initiated stood on the steps all round the Hall, and the wooden structure in the centre, to say nothing of the columns, make it impossible to think that there was any performance on a set stage, for, wherever the stage, it would have been out of the view of more than half the audience. Likewise it is for Dr. Noack impossible to hold that the crowd of initiated themselves took part in the *πλάναι καὶ περίδρομοι κοπῶδεις καὶ διὰ σκότους τινές ὑποπτοι πορεύει καὶ ἀτέλειστοι*. The only interpretation that will fit the building is that the rape of Kore, Demeter's search, and the horrors of the lower world were represented, partly perhaps in dances, by priestesses passing round and round the central square. The suggestion that there was an upper story, to which the restrictions of the ground floor did not apply, Dr. Noack meets with an emphatic negative. Though his drawing of the picture is, as it needs must be, only tentative, Dr. Noack has written a book that should interest the student of religion as much as the architect.

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**Exploration Archéologique de Délos. Fascicule XI. Les Sanctuaires et les Cultes du Mont Cynthe.** By P. ANDRÉ PLASSART. Pp. viii + 319, with 6 plates and 257 illustrations in the text. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1928.

The interest of this exhaustive survey of the one hill in Delos and the various shrines connected with it lies mainly in the three chapters that deal with the prehistoric remains on the summit, with the temple of Hera at the foot of the hill to the N.W., and with the famous grotto on the west slope.

The walls of prehistoric dwellings preserved in the foundations of the platform that supported the archaic shrines of Zeus and Athena yielded sherds and some other objects which point to an occupation not later than the third millennium B.C. This is thought to have been followed by a complete abandonment of the island till late Mycenaean times, when it was apparently reoccupied, as a few sherds on the summit testify.

The earliest shrine of Hera, identified by inscriptions on votive offerings, is held to have stood from the middle of the seventh century down to the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., when it was replaced by a larger building. The evidence lies in the many votive vases (published in Fascicule X), and a lesser number of figurines of the goddess and other objects, which were found on the floor carefully packed in layers so as to take up the least possible room. These were sealed up by the foundations of the later temple. No reference, however, is made by the author in discussing the figurines to their positions in the mass, though it is from these that the excavators might have hoped to get more than a hint as to relative dates.

The building which is held to have replaced the earlier structure at the end of the sixth century was a Doric temple *in antis* with unusually slender columns ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  diameters), but the excavators are satisfied that none of the many architectural details is inconsistent with the date presumed.

A long discussion of what used to be called the cave of Apollo ends in the conclusion that in Hellenistic days this was a shrine of Herakles regarded as ancestor to Ptolemy II. The author, though he agrees that this in itself does not rule out the possibility of the grotto's being a prehistoric construction used again, has found no evidence to support such a belief, no evidence that this spot was ever occupied before the Hellenistic age. He suggests that some myth, if known to us, might account for the adoption of the grotto



form at this time for this new Sanctuary, pointing out, moreover, that the grotto was then an architectural novelty from Alexandria.

But '... What said the duchess of Suffolk to it'? said my uncle Toby.'

The book is adequately illustrated with photographs and plans.

**Städtebau.** By W. ANDRAE, E. FABRICIUS, K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN. Sonderabdruck aus Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Pp. 75. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1929.

This extremely valuable article is divided into three sections. Andrae deals with early Oriental types, chiefly Mesopotamian, and emphasises the prevalence of a palace or temple placed on the outer circumference of a fortified area, usually at the point of greatest danger. The second section deals with Greece. Fabricius, the author, acknowledges a deep debt to von Gerkan's *Griechische Stadtanlagen*, though not accepting all his conclusions: Tritsch, in *Klio*, 1928, he could use only in revision. The third section, in which Lehmann-Hartleben deals with Italy and the Roman Empire, occupies more than two-thirds of the whole, and is also the most novel and instructive part. It is based on a vast knowledge of the literature and monuments, and deals with every aspect of the subject from the Bronze Age onwards, discussing not only such large problems as general planning, fortification, and water-supply, but also the types of special buildings, such as Baths and Basilicas.

It is obviously impossible, within reasonable limits of space, to summarise such a work. Especial attention may be drawn to Lehmann-Hartleben's discussion of early Italian and Etruscan town-planning, and to the careful description, in columns 2089 to 2096, of over fifty provincial town-plans. Lehmann-Hartleben, like Haverfield, and in contrast to von Gerkan, allows great weight to the evidence provided by the modern street-plans of ancient towns. The whole article is an invaluable storehouse of fact and theory: it serves also to emphasise the vast amount of work that must still be done before any generalisations can claim certainty or finality.

**Zygouries: a Prehistoric Settlement in the Valley of Cleonae.** By CARL W. BLEGEN. Pp. 227 + 22 plates (20 coloured) and 199 figures in text. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928.

In this volume Dr. Blegen publishes the interesting excavation which he has carried out in the small ancient settlement at Zygouries, in the valley of Cleonae, revealing remains all of the Bronze Age except for Roman tombs. The latter are described, but the main interest of the dig lies in its Bronze Age results, and more especially those of the Early Helladic period. The Middle Helladic settlement was quite unimportant; the 'Late Helladic' yielded nothing new and was simply a small provincial Mycenaean town, using the same pottery, etc. as the rest of the Mycenaean κοινόν. The Early Helladic town, however, tells us a good deal that is new. Its houses and streets were of the usual kind, the latter 4 feet or less in width, the former composed of small rooms, usually rectangular, without pillars or pillar bases even. There was nothing resembling a megaron, and nothing apsidal or circular as at Orchomenos. Crude bricks were used as well as stone. The pottery was all hand-made, plain hand-polished without slip the oldest; then a hard-faced 'glaze' ware, often mottled and so resembling the Cretan Vasiliki ware; a partly coated 'glaze' ware and a patterned ware are also described: pithoi with incised spiral design (Fig. 114); a cup with incised reticulated ornament (Fig. 116). Among forms the 'sauce-boat' is very common, with askoi, dippers, etc., and Dr. Blegen argues for metallic prototypes for some. The tombs are outside the settlement, and are often ossuaries with secondary interments; the bodies in the usual contracted position. A little gold was found among the ornaments; earrings (?), etc. More of silver, especially in the form of 'diadem' bands. Lead was found, and good deal of 'bronze' (so described, apparently, without qualification by Dr. Blegen), including a fine dagger-blade resembling a E.M. III.-M.M. I type. In the town much obsidian was found, and occasionally flint saw-blades, stone celts. Pottery

figurines of rude type are described which are characteristic of the mainland, and ancestors of the 'owl-headed' figurines of Mycenae.

Now the unqualified mention of bronze is very important, as it may well be asked whether this bronze has been analysed, and whether it is really bronze and not copper. Dr. Blegen does not mention copper, which does not appear in his index, and gives no analysis that we can find in his text of the 'bronze' objects found, including the dagger. If they are really bronze, the analysis to prove it should be given or at least it should be recorded that a test has been made which shows the metal to be bronze, and not, as we should naturally expect at that early period, copper. This is a serious omission.

Dr. Blegen notes that though the type of the tombs differs entirely from those of the Cyclades (there are no cist-graves, and the ossuaries are only paralleled in E.M. Crete, never in the islands), yet their contents prove considerable contact with the Cyclades, especially the silver, some of the pottery and an actual imported marble figurine. He considers that the E.H. population came *viâ* the Cyclades from Anatolia, and notes that the same pre-Greek type of place-name is common to both the Cyclades and this part of the mainland. But he also records many points of contact with Crete. 'Certain objects found, though few in number, are none the less explicit in their implication of connections with Crete' (p. 213): the diadems connect with Mochlos, seals with Platanos, the mottled pottery with Vasiliki, the dagger with an E.M. III-M.M. I. type. The human-foot type of seal-stone that he mentions will go further; for it was a common seal and amulet under the VIth Dynasty in Egypt: we have two Egyptian steatite seals of the type in the British Museum, and the amulet in carnelian is common. And above all, there is the ossuary-custom to argue for at least as close a connexion with Crete as with the Cyclades. There is nothing purely Neolithic at Zygouries: these connexions with overseas are all early Bronze Age. Dr. Blegen notes the comparative barbarism of the mainland culture in comparison with that of Crete at this time, and allows the Cretan influence: for although 'on the architectural side there is indeed very little sign of connection. . . . The simple two-roomed houses at Zygouries have not much, if anything, in common with the many-chambered dwellings in Crete, which attained such an astounding development in Middle Minoan times, nor is there yet any trace of larger structures at all comparable to the palatial establishment of a Cretan centre. And yet in the town system at Zygouries, however primitive and crude it appears, we may perhaps not be wrong in seeing some faint reflection of the "city-plans" which found their best Early Minoan expression at Mochlos and Psaira and other East Cretan sites' (p. 214).

Our own impression is that honours are easy: that while the mainlanders no doubt came *viâ* the Cyclades and always kept up contact with them, at the same time they were from the first subject to the influence of the more highly developed Cretan civilization. Such things as the figurines, which Dr. Blegen claims as specifically non-Cretan, may no doubt belong to the mainlanders, and the Mycenaean 'owl-faced' or 'disk-headed' figurines may very well be their descendants, and represent 'the re-emergence of a persistent underlying native type,' but we would not, with Dr. Blegen, claim them as belonging 'to that mysterious element which raised the Minoized civilization of the mainland to its greatest height of political power in the fourteenth century B.C.' (p. 185), because to us that element is not at all mysterious: it is simply Minoan Cretan. That many native peculiarities survived the Cretan culture-conquest, in spite of its completeness, is not merely probable but evident. But they were not the *ἐνέργεια*.

The E.H. settlement was overthrown with fire and sword by invaders from Central Greece, who brought with them Minoan pottery, which Dr. Blegen observes is *not* made in moulds (as Persson thought). Matt-painted ware was used, thrown on the wheel; and then mainland M.M. III., that is to say, the first definite local copying of the overmastering Cretan ceramic, the first sign of the Minoan conquest. The M.H. settlement was, however, as has been said, unimportant.

In the Mycenaean settlement we find the usual pottery of the earlier periods ('L.H. I.,' 'L.H. II.,' and a great quantity of the earlier phase of 'L.H. III.': the Amarna period of the fourteenth century B.C.), with but little of late style, such as the 'Granary' class. There are fragments of wall-frescoes; crude brick, and so forth; but nothing of metal. An obsidian arrowhead shows that the Mycenaeans, like the contemporary XVIIIth

Dynasty Egyptians, still used stone for this purpose. Among the tombs are several of the chamber-type often found on the mainland, but anticipated in time by the similar M.M. II. chamber-tombs found by Mr. Forsdyke at Knossos: so that we may well ask whether the Minoizing mainlanders did not adopt this type of tomb as yet another imitation of the methods of predominant Crete.

The illustrations generally are good, and the provision of no less than sixteen coloured plates of the pottery, admirable: but we do not see the necessity for Plates XX and XXII being in colour at all. They are too, especially Pl. XX, far less successful than the others. The index is landably full.

H. H.

**Milet:** *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre, 1899.* By T. WIEGAND. Band I. Heft 9. **Thermen und Palaestren.** By ARMIN VON GERKAN and FRITZ KRISCHEN. Pp. 196, with 43 plates. 143 text-illustrations. Berlin: H. Schoetz, 1928. 120 M.

The period dealt with in this volume is exclusively the Roman and Hellenistic. The Hellenistic Gymnasium, the Baths of Faustina and a second Baths constitute the three principal buildings. The first is of the greatest value because its plan has been completely reconstructed as well as the bulk of its architectural features. The building so recovered is simple and austere and of considerable grace. The Faustina Baths survive more massively, and it has been possible in this volume to reconstruct in full detail one of its more interesting rooms—the Room of the Muses, with its associated statues. Here were made the chief discoveries in sculpture, which are considerable. An Apollo Kitharoidos, of the type of that from Cyrene, a not unpleasing Muse with a lyre, and four other Muses make an important group, dependant for the most part on later schools. From the Apodyterion, however, come more interesting works. An Asklepios and Telesphoros seems a contemporary creation: but a fine figure of an athlete reflects closely an original of the middle of the fourth century, in the Peloponnesian manner. The original master seems to be one of the immediate forerunners of Lysippos, still strongly under Polycleitan influence and not yet emancipated into the 'naturalism' of Lysippos. This copy, therefore, adds important evidence to a little known period. Equally interesting is a figure of Hygeia which descends from the end of the fourth century and belongs to the style and manner of the Antium girl. Two female heads have no little charm, one being a fine copy of a late fifth-century original. A curious Dionysos and Satyr, in very fine preservation, is a copy of a Hellenistic work in which a hyper-effeminate figure is given elements of Polycleitan anatomy, with disastrous results from an artistic point of view. An attractive torso of Aphrodite, vaguely Hellenistic in origin and Syrian in style, and a jovial River Macander, originally set up at the end of the Frigidarium, give us some idea of the relative luxury and taste of these baths.

A good crop of inscriptions is included. Perhaps the most important is that of an unusually redoubtable victor at games in various parts of Greece.

The numbers of Figs. 116–119 are a digit ahead of the numbers used for them in the text. The error is slightly confusing.

S. C.

**Griechische Bildhauerarbeit.** By CARL BLÜMEL. *Erganzungsheft of the Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.* Pp. 78; 43 plates and 18 illustrations in the text. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1927.

A technical consideration of Greek sculpture and a study of the evidence for our knowledge of the methods of Greek sculptors have long been overdue. In this book forty-seven sculptures are discussed in which the evidence for technical methods is to be seen on the pieces themselves. The results of this study are as interesting as they are important. Dr. Blümel has no particular axe to grind or theory to subserve. He attempts merely to state the facts, and from them to deduce certain limited technical and chronological conclusions.

Unfinished works of art have come down to us from ancient times from a variety of causes. Of these the most fertile is the destruction of a city or sanctuary (like Delos) which left for the modern excavator statues which were in various stages of completion. Another cause is the unexpected death of the artist, rare enough, and another, still rarer, the abandonment of the work by the artist because of the unexpected discovery of flaws in the material. In a different class fall statues which retain certain parts in an unfinished condition, because those parts were never intended to be exposed to view or because they were meant to receive a coating of paint or stucco. From all such unfinished works important information can be derived.

The author establishes firmly his contention that what he calls 'das Wesen klassischer Bildhauertechnik' is, in essence, a conception of the statue to be carved as a solid mass which has to be attacked on all sides so that no one part ever gets far ahead of another in its stage of development. For this purpose and with this intention in view the tools chiefly to be used are those which attack the marble more or less at right angles. This is evidently the case throughout the sixth and most of the fifth century—excepting always that soft material such as Poros is treated more or less as wood would be treated and carved primarily, if not entirely, with the chisel, with oblique strokes. But the tools used on hard stone would, on these assumptions, be almost always the pointed tool (*Spitzeisen*) and (more rarely) the hammer with a flat striking head covered with spikes (*Stockhammer*). Smoothing in its preliminary stages was achieved with the toothed chisel (*Zahneisen*). From the evidence examined it is abundantly clear that the flat chisel and the gouge were tools which were used most sparingly and only for limited processes such as the cutting of locks of hair or the finishing off of certain surfaces. The ultimate smoothing of flesh surfaces was invariably effected with pumice-stone or emery, after an infinitely careful levelling of the surface with the pointed tool and the toothed chisel. The early fifth century shows practically no change of tool, and the sculptures of Olympia are rendered in the technique of the sixth century as far as methods are concerned. The only other tool that comes into prominence by the middle of the fifth century is the simple drill. This develops quickly into the 'carpenter's drill,' which is held against the breast, and this, in turn, gives way about the same time to the running drill. The running drill is the only tool which can be looked on as a new invention not known in the archaic period. It replaced the saw and the rasp, which were sparingly used in archaic times for undercutting drapery.

The extraordinary diligence of the early Greek artist and the considerable length of time spent on his work (which we can estimate from recorded sculptors' pay lists) is thus explained when it is realised how much preliminary work was done with slow-speed tools, such as the '*Spitzeisen*' and the toothed-chisel ('*Zahneisen*'). The former completed not only the preliminary working down of the stone to its rough outlines, but also achieved the final surface that immediately preceded the application of pumice or emery, aided by the toothed chisel. At no period has the sculptor so conscientiously avoided the use of labour-saving tools which were likely to divert his hand from the course into which it was destined to go. The good Greek sculptor did not run risks to save time. The estimate of four months for the completion of one of the small groups on the Erechtheion frieze gives some little idea of what was the time-table of the ordinary conscientious Greek sculptor. The fact is that Greek sculptors were prodigiously hard workers, and, by modern standards for similar work, quick workers.

Until later times the quick-working running drill was not abused. We see it in the Parthenon and in the Nike Balustrade, operated as it should be. It was, perhaps, a labour-saving device, and the first of its kind. But in the hands of Roman copyists it soon became an abomination. The flat chisel and the rasp come gradually into a slightly increased use in the fourth century, but in good fifth-century technique they hardly occur. Even so they are subsidiary and not principal tools even in the fourth century. But the more they are used the further away the artist gets from the old methods of direct attack at right angles. The oblique strokes of the chisel, when it is used in the place of the '*Spitzeisen*,' divert the artist from his conception of the masses which he is trying to elaborate from his block of marble. Therein lies the principal difference between a copy and an original. The artist of the original can afford to work at ease. The copyist wishes to

save time and works as much as possible with a chisel, which is a quick cutter, compared with any tool which has a right-angle percussion. In using the chisel the copyist finishes one surface more quickly than another and, in consequence, is forced unconsciously to think of his statue not as a whole but as a series of different parts and surfaces which are in various stages of development. That explains why so many copies are lifeless and often awkward. So too the copyist leaves supports and attachments for the safeguarding of isolated parts, whereas the original artist may use them in the earlier stages, but, by his conception of the statue as a whole, soon finds a way to eliminate them: they are hardly ever structurally involved in his work. The only cases where supports survive in original works is where they are structurally necessary but invisible to the observer. The Nike of Paionios or the figure of Mausollus of Caria are cases in point. We must, in fact, distinguish between supports which are worked into the composition and those which are merely superfluous additions. This again enables us to distinguish the original from the copy.

Roman sculptors rarely, if ever, follow the Greek technique. They carry out the preliminary work with a heavy 'Spitzeisen' which can dig rapidly and deeply into the stone, in a way never seen in the fifth or sixth century. The feeling for form seems to be lost at the very outset. As soon as he can, the Roman artist rapidly continues with the flat chisel and the gouge and pares the stone away to its ultimate shape. The infinitely fine and laborious work with the small 'Spitzeisen' which preceded the last stages as well as the first has no place in his methods. It is a tool which he uses simply for the early trimming of the stone, and as such it has ceased to have the 'functional' purpose which it had in early Greek times.

Throughout the sculptor is torn between his longing to save time and his love of good work. As long as the chisel is kept as a subsidiary and not a principal tool, he will do good work. Even archaic reliefs of rigid outline that one might have thought would have been best done with a chisel are, in fact, in nearly all cases done without a stroke of that tool. Its use in all work of the sixth century is for touching up and finishing off certain detail. The moment that the chisel is used as the principal tool the figure becomes less vigorous, less firm and vital. The author's comparison of the head of the old woman in Pentelic marble from the Olympia pediment with one of the original heads brings out this difference with astonishing clarity. The juxtaposition of the two on Pl. 14 provides exactly the evidence that his statement needs, and gives us a more conclusive argument than any yet produced for the relatively late date of the corner figures.

Dr. Blümel has a deeply interesting section on the use in antiquity of the plummet and its gradual evolution into a method of measurement from models that was considerably more complicated than the original usage. The plummet as a mere direction guide was used from archaic times to Hellenistic. As such it was a hardly more complicated aid to carving than in the hands of an architect or a carpenter and could be used on an original stone statue. But when it developed into a means of taking measurements from a model in clay or was used by a copyist it began to approximate to the modern *puntelli* system. At the same time nothing approaching the elaborate and mechanical *puntelli* system seems to have existed in antiquity, and this system of measurement is fundamentally different. It can be studied best in an interesting half-finished statue in Athens from Rheneia. Blümel dates this to the first century B.C. on technical grounds, and rejects both the dating and the explanation of the technical methods used as given by E. A. Gardner. The deep holes on the body he explains as the cuttings made for measurement on this very system, the traces of which are clear enough in the boss and holes that survive on the head and the holes in front of the feet. These were for the fixing of cords from which borings were made into the body at the required depths, corresponding with the similar distances from the body surface of the original model to similar cords. This method of measurement is interesting, but it is a different matter from the *puntelli* system.

The question of models is an important one. In the case of the models used by the sculptors of Olympia or of the Parthenon, the only agreement among experts is in the belief that the controlling master made models of the material of which the whole set of sculptures was to be made. As to size and character we seem to have no evidence. But Dr. Blümel produces two important pieces of evidence that tend to show that models

were of the same size as the works for which they were made. One is the existence on the heads of two of the original pedimental figures at Olympia of clear traces of bosses, which of necessity imply the use of the plummet system of measurement and so, by inference, of a model from which the measurements were taken; the other is the large sum of money paid to Timotheus for his model at Epidauros (900 dr.), which left a sum that does not seem adequate payment for the pedimental sculptures if we assume that the model was either smaller than the final work or made of clay or wax. Again, inference drives us to a belief in full-size models in marble. In this connexion I am surprised that Blümel does not discuss Dickins' suggestion that the head No. 699 in the Acropolis Museum was a model for the heads of the metopes.

The author concludes this closely reasoned and cautious study of the evidence with an application of the principles which he has formulated to the so-called Hermes of Praxiteles at Olympia. The result is profoundly interesting. A close analysis of the group from a technical point of view reveals that it has technical peculiarities which can only be matched in the time of the Roman copyists of the early Imperial period. For instance, the back of the Hermes is unfinished. The artist at the last moment decided to take more surface off the shoulders. He did so with the aid of the toothed chisel and then finished off over that with a flat chisel. As Dr. Blümel has made clear beyond question, the use of these tools in this way is not found in the fourth century but is the regular practice of Roman copyists. The fact also that the statue was allowed by its author to be erected before it had received its final polishing goes contrary to all that we know about the exquisite finish of the works of Praxiteles. The tree stem is cut with the aid of a vigorous application of the pointed tool, in the manner of Roman work, not with the lighter touch of the Greek artist. The actual surface of the finished parts resembles that of the Subiaco Boy or the Eubouleus bust, and is not good enough or else too good. The support that is visible from the front between the Hermes and the tree-stem is, Dr. Blümel points out, 'technisch überflüssig'; it does not structurally belong to the work, but was left as aid to the cutter. As such it immediately falls into line with a score of similar cases from the period of Imperial Roman copyists. It is no use arguing, as some have done, that the unfinished elements of the statue are 'impressionism.' Such impressionism is a modern growth and quite alien to ancient ideas. It would have been called merely carelessness. Supports in fourth-century sculpture are always almost invisible, as, for instance, those on the Nike of Paenios or under the feet of the Agias or between the feet of Mausollus. Here the support is a glaring blemish that only the courage of a hardy and insensitive copyist could leave. Further, the head of the infant Dionysos bears no resemblance to fourth-century children's heads: the finishing of the front of the tree-stem with a flat chisel can be matched from innumerable Roman copies; and finally the base on which the statue stood is admittedly a Roman basis. The latter point has been explained away more or less satisfactorily, but in view of the accumulation of other evidence for a Roman date it now has an added importance.

Pertinently Dr. Blümel reminds us that on the occasion of its discovery the Hermes was at once classed as a Roman copy. But the passage of Pausanias served immediately afterwards to raise it into the front rank. But, he says (p. 40), 'bessassen wir nicht die Beschreibung des Heraion, wäre das Hermes in die Reihe weniger sehr überfeinerter Kopien getreten.' In fact it all rests on a chance note of Pausanias. And with the passage of Pausanias he compares the passage of Pliny which describes the statue of '*Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriens*,' which Pliny says is the work of Cephisodotus. Suggestions have long ago been made that Pliny is here speaking really of the Praxitelean group. Blümel goes farther and hints that Pliny saw the original of the group we possess at Olympia, and by an error easy enough to him, gave it to the wrong sculptor. The group at Olympia, then, would be a Roman copy, erected to replace the original which had gone to Rome. That Roman copies of original Greek works at the famous shrines were erected after their removal to replace them is sufficiently well known to need no further proof.

Dr. Blümel has pressed his view relentlessly to its conclusion. He has argued with restraint and with care, and at each step brought forward his evidence. His only lapse into theory is his view on the passage of Pliny. Defenders of the Hermes of Olympia (and they will be numerous) will be hard put to it. The case for the prosecution is

overwhelming. Dr. Blumel has made a contribution of the very highest value towards a scientific reconsideration of ancient sculpture on a basis of hard fact. His careful reasoning is worth many volumes of personal judgments of style. He has given us much material by which to distinguish the copy from the original.

Minor errors are few in this distinguished book. His suggestion that the great archaic figure from Thasos is in Parian marble (p. 52) is strange. It is certainly Thasian stone. On p. 28 he has attributed views to Prof. Percy Gardner that rightly belong to Prof. Ernest Gardner. On p. 41 he refers to the statue of Sisyphus II, but it should be Sisyphus I.

I am not a little surprised that he has not referred at all to the 'Aberdeen Head,' which, as a result of his inquiries, might perhaps have emerged as an original work by Praxiteles. A comparison of this head with that of the Hermes seems to emphasise some of the points that he makes, more particularly that which concerns the use of the drill in the hair of the Hermes. (Pfuhl's views on this work are, of course, based on the assumption that the Hermes is a Praxitelean original. Once that is questioned his analysis loses validity.) So, too, as has already been mentioned, the head No. 699 in the Acropolis Museum deserves some consideration. But the book is a notable one and of profound importance.

S. C.

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**Fruhe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien.** By V. MÜLLER. Pp. x + 247; 49 plates. Augsburg: Filser, 1929. 50 M.

Recent years have been rich in archaeological books of outstanding merit and importance. Among these Langlotz's brilliant study of the sculpture of the archaic periods in Greece has thrown a new light on the interrelation and differentiation of types and has made possible a classification of schools on a scientific basis. Valentin Müller has applied the same method of research to the study of earlier sculpture over a wider field, from the earliest times when man began to make an image of himself, on through the different phases to the archaic period of Greek art, when Langlotz begins. The title of the book is not wide enough for the content, for Müller includes a survey of plastic art of certain parts of the Far East, in so far as this art bears on and explains the arts of Asia Minor, of the islands and of mainland Greece. Poulsen had broken the ground, but he deals mainly with the antiquarian side of this Eastern influence: Müller attacks the problem in a wider spirit and concerns himself mainly with the question of the origin, migrations, developments and differentiations of types. His style is clear and concise, his handling of the difficult problems is admirable: his complete grip of the subject puts this book in the front rank of archaeological studies. The main purpose which he never loses sight of is to show that, given the instinct for making figures—an instinct by no means universal—the areas possessing the instinct are not isolated entities but are interrelated. In the same way, behind the differences and varieties of artistic products, there is a common type or formula. The type may be created on the spot and details and attributes may be foreign, or the type may be foreign and the details indigenous. It is with the character, the connexions, the provenance of types and the details or attributes, gestures, poses, physical characteristics that Müller is concerned.

In the earliest stages of primitive art he finds already a unity of type, and a unity also in the stages of development: the first stage is a very primitive naturalism; through stages of development this naturalism passes into schematism—after which the art may die. It may have a later renaissance under the stimulus of a fresh wave of perhaps similar influences. The duration of the primitive stage of naturalism must depend on the degree and quality of artistic endowment in the different areas. In the Aegean and Greek world it is only Crete which emerges direct from naturalism, and that as early as Early Minoan: she begins at once to develop a style, in which the latent potentialities of her later art can be discerned, with its qualities of 'life and movement passing into the "volumen."' It is this expression of life and movement which differentiates the ideal of the West from that of the East—a difference deeply rooted in the character and outlook of the two great areas. The formula

of the West, embodied first in Cretan art and with modifications in later Greek art, is 'volumen' with movement, life, swing either passing into or out of the mass ('volumen'): the formula of the East is the representation of 'volumen' as a compact block without movement or differentiation of the separate parts.

After the stage of primitiveness in Greek art, as elsewhere, comes a period of activity during which styles are being formed and types established. This period, the tenth century, has as its distinctive type, an advanced naturalism: from this is developed the style which Müller calls 'Spreizstil'—activity and life are expressed by the starting of the limbs from the body and away from it; the impulse is centrifugal. Gestures, poses, attributes, some indigenous, some due to foreign influence, modify but never drive out the type, till the moment when all possibilities of development are exhausted. Then comes the swing of the pendulum to the other extreme. It is at this time after the eighth century that the influence of the East most directly and definitely affects the art of Greece. The Greek artist saw that the Spreizstil could give no feeling of weight and stability, whereas the style of the East, the Blockstil, concentrated on this rendering of weight. The East was the master of Greece, but the Greek artist took only what he knew he could use, adapted it and made it his own. He borrowed the formula of the block-style, to mould to his own ideal. With the block-style came also from the East much else—gestures, poses, styles of dress and hair, attributes, which Müller discusses at length with valuable analysis of each point.

Whereas the Dorian Greek only borrowed the block-style to remould it, the Ionian Greek, being nearer to the East, and more susceptible to her influence, had from the beginning shown a preference for compactness and zest for flatness of surface and lack of modelling characteristic of the art of the East. The Ionian borrows the block-style and hardly modifies it—the limbs are in the block; the Dorian borrows it; in his hands the limbs burst out of the block. This difference of ideal is emphasised in almost every particular: in the treatment of the dress, of the hair, of the setting of the limbs, of the proportions of the different parts of the body. The Dorian emphasises the differentiation of the parts of the body, the Ionian emphasises the unity.

The last stage in Müller's 'type-development' is what he calls 'Lockerung,' a further carrying on of the process of freeing the limbs from the block. It must, I think, be difficult for Müller to establish his new nomenclature for the separate phases of this early Greek art. He objects to the different connotation lying behind the accepted names geometric, orientalising, archaic; one having reference to style, one to provenance, one to time. However true this may be, these terms have passed into such common use for pottery, sculpture and other branches of art that it will be hard to oust them and use terms which cannot be applied to pottery styles. One is apt to forget the limited meaning of geometric when it can be used to describe both purely linear ornament and the little match man with his counterpart in the animal world. Moreover, Müller's proposal to call the 'Spreizstil' früharchaisch, the 'Blockstil' hocharchaisch, and the 'Lockerungsstil' spatarchaisch leaves us with no names for the development of art between the earliest Kouros type and the Classical type.

What I have said only touches the fringe of this valuable study.

E. R. P.

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Greek and Roman Bronzes. By WINIFRED LAMB. Pp. 261 and 96 plates.  
London: Methuen & Co., 1929.

This important work is at once a history of the subject and a book of reference. It provides an orderly conspectus of all the significant material, and a critical account of its history, and is written with an appreciation of the beauty and humour of Greek art which is not the less attractive for sometimes being feminine. To have got so much into so few pages is a useful achievement on the part of the author, and to have provided so many plates of such fine quality is a meritorious service for which author and publisher must share the credit in due proportion. It is no disparagement of the text to say that the plates alone would make this a valuable book. Some two hundred and fifty pieces are illustrated, in good, fresh photographs very largely taken from new or out-of-the-way material, simply arranged in chronological order and excellently reproduced; and a far greater number is recorded in



the footnotes. The selection reveals Miss Lamb's wide knowledge of collections, particularly in the museums of Greece, and shows no limitation of choice. The text is adequate and brief, and the various classes of bronzes, which range from votive statuettes to plain saucepans, are so disposed that they pass as a single family. Not that the author has been hampered by rigid interpretation of her title: statues of large size are not admitted, being classed as sculpture, nor mere utensils; and the gradation from free statuettes and groups through decorative figures, reliefs and handles, to shapes of vases, is actually imperceptible. The Bronze Age, though perhaps not in the title, has rightly been included, for the classical arts of Greece cannot be dissociated from the prehistoric, though there may be little visible connexion. It happens too that Miss Lamb has contributed some particularly useful studies in this period, by reviewing the whole series of the Mycenaean inlaid dagger-blades, the Cretan statuettes, and the Transitional tripods, which last she calls Cypriote for the present. She also gives good reason for assigning a wholly foreign origin to the shields from the Idacan cave. Many attempts have been made in recent years to classify the archaic material by style, and to attribute the styles to localities; of which Miss Lamb justly remarks that the classification has been more successful than the attribution. She accepts several well-established local schools, adds a new one in North-west Greece (particularly Thermon and Dodona), and considerably increases the membership of the quaint Arcadian group, in which she has previously shown special interest. Classification is harder in the fifth and later centuries, as the classical style eliminates local peculiarities and the statuettes tend to repeat subjects canonised by greater sculpture. A further complication is the mechanical reproduction of bronzes, at least so far as casting goes, which could be done in any period. There are now very few pieces that can be assigned, on other evidence than their subjects, to a particular moment in Hellenistic or Roman times, and there is, moreover, a probably false instinct to give the earlier dates to the better-finished examples. Miss Lamb makes the promising observation here that some Roman work is marked by a certain hardness of technique, mostly due to heavy chasing, which she traces back to fourth-century Praenestine figures. It is certainly by means of such technical criteria that order will be brought into the apparently nondescript mass of Graeco-Roman work.

In a first edition of a book so fully illustrated and annotated it would hardly be possible to avoid some errors of correspondence between text and plates; those that occur here are doubtless well known to the author, and can easily be corrected by the reader; but one is worth mentioning as a matter of interest. The blocks of subjects *a* and *b* on Plate LXV have been transposed, and their exchange perversely tries to perpetuate an old error which is corrected for the first time in the text (p. 157). The British Museum possesses a well-known Etruscan statuette of Mars (*Cat.* 455), which has for a hundred years usurped the honours of its original at Florence (Milani, *Guida*, pl. xxx). Though it is a perfect casting and convincingly patinated, the detail of the broken sword alone proves that it is a modern replica of the Florence figure. It came to the British Museum with Richard Payne Knight's bequest in 1824, and has since acquired a sort of new antiquity; the Museum catalogue does not doubt it, nor indeed did Payne Knight, who stated frankly in his manuscript list: 'It belong'd to the Gallery at Florence and was brought to England by Major Blagrave in 1813.' The London version still stands in its ease in the Museum, and may well stay there, after its long career of imposture, as a reminder of the dangers that beset the study and acquisition of ancient bronzes.

E. J. F.

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**Studier over Palmyrensk Skulptur.** By HARALD INGHOIT. Pp. 166 + 16 plates.  
Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 1928.

Though Palmyrene sculpture has never been exactly neglected it has never received the undivided attention of a savant until Dr. Ingholt produced this careful and well-illustrated corpus of dated monuments. Strzygowski was the first to bring it within the scope of modern art-history, and his pages devoted to it in *Orient oder Rom* placed it at once in the right historical perspective. Wulff carried the discussion a step further in his *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*, and it has since received the detailed attention of Poulsen

(*Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap*, VI, 1921, p. 83) and Kjellberg (*Le Monde Oriental*, XV, 1921, pp. 177-83). Dr. Ingholt now provides a *catalogue raisonné* of 54 dated portraits ranging from A.D. 55 to 241-2, with a photograph of each, and then discusses and arranges the undated monuments. He divides the material into three chronological groups and places the *terminus ad quem* at circa 150, 200 and 250 respectively. His analysis of stylistic differences is thorough (see especially pp. 90-93), though it must be confessed that the poverty of skill and the empirical procedure of the Palmyrene masons would seem to imperil the solidity of Dr. Ingholt's structural detail. The line of development is wavering and uncertain, because the evolutionary process is not independent and self-sufficing, but has to be kept alive artificially by contact with the outer world. In spite, therefore, of the lavish generosity with which the Palmyrenes have provided us with dated monuments, it cannot be said that the information thus acquired helps us greatly to solve the problems of late antique art.

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**The Mural Painting of El-'Amarneh:** F. G. Newton Memorial Volume, edited by H. FRANKFORT. Pp. 74 with 21 plates. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1929.

This volume is a tribute to the memory of Francis Giesler Newton, the director of the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations at El-'Amarneh, who died on Christmas Day, 1924. It consists of three chapters: I., on the affinities of the mural painting of El-'Amarneh, by H. Frankfort; II., on the decoration of the houses by S. R. K. Glanville; and III., on the paintings of the Northern Palace, by N. de Garis Davies. There are 21 plates, many in colour, after the admirable water-colour facsimiles by Mrs. de Garis Davies.

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**Indische Kunst und Triumphalbild.** By ALBERT IPPEL. Pp. 24, with 16 plates. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929 (=Morgenland, heft. 20).

Investigations into the art of ancient India have mainly been concerned with the Gandhara and Turfan, hardly at all with India proper. Barhut has been made known by the researches of Cunningham, but Sanchi has been practically ignored. For the proper understanding of the hybrid and senile art of the Gandhara it is necessary, however, to study the reliefs of Sanchi; only thus can we discover how the Hellenic element, which must be traced back to the fourth century B.C., began to amalgamate with the native Indian tradition.

Sanchi and Barhut are usually coupled together (e.g. by Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Arts in India*, p. 79; Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 74); but Marshall has pointed out the important differences between them (*Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 631 f.). There is no perspective at Barhut, and no sense of space; there is a figure in every door and window, and complete frontality is usual. At Sanchi, on the other hand, we find an adequate mastery of perspective and plastic means of representation which are probably attributable to Hellenistic influence. From Sanchi we progress by easy steps to Amaravati and the paintings of Ajanta.

Meanwhile it is impossible not to be impressed by the resemblance between these Indian triumph-scenes and the reliefs on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. This brings Dr. Ippel to the important discovery that Roman triumphal representations are not, as is commonly supposed, a native Italic invention; like the Indian scenes they derive from a convention developed in the Near East. We are invited to consider the reliefs from Medinet-Habu (c. 1200 B.C.), Assyrian battle-pieces, townscapes from Gjölbashi and Pinara and Boscoreale; and to compare the tree-types on the south door at Barhut, the representations of rivers at Ajanta, and Lycian siege-scenes with corresponding motifs in Trajanic and Aurelian art. 'Jeder Rasse ihre Kunst,' says Dr. Ippel in an apt sentence, 'jedem Volk sein uralter, uralter, tief volkpsychologisch verankerter bildnerischer Trieb'; but he testifies to the phenomenal powers of self-preservation displayed by an artistic motif. His parallels and comparisons are ingenious; but we sometimes feel inclined to ask how genuine, or how fortuitous, the connexion may be.

R. H.

**Excavations at Dura-Europos: First Season, 1928.** Edited by P. V. C. BAUR and M. I. ROSTOVITZ. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929.

So far the joint expedition of Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters has not revealed any monument as startling as the frescoes discovered by Breasted and since discussed at length by Cumont; but this first report of their excavations contains a good deal of interesting, if not spectacular, material. Pillet gives a general description of the gates and roads, the fortifications, the Palmyrene gate, the inner redoubt and the citadel. Rostovitz discusses the Greek and Latin, and Torrey the two Palmyrene inscriptions. Cumont writes on the relief of Nemesis and on the altar marked with graffiti. Koechlin describes a fragment of Mussulman pottery, and Baur a relief of Hercules.

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**The Thorvaldsen Museum: Catalogue of the Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos.** By POUL FOSSING. Pp. 302; 24 plates. Copenhagen: 1929 (also Oxford University Press).

This Catalogue of the Thorvaldsen collection of gems is somewhat of a revelation. The writer opened it expecting to find a dreary record of Graeco-Roman and eighteenth-century gems of the types that might have been expected in a collection formed a hundred years or so ago. Instead of that we have here a series of some 2000 gems ranging from early Greek scarabs down to the later days of the Roman Empire, practically all of them undoubtedly genuine, and many of them distinguished for their artistic merit or archaeological interest. As the editor of the Catalogue, Mr. Poul Fossing, points out, Thorvaldsen's artistic instincts enabled him to decide on the authenticity of a gem with an almost unerring certainty.

Mr. Fossing's task has, therefore, been a pleasant and interesting one, and he has done his work extremely well, while the general get-up of the book is admirable, and a model of typography. The plates, however, are not all quite on the same level of excellence, and in some cases the gems are reproduced on so small a scale as to be of little use to the student. The arrangement of the Catalogue is almost unavoidably based on Furtwaengler's work, though the writer may perhaps be permitted to hope that the British Museum Catalogue of 1926 has also been of some service. While the collection contains no absolute masterpieces of engraving, nor any unimpeachable artist's signature, the general average of excellence is surprisingly high. In particular, the collection of gems of the Roman Republican period is exceptionally large and interesting, and has been catalogued with much discrimination. We may also be grateful to the editor for his decision to print the book in the English language, with which he appears to have a complete acquaintance.

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**Polygnot: Ein Buch von griechische Malerei.** By EMANUEL LÖWY. 2 vols. (text and plates). Pp. 80; 100 illustrations. Wien: A. Schroll & Co., 1928.

This is a scholarly book and discusses some interesting problems in the relation of Greek painting to other forms of art, but, possibly because Dr. Löwy does not seem to have made up his mind whether he is writing for the student or for the general reader, it seems to leave one with a feeling of vagueness and inconclusiveness. The book is divided into six chapters, of which the first deals with the literary information about Polygnotos, and the second in a similar manner with Mikon, his great contemporary, who must have been the inventor of many of the vase-painters' themes. Chapter III is entitled 'On the track of Polygnotos,' and deals with vases and other works of art in which his influence is reflected. Chapter IV, entitled 'Forms,' further discusses the influence of these two painters on vases. The vase-painters are not direct imitators but merely use familiar motives, invented by the great masters, for artistic reasons, and the execution of the work is all their own. Chapter V deals with the all-pervading influence of Polygnotos and Mikon on Greek graphic art, especially in the replacement of convention by realism and individuality. They have left their traces even in the great pedimental sculptures. 'Olympia is Mikon expressed in stone, the Parthenon pediments are Polygnotos in the same material' (p. 61). A final

chapter discusses three reliefs copied from fifth-century originals, which are not pictorial in treatment, but yet show Polygnotan influence. The suggestion is made that Polygnotos may have been a sculptor in relief as well as a painter. Thus it will be seen that the book is full of interesting points and suggestions, but hardly enough is made of them, and the student might well be excused for inability to discover from it what Polygnotos actually did for Greek art. A smaller point which calls for criticism is the system of references to the illustrations, which is very inadequate. No catalogue numbers or bibliographical references are given, and it is not always easy to identify a particular vase. Also the plan of issuing the plates in a separate volume seems open to decided objections.

### Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases

I, Early Vases, preceding Athenian Black-figured Ware. By ARTHUR FAIRBANKS.

Pp. 235, 100 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928.

The great strength of the Boston collection of vases lies in its Attic black-figure and red-figure; but it contains fine examples of many other classes. The catalogue is well illustrated: every vase is figured, and the half-tones though small are nearly all good. If the plates do not show the collection at quite its best, that is because the photographs have been painted round (though the stands have been carefully spared—Pls. 41 and 49) and the paging-up is not perfect.

Dr. Fairbanks explains in his preface that owing to delays in putting the volume through the press, he has not always been able to incorporate the results of recently published investigations. And indeed he has not been able to use Schweitzer on geometric (1919), or Maximova on plastic vases (1916); and Pfuhl's great work (1923) is not once, I think, mentioned. Miss Price's *Classification of East Greek Pottery* (1927) is naturally too recent: her *Pottery of Naucratis* (1924, not 1824) is mentioned, but has not been used, for Naucratic, Camiran, and the rest are not distinguished. Corinthian and Italo-Corinthian are not regularly kept apart. The vagueness of the classification is the chief defect in a welcome and useful work.

226, not sub-Mycenean as suggested on p. 31, but pure Geometric. 258-60 and 285-9, 'from Attica' and 'from Boeotia' are written where Attic and Boeotian are meant. 259, no Mycenean influence. 284, not Island but E. Greek, no doubt Rhodian. 290 ff., the animal has been shown by Kinch to be not an ibex but a wild goat. The very late fabric to which 295-6 belong should be kept separate from Camiran: the name *lekane* is neither correct nor traditional. 301, not Fikellura but Attic. 321, 8, 11, and 13 are Camiran; 321, 15, Fikellura. 341, 2; 346, 4; and 346, 6 are Attic, not Corinthian. 349 is Attic, not Laconian. 350, 1 is East Greek, not Laconian; the 'small knob' is an astragalos, on the class see Kinch. p. 146. 350, 2 is Attic, not Laconian. 350, 3 is not Laconian: similar fragments in Oxford and in London. 353, 3, Herakles and Triton. 354-8 not 'Attic type,' but Attic. 354, 3, neck of a column-krater, not body. 360, 3, by the Orchard painter (*Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 311. no. 7). 360, 4, from a column-krater by the Boreas painter. 361-6, all Attic, and most of 367-72. 378, from the class of Hellenistic braziers studied in *Jahrbuch*, 1890 and 1897. 379, 1, from an alabastron, not a jug: Eastern Greek, probably Samian, see e.g. Albizzati in *Antike Plastik*, p. 1. 446, Rumpf's article on the 'lydia' in *A. M.*, 1920, should have been cited. 493, Attic, not Italo-Corinthian. 537 seems Attic, not Boeotian. 545, Boeotian, but not 'of Corinthian style.' 549, Corinthian. 550, Etruscan: the boy carries an oinochoe, not a hydria. 552, Attic (or Boeotian?), not Laconian: in the same style, *C.I.* B.M. III. He, Pl. 7, 2. 553-4, Corinthian, not 'Euboean.' 555, Attic, not 'Euboean.' 556, loutrophoros-hydria, not amphora. 556-7 are Attic, but not 'proto-Attic.' 560-1, Attic not Boeotian. 679-93, nothing Greek about this.

J. D. B.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Italia 5 = Bologna, Museo Civico I.**  
By L. LAURINSICH. Milan and Rome: Bestetti and Tumminelli [1929].

A new publication of the vases in the Museo Civico, after Zannoni and Pellegrini, was not the most pressing of Italian obligations: there is another great collection in Bologna which is practically unpublished. The first instalment of the Bologna Corpus is devoted to Attic red-figure:—cups; and the column-kraters, mostly second- or third-rate, which have been found in great numbers at Bologna. The photographs are good, the text accurate, the reproductions only fair—several plates show lack of register, and the ink is lurid.

Pl. 7: the 'mule' is a donkey, and the picture represents donkeys breeding, not an attempt to squeeze blood from a stone.

Pl. 8: the statement at the end is not quite clear: I placed the cup in a group of 'slight works very near the Penthesilea painter, but not from his hand.' Pl. 9, dinos, not pithos.

Pl. 10: the youth on A has halteres in his hand and is therefore not a sprinter: the second youth on B also holds halteres. Pl. 13, 1, the blazon is a wheel, not a rose. Pl. 32, 1, also published by Curtius (*Astragal*, pl. 2, fig. 4). Pl. 36, end, centauromachia, not gigantomachia.

I have assigned most of these vases to their painters in *Attische Vasenmaler*. I make some additions. Pl. 9 has some connexion with the Brygos painter. Pl. 10, related to Polygnotos. Pl. 26, 3-4, by one of the Mannerists. Pl. 30, 1-3, by the Alkimaehos painter. Pl. 32, 1-2, by one of the Mannerists. Pl. 35, by the painter of the Naples Centauromachy. Pl. 36, 1-2, by the same. Pl. 39, probably by the painter of the Louvre Centauromachy. Pl. 40, 4, probably by the same. Pl. 44, 1-2, by the painter of London E 489. Pl. 45, by the same.

Of the Επιδρομος κελος noted by me on the cup, pl. 1, 6, Mr. Laurinsich says simply: 'non esiste.' It existed, however, in 1911 or 1912, when I happened to point it out to Prof. Ducati, who made a tracing of it, which he said he would send to Pellegrini, whose catalogue was then in the press. And I have no doubt the inscription is still there. The soil of Bologna is hostile to red, and there are more inscriptions on the vases in Bologna than Pellegrini gives, only they are sometimes hard to make out.

The Palagi vases (pls. 11-22) ought to have been cleaned before being elaborately photographed; but the author is not to blame, and I suppose no fascicule of the Corpus is deemed complete without a few 'ephebes' like those in pl. 18, 2.

J. D. B.

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**Fitzwilliam Museum: Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins, Vol. III. Asia Minor, Further Asia, Egypt, Africa.** By S. W. GROSE. Pp. 507; 131 collotype plates. Cambridge University Press, 1929. £5 5s.

This is the final volume of the great catalogue which we owe to Mr. Grose's rapid industry, and it embraces Asia and Africa. The earlier volumes covering Italy and Sicily, and Greece proper, were reviewed in this Journal in 1923 and 1927, and there is nothing to add to the general remarks made on those occasions. The collection is by no means so strong in the districts now catalogued as in those covered by the earlier volumes; we miss the long series which made the first volume, in particular, so valuable; but the work is done with the same care and accuracy, and the indexes are as detailed and various as before; the plates are even better. The work as a whole forms a most valuable addition to the material available for study.

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**How to Observe in Archaeology.** Second edition. Pp. 120; 46 figs. Printed by the order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1929.

The second edition of this book has not only brought it up to date, but has also made it indispensable to the traveller's pocket, into which it conveniently fits. The pocket to which it lays modest claim belongs to the ordinary traveller who is not a trained archaeologist, but I should not be surprised if it found its way into that of, say, an Egyptologist.

visiting Greece or vice versa. For the concise accounts of the art of each country, written with a view to the identification of objects, are admirable, and the notes on the different laws of antiquities are a useful reminder of one's obligations to the country of which one is a guest. Perhaps the best contributions are the summary of Greek art (a subject which must have been particularly difficult to compress into so small a space), and the section on the preservation of antiquities. The author of the latter ought, some day, to expand it into a separate treatise.

If I make a number of criticisms and suggestions, it is in the hope that the book has a long life and other editions before it.

*Greek Law of Antiquities.* Travellers may be glad to know that, since many of the small antiquities they wish to take home with them are valueless to the national collections, permission for export can easily be obtained. The objects in question should be left at the Ministry of Education, if possible a fortnight before leaving the country.

*Photography.* The authors of the first section on photography (p. 16), when discussing the choice of a camera, do not appear to have realised that the camera must be of a continental size. The drawback of an English camera is that one cannot easily get missing gadgets abroad: I have recently heard archaeologists from three different countries comparing notes on the difficulties they had encountered.

*Arrangement.* Mr. Davies' excellent remarks on mines and quarries should have been kept for Part II.

*Methods of Planning.* This is the least satisfactory part of the book. The writer gives the impression, no doubt wrongly, that his experience is confined to large-scale maps on the flat; he mentions no instrument suitable for recording levels except the sextant and theodolite, neither of which would appeal to those for whom the book is intended. He is well equipped with skilful devices for combining tapes and strings, but he should have told us more about the selection and use of a prismatic compass (it is only by turning back to Section II that we are reassured that his compass is prismatic). In short, the methods he recommends are either very primitive (pacing and taping) or very complicated (sextant and theodolite), but in both cases a sound knowledge of surveying is presumed.

His omissions would have mattered less if he could have referred his reader to other books on the subject, and this brings me to my final suggestion: would not the average reader like a very brief *bibliography*, perhaps three or four books to each section? Professor Myres, in his section on Cyprus, evidently agrees with me: all the same, I realise that the choice of books for some of the chapters might be insuperably difficult.

**Daedalus and Thespis:** the contributions of the Ancient Dramatic Poets to Our Knowledge of the Arts and Crafts of Greece. Vol. I. By WALTER MILLER. Pp. viii + 329, with 48 pl. New York: the Macmillan Company, 1929. £1 7s.

In the introduction, Mr. Miller tells us that his object is to collect and examine passages in the ancient dramatists which throw light on the arts and crafts of Ancient Greece. Architecture is presumably an art or a craft or both, since this, the first volume, is devoted to it. How the references in the dramatic poets could be expanded into one volume, let alone three, was a mystery to me, even after I had been warned that there were 892 of them in Euripides alone: having reached the end of Vol. I, I realise that it is done quite simply by the inclusion of quotations from authors as prosaic as Pausanias, and on subjects as far removed from arts and crafts as the oracle at Dodona.

If Mr. Miller had only collected passages dealing with topography, the result would have been delightful; if he had kept to his original plan of collecting evidence on artistic questions, it might have been useful. But, unfortunately, he arranges his subject-matter sometimes topographically (Temples in Thebes), sometimes mythologically (Temples of Zeus), (a) in Olympia, (b) on the Cencan Promontory. This is both illogical and diffuse.

Before writing the third volume, Mr. Miller must learn something about vase-painting. His investigations have reached that stage where he can cautiously say that 'we now know that red-figure vases were not uncommon before the Persian wars.' His

references can only be regarded as a test of the reader's ingenuity: which vase, for instance, does he mean by 'Canossa amphora in Naples,' (with Andromeda) 'Armentum (?) amphora in Naples,' 'another (hydria) in the British Museum'? In short, the less said about his views on vases, or indeed any other branch of archaeology, the better.

It must be confessed that I am in a thoroughly unsympathetic mood. Already distressed by the use of 'arts and crafts,' I became thoroughly ruffled by 'Perieles' Table Round' (p. 10), and a state of irritation was maintained by the way in which the translations are divided; for instance:

well, go I will; and I will take my stand upon the  
bat-  
tlements' height and spill my blood into the  
dragon's dark,  
deep cave, even where the seer declared  
and,  
A temple of the Muses--not a  
large one; and in it are small  
statues of marble.

But I am really sorry to criticise so severely a book by one who obviously knows and loves the classics well.

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**Beiträge zur Geschichte des Seeraubs und Seehandels im alten Griechenland.** By E. ZIEBARTH. Pp. 148. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter & Co., 1929. 9 M.

This volume, which forms part of a series issued by Hamburg University, contains a miscellany of short essays in which pirates and honest merchants are juxtaposed after the Homeric fashion.

In the section on piracy the author gives a rapid review of the activities of corsairs in the eastern Mediterranean. He quotes a few passages left unnoticed by Ormerod, but makes no substantial advance beyond this scholar's standard work.

In the chapters on commerce, which cover bottomry loans, the wine, corn and oil trade, money-changing, and gild organisation, Ziebarth breaks fresh ground at a good many points. As might be expected, he applies his authoritative knowledge of Greek inscriptions; he also makes good use of the Zenon papyri and of the results of excavations, as at Delos and Ostia. Incidentally, he contests several interpretations of texts in Laqueur's *Epigraphische Beiträge*, but his main object is to correct some recent conclusions set forth in Hasebroek's *Staat und Handel* on the too narrow basis of literary texts. In particular, he shows that Greek merchants had a more advanced organisation (in the form of trade guilds and commission agents), and that Greek states took a wider interest in trade regulation, than Hasebroek would admit. He also throws some interesting light on the difficulties which beset Greek traders in the absence of a generally accepted currency; but he does not enter into the question of paper money and payment by book transfers.

In two valuable appendixes Ziebarth has collected the principal *loci* referring to piracy and trade. Among these particular interest attaches to an Alexandrian bottomry loan for a voyage to the 'Aromatic coast' (Somaliland). A few trifling errors may be noted here. The Antigonus who died in 221 was Doson, not Gonatas (p. 24); the warehousemen whose clubs have left records at Delos and Alexandria were ἐγδοχεῖς, not ἐνδοχεῖς (pp. 93, 97); the Thasian wine-export regulations edited by G. Daux appear in B. C. H. 1926, not 1921 (App. II. No. 10). In the trade-sign of the money-changer Caicus ('τὰ δ' ὀθνεῖα Κάικος | χρήματα καὶ νυκτὸς βουλομένοις ἀριθμεῖ') ὀθνεῖα χρήματα can hardly mean the assets ('Guthaben') of the bank customers: surely the ordinary rendering, 'foreign coin,' is indicated both by the words themselves and by the context.

Ziebarth's book makes no attempt at definitiveness; but as an 'interim report' it will be found of great value to future researchers.

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**Schlachten-atlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte.** By J. KROMAYER and G. VEITH. Pt. V. No. 2, sheets 6 and 7. Leipzig: Wagner and Debes, 1929.

In this new instalment sheet 6 contains plans of the Granicus, Miletus, Halicarnassus, and Issus; sheet 7 of Tyre, Gaugamela, and the Hydaspes. To each diagram is added the usual short summary of the authors' arguments and theories as set forth in their *Antike Schlachtfelder*. In the case of all the above actions the authors claim that the site and the course of the engagement are certain. They have therefore contented themselves with one or at most two diagrams to illustrate each event. The plans are as clear and the summaries as business-like as in all the previous issues.

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**The Athenian Calendar in the Fifth Century.** By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. Pp. vii + 138, with 2 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928.

'Based on a study of the detailed accounts of money borrowed by the Athenian State,' and bearing even on its title-page strange characters which to the ordinary mortal will be quite unmeaning until he has read the book, this learned work naturally makes its appeal to a somewhat narrow circle of readers. But one cannot help thinking that Mr. Meritt might have done something to enlarge that circle had he thought it worth while. He seems hardly to realise that there may be quite intelligent people who do not remember offhand the names and order of the Athenian months, or who have forgotten, if they ever knew, what Greek monetary signs were like in the fifth century B.C. A page or two of preliminary explanation would have enabled many such to follow with interest the story which Mr. Meritt has to tell. By the aid of newly-discovered inscriptions, very cleverly restored, and very skilfully applied to confirm or refute the accepted restorations of inscriptions already known, he has been able, in the first place, to supply a great deal of quite certain information about the borrowings made by the Athenian State in the Peloponnesian War, their amount, their sources, and the rate of interest charged.

In the second place he has light to throw upon some much-debated questions in history and chronology. The older view of the ten 'prytanies' was that they lasted for 36 or 35 days each, so that the whole period should coincide with the lunar year in civil use of 354 or 355 days. But their real length, in the fifth century, according to Mr. Meritt, was 36 or 37 days, so as to agree with a solar year of 365 to 366 days. Thus side by side with the old civil calendar of lunar years, brought into agreement with the sun by the occasional intercalation of a month, there came to exist a 'new calendar of ten prytanies in each year,' approximately 366 days long, 'free from cycles and interpolations.' It is to 'the great statesman' Cleisthenes that Mr. Meritt attributes the introduction of this scheme, the advantages of which he perhaps overrates. It was abandoned before the time of Aristotle.

Some of the older chronologists supposed that the Metonic cycle, on its introduction in 432 B.C., was at once applied to the regulation of the civil calendar. But the supposition was hard to reconcile with a passage in the *Clouds* (produced in 424), wherein the moon herself is made to complain that festivals were being celebrated on the wrong days of the month. Others, therefore, have maintained that the older eight-year cycle still remained in civil use, while Dr. Fotheringham has in later years declared that in fact no cycle was employed, the intercalations of days and months being regulated by the demands of the moment. That this last view is correct Mr. Meritt's researches seem to prove beyond question. In the first nineteen years after 432 there were eight intercalary years, whereas the Metonic cycle admits only of seven; and a careful study of the inscriptions shows also that some of the dates now ascertained are incompatible with the employment of an eight-year cycle.

It is, of course, only in occasional cases that Mr. Meritt claims to have removed 'the uncertainty about the time of intercalation of extra days and the sequence of full and hollow months in the civil year' during the thirty-three years with which he is concerned. Some of his conclusions are curious. The well-known remark of Thucydides that the solar eclipse of 431 happened on the νομηνία κατὰ σελήνην, the only day on which, according



to received opinion, such a thing could happen, is naturally taken by Mr. Meritt to imply that the civil *νομήναι* in that month did not fall on the same day. This, however, would not in itself imply, as he seems to think, that the civil calendar was wrong, since the appearance of the new moon could not possibly have taken place until at least one day after the day of conjunction. But according to his scheme the eclipse must have fallen on the second day of the civil month, which thus began, as must have been patent to everyone, too soon. So too with the lunar eclipse of 425, the year before the production of the *Clouds*. By Mr. Meritt's reckoning it seems to have happened on the 17th of the civil month, whereas Geminus gives the 17th day after the actual conjunction as the latest possible day for a full moon. In this case, therefore, the civil month apparently began considerably before the earliest possible apparition of the crescent; and if this happened often, as Mr. Meritt's tables suggest, it is easy to understand offence being given to critics less captious than Aristophanes.

E. J. W.

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**A History of Greece.** By CYRIL E. ROBINSON. Pp. vii + 480, with 33 illustrations and 23 maps. London: Methuen & Co., 1929. 7s. 6d.

Now that the publication of the *Cambridge Ancient History* is making the results of the latest research available for English students, it was a happy idea of Mr. Robinson to write a new Greek history for schools, giving junior students the benefit of the new points of view and, at the same time, presenting them in a form and compass suitable for their needs. Mr. Robinson has the qualifications needed for his task; he has read widely and thoughtfully and he has a genuine love of his subject. The grand old themes of the Persian wars, of the life-and-death struggle of Athens and Sparta, of the passing of the history of the world of city-states into the wider world of Alexander—all these are retold with a fresh interest and zest, which make them live again for the reader. And, as history to Mr. Robinson means more than a mere chronicle of political events, we are allowed to see something of the art and literature, which lent a beauty and dignity to the modest proportions of Greek life.

As is only right in a history for schools, the author is more concerned to present a picture, true in its main outlines, than to enter into mazes of detail or plunge too deep into controversial points. The history that we read is, in the main, still the Greek history with which we have been familiar since our childhood. At the same time we can easily detect the influence of new ideas at more than one point. Crete, for example, takes the place that modern discoveries have vindicated for it of paramount importance in the pre-history of the Greek peoples. The early history of Sparta, too, shows a marked change from the old. And, if it is too much to say as yet that the new picture is correct in all its details, we can at least feel assured that definite progress has been made towards a real understanding of much that, in the older teaching, remained purely mysterious. Lastly, and perhaps this is the most important change of all, the false conception that Greek history ends with Chaeronea finds no encouragement in this book. With a truer sense of the meaning and importance of the work of Philip and Alexander of Macedon, the author is able to lead us to an understanding of the world-mission of Greece in the days that used to be regarded as a sad period of slow decay.

Mr. Robinson, it need hardly be said, has a profound conviction of the immense value of the Greek contribution to human life. To quote his concluding words: 'Infinitely narrow as was the scene of the Greek's activities, and brief as was their duration when seen in the long perspective of time, they have nevertheless enriched all human experience with a vision of such splendour and immensity that, beside the lofty eminence of the peaks they trod, the progress of other ages seems but a slow and painful toiling among the foothills of the plain.' This is well and truly said; but may we suggest a word of warning? Great achievement should encourage, not depress; and, if the vast achievement of Greece has the effect of discouraging emulation, there is something wrong in the way in which it is regarded. The teacher of Greek history has a part to play here. Should he not resist the temptation to see finality in the values already won? The world has been a debtor on an immense

scale to Greece; but it is not only discouraging, but, also, as many of us believe, untrue to suggest that it has barely paid interest on the debt.

H. M.

**A Survey of Ancient History to the Death of Constantine.** By M. L. W. LAISTNER. Pp. xii + 613, with 40 plates and 15 maps. Boston, New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1929. \$3.80.

Any serious attempt to write an Outline of Ancient History requires a stout heart no less than a wise head, and these are qualities that demand and deserve respect. Professor Laistner, in the book before us, has undoubtedly been successful in his main object. He has given us a new picture of Ancient Times, modelled, of course, on generally accepted lines, but at the same time showing sufficient originality of thought and treatment to renew and enhance our interest in his great theme.

The early history of the East is judiciously presented without too overwhelming a mass of names and dates. The discoveries of recent times at Ur and Cnossus find their due place in the story. The importance of the Hebrew race is perhaps not so much overlooked as insufficiently emphasised. But, in general, the author deserves praise for his attempt to present the histories of the different nations, not in splendid isolation, but in relations with the world around them.

As we come down to Greek history, we welcome a modern view of the development of the peculiarities of the Spartan constitution and a cautious attitude towards modern theories of the economic aspect of the Greek tyrannies. A few judgments may arouse our doubts. Was the Scythian expedition of Darius a complete failure (p. 186)? Was the material help sent by Athens to the Ionian rebels slight, in proportion to Athenian capacity at the time (p. 189)? Can it really have been a mere coincidence that Salamis and Himera were fought in the same year (p. 205)? But these are all points on which opinions may well differ. Professor Laistner's view of Greek history is sane and well-proportioned. He tells the well-known story of Persian and Peloponnesian wars with appreciative interest and leads on, through the confusions of the fourth century, to Philip and Alexander, as representatives of new ideas and new values. Perhaps, in view of modern research, the difficult period of the successors of Alexander might have received a rather fuller treatment. But we could ill spare the chapters on Greek philosophy, art and literature which accompany and illustrate the political history.

The early history of Rome is notoriously difficult in view of the slight and faulty character of our materials. Professor Laistner is fully justified, therefore, in taking a cautious and, on the whole, conservative line. Later, when the materials are more adequate, he proceeds to tell a clear and interesting story. Very happy is his description of the first Punic War as 'won on points' by Rome (p. 397). Here and there we may question a statement or regret an omission. Was the danger to Rome in 207 B.C. so much exaggerated (p. 407)? Rome may have survived greater dangers earlier in the war, but it is not always the heaviest blow that secures the knock-out. Is it not rather a curious apology for the defeat of Carthage to ascribe it mainly to faults in her political and social system (p. 410)? In connexion with the humiliation of Rhodes in 168 B.C. (p. 418), the resulting growth of piracy should have been noted. The view here given (p. 441) of the democratic programme in the years between Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, 133-124 B.C., is certainly faulty: that programme was far more consistent and effective than Professor Laistner allows. The share of Sulla in the capture of Jugurtha had very serious political consequences and should not be omitted (p. 445). The parallel between the position of Augustus and that of Pompey deserves more than a bare mention (p. 496). The dating of Augustus's reform of the coinage is obsolete (p. 497). There is no mention of the mutiny of the praetorians, which compelled Nerva to adopt Trajan (p. 515). The story of the Empire is well told on the economic and cultural as well as on the political side. But, as usual in history, we gallop at a somewhat breathless pace over the dark years of the third century. The decision to end the history with Constantine the Great can claim good authority: its real justification might be given in a subsequent volume that might convincingly weld into a whole the last years of the Western Empire and the beginnings of the Dark Ages.

H. M.

**Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites.** By GEORG OSTROGORSKY. Pp. 113. Breslau: M. and H. Marcus, 1929. 6 M.

This doctoral dissertation is a foretaste of a comprehensive history of the iconoclastic movement which Dr. Ostrogorsky has in preparation, and is confined to three aspects of the movement: namely, the proclamation of Constantine V against the worship of images and the first iconoclast council; the second iconoclast council under Leo the Armenian; and a group of pseudo-Epiphaniac texts interpreted as a connecting link between these two synods of 754 and 815.

Original authorities for the history of iconoclasm are scarce on account of the edict of the Seventh Oecumenical Council of 787, which condemned all iconoclast writings; but O. has succeeded in recovering a series of texts from the writings of the iconodules, especially from the *Antirrhetici* of the Patriarch Nicephorus, a work of great importance which still remains unedited.

In his introduction O. touches upon the larger themes like the Asianic sources of the movement, the personal influence of Leo the Isaurian and the effects of the monophysite complexion of Constantine's private beliefs. In his first section O. begins by reconstructing Constantine's attack on images from Nicephorus, using a new MS., Cod. Coislianus 93, to supplement Migne's MS., Bibl. Nat. grec 1250. He ascribes these texts to Constantine on various grounds, one being an allusion to the insurrection of Artavasdos; and asserts that Constantine's utterances must have been published as writings as well as delivered orally. Incidentally he insists (against Bury and Hubert) that 754 was the actual date of the synod, and not 753.

The most complete account of the synod of 815 is given in the anonymous life of Leo the Armenian (Migne CVIII, col. 1009 ff.). O. points out that the iconoclasm of the ninth century was less spontaneous and genuinely spiritual than that of the Isaurian period; it was, in fact, largely political, even sentimental in origin. It marks a reaction against the unsuccessful policy of the iconodule Irene and Constantine VI to the victorious days of Leo III and Constantine V: it is noticeable, moreover, that the objections to iconolatry expressed in the acts of the synod of 815 are dogmatic and metaphysical, not religious. O. discusses the Platonic basis of the orthodox dogma concerning iconolatry, and in so doing criticises Melhoransky's Kantian rationalisation of the psychological background of iconoclasm.

The synod of 815 attached peculiar importance to the five texts which have hitherto been accepted as genuine works of St. Epiphanius, who as early as the end of the fourth century had shown himself to be an enlightened opponent of iconolatry. By a series of cogent arguments O. proves that four out of these five texts must date from between 754—or even 775 (the date of Constantine's death)—and the Council of 787. The orthodox attitude, as reflected in these texts, cannot date from as early as the fourth century, and Holl's view that Epiphanius was anticipating later objections to iconolatry is unnecessary; these writings, moreover, assume an elaboration and an extension of religious iconography which is far more appropriate to the eighth than to the fourth century. O. considers that the 'Testament' may well be genuine.

In his more elaborate and detailed history of the iconoclastic movement we may hope that O. will deal with the problems adumbrated by Bury but now requiring closer investigation: for example, the arabophil tendencies of Leo and Constantine, the connexion between the Greek revolt of 727 and the edicts of Leo the Isaurian, the historical and ethnographical effects of the plague of 744-747 (and especially the economic aspects of Constantine's hatred of monasticism) and the general progress of liberal education during the eighth century. Meanwhile, these three studies are a contribution of the highest importance to Byzantine historical literature.

R. H.

**Orient et Occident.** By JEAN EBERSOLT. Pp. 119, with 26 plates. Paris and Brussels: Les Éditions G. Van Oest, 1928.

M. Ebersolt's new book is a study of the relations of Byzantium and the Near East with Western Europe, and especially with France, between the fourth and the eleventh centuries: or in other words, between the conversion of Gaul and the first Crusade. During these seven hundred years the intercourse of Orient and Occident was continuous and mutual; and its causes were many. Commerce, diplomacy, and religion all contributed towards this constant flux and reflux. Syrians came to Gaul in hundreds to trade; but they also came to visit the shrine of St. Martin at Tours, for his cult—and that of other Gallic saints, St. Genevieve, St. Julien of Brioude and St. Baudile of Nîmes—was popular in the East. Conversely, Oriental saints, like St. Thecla, St. Euphemia, SS. Sergius and Bacchus, SS. Cosmas and Damian, St. George, St. Polycarp, etc., had their following in Gaul. But the attraction of the holy places of Palestine was a still greater incentive to travel: the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* of 333 and the *Peregrinatio* of the Abbess Aethéria are precious documents for the early history of pilgrimages. These pious expeditions continued uninterrupted even by the Arab conquest of the Holy Land: though by the ninth century the hostility of the Moslems made a pilgrimage so joyless an affair that we find it imposed as a penance. Upon their return the travellers founded monasteries—St. Honoratus at Lérins, Cassianus the house of St. Victor at Marseilles—and endowed churches with relics obtained in the East. With the relics came gospel-books studded with precious stones, ivory tablets, textiles and other products of Oriental skill which rivalled those sent as presents from Eastern potentates to the princes of the West. Ecclesiastical politics were also responsible for displacements among the higher clergy: to the council of Nîmes in 394 came delegates from the Far East; St. Athanasius in exile visited Gaul on at least two occasions, while Hilary of Poitiers retired for four years to Asia Minor during the Arian ascendancy in his own country; and in the eighth century the iconoclastic disturbance sent many refugees to the West.

Islam contributed directly to this infusion of Oriental elements into Western culture. In 725 the Arabs sacked Autun; in 732 Charles Martel defeated them at Poitiers—a reverse which forms in a sense the Western counterpart to their defeat before the walls of Constantinople in 718 at the hands of Leo the Isaurian. In 756 the caliphate of Cordova was founded; and in 765 Pépin le Bref sent an embassy to Al-Mansur at Baghdad. The diplomatic relations between Charlemagne and Haroun-al-Raschid, and the clock and the elephant which arrived at Aachen from Baghdad, are of course famous. To the influence of this historic elephant M. Ebersolt ascribes the fashion for this motif in Carolingian art (*e.g.* in the gospels of Lothair); though he declines to attribute to Haroun-al-Raschid the ivory elephant from St. Denis in the Cabinet des Médailles.

The embassies from Byzantium were no less productive of handsome presents. In 757 the envoys of Constantine V Copronymus brought an organ to the court of Pépin le Bref at Compiègne. Charles the Bald had a particular taste for Oriental objects, which caused some offence to his entourage; and when Rothrude, Charlemagne's eldest daughter, was betrothed to Constantine VI in 781, a eunuch, Elissaios, was sent to teach her the language and manners of the Eastern court.

These and many other pieces of curious information may be found in M. Ebersolt's well-filled but not congested pages: it is remarkable what a mass of detail he has succeeded in introducing into so short a book, and equally remarkable that the main outlines of his thesis should be everywhere so clearly visible. A book so erudite is seldom so easy and pleasant to read. The illustrations are derived in part from the *Menologium* of Basil II; and there are excellent photographs of the textiles at Sens and of the Persian stuff from St. Josse now in the Louvre.

R. H

**The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign.** Pp. vi + 275. By STEVEN RUNCIMAN. Cambridge University Press, 1929.

The history of the later Byzantine Empire is still, so far as English readers are concerned, in the scenario stage. Professor Bury carried his detail-study down to the accession of Basil I (867), but after that there is a singular dearth of elaborate commentary. Mr. Runciman has spread himself over the tenth century, and one of the awkward gaps in medieval history has been bridged. He has gone to the original sources: the Chronicle of Symeon Metaphrastes and the Slavonic version published by Sreznevski; the works of Leo the Wise and Constantine Porphyrogenetos; the chronicle of pseudo-Nestor; Liudprand; the Armenian John the Catholicus; and Maçoudi. The modern authorities Mr. Runciman shows to be inaccurate and in other ways inadequate; so that his study is a pioneer work of considerable importance.

Mr. Runciman begins with a general study of tenth-century Byzantium before proceeding to discuss the period in detail. He then goes back to outline the policy of Leo the Wise and the regency of Alexander, Nicholas and Zoe. The reign of Romanus is dealt with in its internal aspects, and then in its relations with Bulgaria, the people of the Steppes, its eastern neighbours, Italy, the Southern Slavs and Illyricum. Then follows a chapter on economic policy; and finally a note on the fall of the Lecapeni and the place of Romanus in history. Three appendices are devoted to the date of the interview between Romanus and Symeon (Thursday, September 9, 924—according to Mr. Runciman); the date of the visit of King Ashot to Constantinople (914); and the fixed rate of interest and retail profits (according to the provisions of the Rhodian code).

The most original and valuable part of Mr. Runciman's book is his handling of the Bulgarian situation and the campaign of the Tsar Symeon; he makes good use of Zlatarsky's history of Bulgaria and his treatises on the diplomatic relations between Romanus and Symeon.

To have reduced the tangled, obscure and ill-documented history of the tenth century to an intelligible consecutive story is a distinct achievement; if we can discount a certain modish frivolity of tone, which at times seems inappropriate, we may give unqualified praise to Mr. Runciman's method.

**Expedición de Catalanes y Aragoneses a Oriente a principios del siglo xiv.**

Comentada por el General de division D. CARLO BANÚS Y COMAS. Pp. 228. Madrid: Prensa Nueva, 1929.

This treatise, based on Muntaner, Moncada and Rubió y Lluch, is a military and geographical commentary upon the exploits of the Catalan Grand Company in Asia Minor, Gallipoli and Greece, rather than a new history. The writer's strong points are his knowledge of the topography and of its influence upon military operations, and his modern parallels. Thus he compares the tactics of the Catalans at the battle of the Kephisos with those of the English at Azincourt, and quotes them as an example of *camouflage*; he illustrates the mobility of the Catalans by the marches of the Carlist chief Gómez in 1836, and of Capaz in Morocco in 1926, and by his own performances during the Carlist war of 1873. He finds in the quarrels of the conquerors of Peru a counterpart to the disputes between the Catalan chiefs, but he is scarcely correct in comparing the policy of Venice, entrenched at Chalkis, towards the Greek mainland, with that of England towards the Continent. Some mistakes need correction. The Italian name for Ephesus, *Alto Luogo*, is a corruption of the Greek name *Hagios Theologos*; Litochori is the place mentioned on p. 173; he confuses Geoffroi I. and Guillaume de Villehardouin, Vatatzes and Michael VIII Palaiologos, and erroneously describes Kalligas as having written a 'History of Athens,' instead of 'Studies of Byzantine History.' He has a natural national prejudice for his countrymen, whose cruelties he, however, admits, and realises the ephemeral character of Catalan rule in Greece. His conclusion is justified by the whole course of Greek history under foreign domination, that 'the interpenetration of rulers and ruled is always difficult, especially when there exists between them the difference of

religion, of language and of culture.' The book is illustrated by eight maps and a frontispiece of Roger de Flor's entry into Constantinople from a picture in the Spanish Senate. It contains an interesting notice of Spanish and Catalan plays and poems on him.

W. M.

Ἑλληλογραφία Ἰ. Α. Καποδιστρία—Ι. Γ. Ἐϋνάρδου, 1826-1831. (Τεύχος Α').

Edited by SPYRIDON M. THEOTOKES. Pp. xl + 150. Athens: Sideres, 1929. 24 dr.

The keeper of the Archives of the Ionian Senate in Corfu has published the first part of the correspondence between Capo d'Istria and the Swiss banker and Philhellene, Eynard, with a biography of the latter and a summary of the whole collection of letters. Many deal with finance; but there is an interesting note by Capo d'Istria on the two interests, the islanders and the mainlanders, dividing Greece in 1826, on the scheme of the knights of Malta for restoring their power through Cochrane and the Greek insurrection, and on the abortive plan of sending English potatoes to be planted in Greek soil. There is mention of the news of Navarino; a letter of King Ludwig I. of Bavaria shows his love of Greece, and two of Eynard in 1828 recommend Gordon to the President. The volume, which forms the fifth of the *Library of History and Folklore*, ends with the return of Fabvier to Greece.

W. M.

Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Κύπρου ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας (1571-1878). By CHRYSOSTOMOS ΠΑΡΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Archbishop of Athens. Pp. 134. Athens, 1929.

The Archbishop of Athens, who had already published two treatises on the Church of Cyprus, has now supplemented Hackett's well-known work by a history of that Church during the Turkish period. After the lapse of more than three centuries under Latin rule, the Turks in 1572 restored the Orthodox Archbishopric, whose first occupant after their conquest was the Cypriote Timotheos, not (as stated by Calepio) a Serb, while the second was one of the Epirote Orsini, who had played so tragic a part in Frankish Greece. From 1672 to 1840 the Archbishops, of whom a list is given, fixed, as representatives of the Christians, the amount of each village's taxation; from of old their Church was autocephalous—for the attempt of the Patriarch of Antioch to subject it in 1598 failed; the Archbishop signed, and signs, in purple ink, and his *berat* forbade forcible conversions to Islām. The author describes the emigration of many Cypriotes, notably to Pola, among them the scholarly family of the Sozomenoi, and devotes a section to Cypriote scholars, especially Leontios Eustratios. The Church, owing partly to internal conflicts, partly to Turkish exactions, traversed a troublous period, but it produced scholars like the archimandrite Kyprianos, the historian of Cyprus, and martyrs like his namesake, who was hanged in 1821, and the three Metropolitans who were then beheaded, while other Archbishops tried to liberate Cyprus with the aid of the House of Savoy, the heir of Queen Charlotte. The Synod held at Nikosia against Calvinism in 1668, Ricaut's account of the island ten years later, the continual efforts to combat locusts by bringing the head of St. Michael Synadon from Athos and by disabusing the peasants of the idea that a dead locust produced a numerous offspring, and the allusions to the famous monastery of Kykkos, of which Ephraim of Athens was the historian, complete the story, and the author ends with the 'enthusiastic reception' of British rule by the Church. The book is a scholarly production such as might be expected from the historian of 'The Church of Greece' and 'The Church of Athens.'<sup>1</sup>

W. M.

Ὁ Μοροζίνης ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις. By IOANNES GENNADIUS. Pp. 36. Athens: Galenaki, 1929.

This little work is in the form of an essay, based on a manuscript relating to the Turco-Venetian wars written by Ioannes Benizelos, the great-grandfather of Dr. Gennadius, who

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* xlviii. 281.

has recently rediscovered it. The manuscript had previously been used by Christophoros Perraevos and published by him as his own work. The present monograph deals with the activities of Morosini in Greece from 1685 to 1688. Dr. Gennadius reminds us that these hostilities of the Venetians against the Turks followed on the Turkish defeat before Vienna in 1683 and the formation of the 'Sacred League.' Most attention is paid to Morosini's activities at Athens, which were in a sense due to the invitation of the Athenians themselves. They were disappointed in their hoped-for deliverer, who indeed proved a harsher task-master than the Turks. The siege of the Acropolis is described, and it is perfectly clear that Morosini knew the probable effects of his bombardment; at all events he showed no regrets, and his one desire was to carry off trophies to Venice. His situation soon became precarious, and he withdrew to Euboea, leaving Athens practically unprotected. He actually contemplated the complete destruction of the city.

The monograph presents Venetian rule in a very bad light, and indeed not much can be said in favour of the political morality of the mercantile Republic. Nevertheless, the flourishing state of Cretan literature under Venetian rule shows that their hegemony was not destructive of intellectual activity. Herein it stands in favourable contrast to that of the Turks.

A valuable bibliography of contemporary and other works dealing with this period (1685-1688) of Venetian activity is appended to the monograph.

F. H. M.

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**The Way of the Greeks.** By F. R. EARP. Pp. vii + 223. Oxford University Press, 1929.

The Greeks, or at least those of the Classical period, conceived, as Mr. Earp contends, that there was a right way of doing things. This book aims at expounding what that way was. It is written primarily for those who are not Greek scholars, to help them to understand how the average Greek looked at things. Most of the chapters are concerned with the Greek view of morality and religion, illustrated by their orators, poets, dramatists and historians. Chief emphasis is laid upon the power of tradition in moulding the Greek attitude. The author has a good knowledge of Greek literature and art, and for the scholar the book is valuable as a challenge not to rest content with accepted views. We fear, however, that, as Mr. Earp himself confesses, there is some danger of the work falling between two stools. The general reader may find it too unsystematic, the scholar not sufficiently detailed. As for its main theme, the power of tradition in Greek life may, we think, be largely explained (on the old view) by the narrow boundaries of the Greek city-state; that is why the old traditions collapsed under Hellenistic expansion. Small communities—witness our own colleges and public schools—are notoriously tenacious of tradition. The usefulness of so discursive a book would have been increased by the addition of an index.

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**A Greek-English Lexicon,** compiled by H. G. LIDDELL and ROBERT SCOTT. A New Edition revised and augmented by HENRY STUART JONES with the assistance of RODERICK MCKENZIE and with the co-operation of many scholars. Part III: διάλειμμα—ἐξευτελιστής. Part IV: ἐξευτονέω—θησαυριστικός. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927, 1929.

Das GEL ist nun schon bald halb fertig, und da es ein besonderes Verdienst seiner Organisatoren ist, beherzt zu haben, ὅσῳ πλέον ἡμῖν παντός, so kann man sie schon jetzt zu einem vollem Erfolge beglückwünschen. Immer selbstverständlicher wird die dauernde Befragung dieses Werkes nicht nur für den klassischen Philologen, sondern für all jene Humanisten, die sich bei der Lektüre griechischer Schriftsteller nicht auf die Übersetzung zu verlassen wünschen. Und wenn diese Humanisten, obwohl sie zur Zeit mit Übersetzungen überhäuft werden, nicht aussterben sollten, so werden sie das zu einem guten Teil diesem unvergleichlichen Werkzeug zu danken haben. Sie müssen sich freilich bewusst bleiben, dass sie sich auch auf die Wort-Übersetzungen des GEL nicht

verlassen dürfen; nicht als ob diese unsorgfältig wären, sondern weil sie in zahllosen Fällen nicht zuverlässig sein können, z.B., beim Wortschatz der hohen Poesie. Nur im organischen Zusammenhang des Textes wird der Sinn eines Wortes fühlbar: diesem Gefühl aber wird jede Übersetzung wehenlos. Das Wesentliche an dem Wörterbuch sind also nicht die Übersetzungen, sondern die Zitate, und ich möchte wiederholen, dass sich für dies Wesentliche durch Streichung einiger tausend überflüssiger Übersetzungen eine schöne Menge Raum gewinnen liesse.

Im Übrigen hat sich die Anlage bewährt. Was man am meisten vermisst, Kennzeichnung der durch die alphabetische Anordnung zerstörten bedeutsamen Zusammenhänge, wird wohl am besten nach Abschluss des Werkes in Form eines Index nachzutragen sein; Zusammenstellung der Komposita zu den einzelnen Simplicia, der Parallelförmigen, Derivationstypen, Eigennamen (soweit lexikalisch verwertbar), Synonyma, etc. Manches dieser Art wird schon jetzt angedeutet, etwas mehr könnte nicht schaden. Vollständigkeit jedoch wäre nicht einmal erwünscht, und sich über Inkonsistenzen zu beschweren unbillig.

Im Einzelnen ist die Sorgfalt nur gewachsen. Es wird nicht nur der unaufhaltsam neu zuströmende Stoff sofort verarbeitet, sondern auch der alte Bestand immer scharfer erfasst. Unter ἀπύλλω und δαυείζω war das von Lysias 10. 16 zitierte Solonische Gesetz noch als "Lys." geführt; bei δρασκάζω ἐπεγγυάω ἐπιρκέω steht schon deutlich "Lex (oder Sol.) ap. Lys." Gern hätte ich auch gesehen βούλιμος prov. ap. Plu. 2. 693 f., ἔκβιος vox in somnio audita ap. Art. 4. 32, ἐπιθυμόδειπνος Gabba seurra ap. Plu. 2. 726 a. Einige Sonderwünsche habe ich auch für das Prosodische. Bei den Feminina auf -ᾱ die Nebenformen auf -η haben, ist die byzantinische Überlieferung wenig glaubwürdig (vergl. Aristoph. V. 399, So. Ph. 482); Sicherheit giebt fast nur das Metrum. Es fehlen aber bei δῖψα, ζεύγλα, θέρμα die Angaben, welche Formen auf -ᾱ(ν) und welche auf -η(ν) durch das Metrum gesichert sind. Bei ἔχθρα ist die Messung -ᾱ Pallad. A.P. 11, 340 nachzutragen. Bei γρηύς war nicht die zweisilbige, sondern die einsilbige Messung als Ausnahme zu bezeichnen. εὐδοίαι Arat. 916 ist nicht 'metri gratia' so gemessen, vgl. ἐνδοίος.

In der Autorenliste fehlt der Athener Stratonikos, Zeitgenosse Platons, aus dessen Εὐτράπελοι λόγοι ausser dem Titel (der jedenfalls älter als Ephoros ist) ἀνώτερον und ἀπαυθημερίζειν zitiert werden konnten (Ath. 351a).

In den Addenda zu Part. III wird die Hesiodische ἄτριχος richtig (mit W. Morel) als 'Löwin' gedeutet. Aber das Wortspiel λέαινα—λεαίνω hat hier nichts zu suchen. Die 'Mähnenlose' gehört mit dem 'Knochenlosen' (ἀνόσπεος 'Polyp'), mit der ἰδρίς, der φερέοικος und der πέντοζος in eine hocharchaische Gattung ratselartiger Umschreibungen, zu der sich einmal ein Indogermanist aussern sollte. Fast stets erscheinen diese Bildungen in eigentümlichen Beschreibungen von Jahreszeiten, ähnlich wie in einer islandischen Saga der Sommer als 'Heidedorsches (= der Schlange) Freude' umschrieben wird (Sammlung 'Thule' VIII. 227).

Über δῆ αὖτε, δηῦτε = δεῦτε wird unter αὖτε ungenügende Auskunft gegeben. Das Material hat L. Weber, *Anacreontea* (1894) 41 gesammelt (hinzukommt jetzt Sa. α 11. 11 Lob.). Die Bedeutung ist merkwürdig abgeschwächt, sodass Weber zweifeln konnte, ob in δηῦτε = δεῦτε überhaupt ein αὖτε steckt. Aber ich finde keine andere Wurzel, und bei Anrufungen wie Pind. fr. 122. 14, Herond. 4. 11 (von den Übersetzern verkannt), Terp. 2 erscheinen δηῦτε und αὖτε gleichbedeutend. Das ist wichtig für Sapphos Gedicht an Aphrodite, wo die Göttin ein Gebet der Dichterin zu zitieren scheint.

ἀπηθέω: ἀφ- Thplur. *Lap.* 56 (cf. ἡθμός).—ἀποθλίβοντα (so heil überl.) Diph. 43. 30. 'auswringen' s. unten zu ἐνουρέω.—ἀποσχῆναι ἀπενεχθῆναι Suid. 3577.—ἀποσφῶω Pl. *Ep.* 336 b sehr fraglich (Wilamowitz).—ἀποτρέχειν 'in etwas auslaufen' Mesom. 1. P. 14. 63. 6.—ἄρα 1: A. *Ch.* 297, So. *OR* 822, Ar. *Ach.* 797.—ἄραρίσκω: ἄρηρε trans. Od. 5. 248 v.l., cf. Hes. *Op.* 431.—ἄργός 'weiss' So. *Tr.* 675 (eoni. Blaydes).—ἄρμα: δι' ἄρματος ἀσπράπτειν prov. ap. Str. 404.—ἀροτρίασμα Suid. 3989 s.v. ἄρομα.—ἀρτακτοὶ ὑμέναιοι Nic. *Fr.* 108.—ἄρρις Suid. 3875.—ἀρτοποιεῖω Ctes. ap. St. Byz. s. Δυρβαῖοι.—ἀσυρήs Herond. 4. 51.—ἀσχαλίδασμα Suid. 4300.—ἀτεγκτός Ar. *Th.* 1047 und ἀτήρης Hp. *Aer.* 24 (jetzt ἦτατα) zu streichen.—αὐλήτης so akzentuiert Choliamb. ap. Ps.-Call. v. 130 Knox.—αὔρα personifiziert *Ep. Phaeth.* III, 38.—Αὔσονιτις Lye. 44.—αὐτοματίζω 'Orakel geben,' Eid der Theraer Zeile I. Schol. Eur. *Andr.* 445, Epit. Ath. 31 b.—ἄχέω (B): μέγ' ἄχῆσεται *Trag. Adesp.* 237 sehr unsicher (μέγα χήσεται von χάσκω?).



βαθύκερως ἴσις Mesom. 2. 5.—βιάζω: βιῶνται μετὰ βίας εἰσελεύσονται Suid.—βούκρανος So. *Tr.* 13 v.l.—βούλευσις IG II, 811 b, 149.—βριζόμεντος Hsch. s. ἐνυπνιόμαντις.—βρύον: βρύα ποίης No. *D.* 41. 120.—βρωμήεις: —εις Hdn., wohl aus altem Iambus (vgl. ἡχέεις).—βώνυσοι: ἀποικοί, βουκόλοι Suid. 496.

γενή Leon. Tarent. *A.P.* 7. 422. 3 (coni. Wilamowitz).—γέρων: γέρον οἶσον Antim. 79 (coni. O. Schneider).—γγιγγίζειν: ἀπειλεῖν *A.B.* 88.—γοργύρα cf. Hsch. s. ἀρδάλιον.

δαερός: δαερὸν δ' ἐποχεύετο δαερῶ Emp. 90.—δειμός Chrys. ap. Gal. I, 378 Müll.—δελεαστάς Cere. 6. 5 Knox.—δέξιν δέχεσθαι E. *IA* 1182: cf. Pl. *Lg.* 761 d.—διαβρεχής Luc. *Trag.* 305 fraglich. cf. v.l. (διαβραχέις Zimmermann).—διανεύματα Ar. *Th.* 122 wahrscheinlicher als die Konjekture δινεύματα; dieselbe Konjekture X. *Eq.* 3. 11 ganz unwahrscheinlich.—δορίαλλος und δορύαλλος gehören zu Δόριλλος (cf. Ar. *Ec.* 97).—δορκάς 'Wurfel' Herond. 3. 63.—δοῦλος (B) cf. Hippon. 74.—δράσις: δρᾶσις Luc. *Trag.* 276 (so wohl der Archetypus).—δριλοπότης Schol. Inv. *Sat.* 2. 95.—δυσγρίπιτος (ebenso ἀγρίπιτος und γρίπιζειν) nicht Lib. und Bas., sondern Stageirios und Gregor von Nyssa (*ep.* 27, 1 Pasq.).—Δύστρος Anaxipp. (?) ap. Ath. 404 dv. 47 (coni.).

ἐγκαταράσσω zu streichen.—ἐγχειρογαστῶρ nicht Cleanth. sondern Anon. ap. Ath. 4 d.—εἴλη cf. Pi. *Fr.* 123.8.—εἰμί E 1: ἀριθμὸν εἶναι Pl. *Ep.* 337 c. (Hinweis einer Schülerin).—εἰναλινήχετος (-χυν- cod.) Emp. 117 v.l., cf. ἐνδιαερί . . νήχετος.—εἶπον imper. Call. *Del.* 1 (coni.).—εἰρεσία E. *Tr.* 570 vom Schlagen der Brust. cf. A. *Pe.* 1046. 1055.—ἐκδαίνουμαι Nie. *Fr.* 68.—ἐκδύγηρας = ὄφης Dosiad. 14 (coni. Salmas.).—ἐκθυσις Hsch. s. σεπτηρία.—ἐκκυνηγέσσω: cf. A. *Eu.* 231.—ἐκλευκος Thphr. *HP.* 6. 8. 3 (v.l. ap. Ath. 679 d), *Lap.* 37.—ἐκπάρθενος Schol. Ther. 2. 40.—ἐκπέσσω: ἐκπέπτω Ath. 83 f., cf. 81 b, Plu. 2. 683 d (bis).—ἐκτραπελόγαστρος: v.l. -γαστῶρ.—ἐκφυσις Simo *Eq.* 6.—ἐλεφαντόκωπος B. 18. 48 sicher ergänzt, cf. Long. 4. 21.—ἐλικῶπις So. *O.T.* 1108 (coni. Wilamowitz).—ἐναπολαμβάνω Hp. *Prog.* 11.—ἐς ἐνιαυτόν (gemessen υυ—υ) = ἐς νέωτα *Hymn. Id. Dact.* 3.—ἐνουρέω Diph. 43.29 (coni.).—ἐνυπνιόμαντις Semos ap. Ath. 335 a.—ἐξακεστήριος Sol.: vielmehr ἐξακεστήρ.—ἐπιγονή Androt. ap. Ath. 375 c.—ἐπταέτηρος und ἑυρραθάμιγξ No. *D.* 25. 3 und 33. 101 (Hinweis von W. Morel).—ἐπταμήκης zu streichen.—ἐρδω: ταῦτα μὲν κρατέειν . . ἔρεξα Sol. 24. 15 sqq. D. v.l.—ἐρίδια τρίβ(ω) Cerc. *Fr.* 13 Hunt.—ἐτός (B): nicht ἐτά, sondern ὡς ἐτά Call. *Fr. an.* 283, cf. ὡς ἐτόμως, ὡς ἐτητύμως.—ἐτμος: nicht ὡς ἐτμον, sondern ἐτμον *A.P.* 7. 352.—Εὐρωπαῖος Hp. *Aer.* 16. 23.—εὐφορος Schol. Ther. 11. 57.—ἐφαρμόζω: -ζειν, nicht -ζου der Epiker bei Clearch. 47 und Antig. *Mir.* 25 (-ζου ist Konjekture in der Epitome des Ath.).

ζάπεδον: h. *Cer.* 283 (coni.).—ζωή pl. Emp. 2. 3.—ζωμός: Ἀσιος ap. Ath. 125 d.—ἡγέομαι III, 4: ohne δεῖν ist die Bedeutung *think fit* nicht nachweisbar (*Inscr. Magn.* 114 geht ἀναγκαῖον voraus).—ἡχέεις cf. A. *Th.* 915 (Wilamowitz).—

θέλκαρ, nicht θέλκταρ.—θελκτώ: κολακευτική Phot. Suid.—θεμερός Pi. *N.* 7. 83 v.l.—θέμις: gen. θέμιτος Pl. *R.* 380 a.—θεριγενής No. *D.* 26. 229 nicht 'heiss,'—θην Cerc. 2. 15 Knox.—θηρόπεπλος Cerc. 10 zu streichen.

PAUL MAAS.

**New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature.** Second series; edited by J. U. POWELL and E. A. BARBER. Pp. viii + 232. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. 15s.

It is no small praise to say that this book maintains the standard set by the first series of 'new chapters,' which appeared in 1922. Anyone interested in Greek literature, even in the mildest way, will find it fascinating reading; and very few, if any, are so versed in the subject that they can afford to neglect such accurate information so attractively presented. It covers works literary, scientific and even quasi-illiterate, in verse and in prose, of all manner of dates from about 350 B.C.—a few pieces are or may be earlier—to Christian times: and despite its brevity, it contrives not to be serappy nor dry.

The lion's share of the work seems to have been allotted to Mr. Powell, who has written chapters on later epic (with an appendix on Hesiodic poetry), epigrams, lyric verse, and some minor prose items. Mr. Barber begins the book with a brief but good discussion of the recent Kallimachean finds. Prof. Murray has a sympathetic chapter on Menander, in whom he finds a vein of sentimentality the existence of which the reviewer doubts.

The author seems to assume that various gnomie passages represent Menander's own opinions on life, and he is a little apt to make texts mean what he would have them mean, and not what their authors probably intended.<sup>1</sup> Historical fragments are in the capable hands of E. M. Walker and G. C. Richards; philosophy, as represented by 'διάλογος, διατριβή, μελέτη,' is expounded by W. M. Edwards; a glimpse is given of the fascinations of papyrology by C. C. Edgar and C. J. Ellingham, though surely the latter is but slaying the slain when he says (p. 140), 'Perhaps an expanding knowledge of the Κοινή will help us to revise our estimate of the New Testament writers as men trying to use a language which they imperfectly understood.' Who, nowadays, makes any such estimate of the style of St. Paul or the *auctor ad Hebraeos*? But things like this, or like the recurrence (pp. 198 and 202) of those venerable phantoms, the multiple authorship of Homer and the 'mother-right' of the Lokrians, are trifling flaws.

Two especially noteworthy articles by men who have mastered branches of learning not known to the generality are the exposition by Prof. Mountford of the light thrown on ancient music by the recent finds and the discussion by the Rev. E. P. Rice of the alleged occurrence of Kanarese in the farce (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* No. 413). The reviewer is incompetent to criticise either in detail, but is certainly not alone in his gratitude towards these experts for making clear and interesting what could so easily be made dull and unintelligible.

H. J. R.

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**Δεισιδαιμονία: A Contribution to the Knowledge of Religious Terminology in Greek.** By P. J. KOETS. Pp. xii + 110. Purmurend: J. Muusses, 1929. 1 dollar.

This is a doctoral dissertation, rather above the general level of such things and bearing testimony to its author's thoroughness and critical powers as well as his diligence. He sets out with the intention of discovering, from the usage of Greek authors of various dates, exactly what δεισιδαιμονία means and what changes in meaning it undergoes, not only in different periods, but with different writers. Incidentally, he modestly hopes that his semantic investigation may be of some use for the study of Greek religion. The result of his labours, which he sets forth in good English with a few small slips in idiom, is in the reviewer's opinion the accomplishment of his double object. We have now, thanks to him, a really clear exposition of this difficult word and a good account of certain fluctuations of opinion among educated Greeks and also among the writers contemporary with the development of Christianity.

The word δεισιδαιμων, he finds, has originally no derogatory meaning whatsoever, any more than the rarer δεισέθεος to which it is practically equivalent. It merely signifies one who feels fear or awe of superhuman powers, and the attempts which have been made to differentiate the feeling it expresses either from fear or awe of (worthier) gods or from a more trusting attitude towards the supernatural either are fanciful or hold good only for particular authors or classes of authors. From about the time of Theophrastos, that is (see p. 60), within a century of its first certain appearance in Attic, it acquired an uncomplimentary sense, as applied to one who feels, not awe or reverence, but unmanly and irrational dread of the supernatural. But outside of Christian usage, it could still have a good sense (pious, god-fearing, tender of conscience) as late as the third century A.D. What exact sense it was to have depended largely on the general attitude of the writer using the word towards religious belief. One might compare, though Dr. Koets does not,

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<sup>1</sup> On p. 14, n. 1, he remarks 'The biography of Menander in Suidas describes him as "madly devoted to women"; he seems at any rate in a sort of intellectual championship of women to have taken on the heritage of Euripides.' What Suidas says, apparently adapting a comic trimeter, is that Menander was δξύς τε τῶν νοῦν καὶ περὶ γυναῖκος ἐκμανέστατος, keen of wit but most sharp-set after a pretty woman. There is nothing here to suggest feminism. The insistence (p. 15 and elsewhere) on the exposed child having been originally a 'year-baby' seems out of place; whatever its origin, the motif had long passed into *marchen* when Menander wrote.

the very different implications of the word 'faith' in the Book of Common Prayer and in Shelley.

In Christian writers (but not in the N.T.) it gets for the first time the meaning of 'fear of evil powers,' because they use the word δαίμων itself in none but a bad sense. Hence it is that such phrases as ἄθεος δεισιδαιμονία occur in them, to signify a mistaken awe of devils supposed to be gods, arising from ignorance or neglect of the true God. To Plutarch the phrase would have been self-contradictory, since the two words in his vocabulary express respectively the defect and the excess of religious feeling.

As a matter of translation, Dr. Koets thinks 'superstition' a poor rendering for δεισιδαιμονία in its bad sense, and suggests rather 'exaggerated piety, bigotry'; in Dutch, *bigotterie, kwezelachtigheid*.

It is to be hoped that this writer, now that he has found his way into print, will give us more.

H. J. R.

**Eschyle: Études sur l'Invention Dramatique dans son Théâtre.** Par MAURICE CROISSET. Pp. viii + 277. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1928.

Any account now written about Aeschylus must necessarily to a large extent be a restatement of what has been said before. It is therefore no condemnation of M. Croiset's book to say that it is commendable more for its style than for its new contributions to knowledge. The author does, it is true, make a few original suggestions, but they do not amount to much, and the value of his book lies not so much in these as in the fact that it sets out anew and with typical French charm and lucidity the history of Aeschylus as a tragedian and the inferences which may be drawn from his work.

After two introductory chapters (*L'Adaptation Dramatique des Légendes* and *Eschyle et son Public*) M. Croiset turns to the extant tragedies, taking them in chronological order and treating each in detail. Fully realising the importance of the connected trilogy as a factor in Aeschylean drama, he also attempts to reconstruct in outline the plots of such tragedies as are known to have been parts of trilogies of which we now only possess single plays in a complete form. He naturally admits the uncertainty of his theories, but he works on principles deduced from the characteristics observable in the poet's extant work. 'Un seul événement par tragédie, telle est pour lui la règle' (p. 269). The problem is to discover the crisis in the lost tragedies and then, still basing his theory on the extant plays and the extant trilogy, to suggest the way in which it was probably led up to and dealt with. The logic with which M. Croiset follows up his principles is praiseworthy, but do the principles rest on incontestable evidence? It seems to be doubtful whether on the grounds of only seven plays, even though they can be more or less comfortably fitted into his frame, it is fair to assume that he can tell or even guess how one of the world's most inventive poets would have dealt with a given situation.

But this is not the most important part of the book. M. Croiset is in the main concerned with what is extant, and since this represents the early, middle and last part of the poet's career, he feels that he is justified in tracing a definite course of development in his work. His results are not startling, but to reach them he has given masterly summaries of the plots and has analysed the main features of each of the extant tragedies and, what is important in a work of this nature, he has written a book which it is a real pleasure to read.

R. M. R.

**Greek Lyric Metre.** By GEORGE THOMPSON. Pp. ix + 164. Cambridge University Press, 1929. 12s. 6d.

This book starts with the discovery of the late Walter Headlam, which he unfortunately did not live to work out, that the subtle transitions from rhythm to rhythm in Greek lyric are, though puzzling at first sight, not only beautiful and in accordance with rhythmical law, but also highly significant. Certain rhythms are found to be closely associated with certain ideas. It is the development of this theory, as applied to Pindar's intricate odes, and the carefully constructed choruses of the dramatists, that is the subject of this book.

No real understanding of Greek lyric is possible without a clear perception of the fact that it was an amalgam of words, music, and dancing, in that order of importance. Unluckily we have only the words left to us, and from them we have, as best we can, to build up the rhythm and guess at the musical accompaniment. We are, however, in a better position to do this, since with the Greeks the music was the subordinate, not as with us the dominant, partner, and its whole function was to bring out the full meaning and mood of the writer's words. He was the 'composer' of the song, not the musician. When the same person was 'poet and musician too,' the effectiveness of the union was much enhanced. But even in ancient times there were not wanting signs of the encroachment of music on the domain of poetry, as we see from the parody of Pratinas with its voluble patter of forty or fifty short syllables and a sprinkling of only three or four longs, when he laughs at innovations in the hyporeheme.

Rhythmical composition consists of feet, figures (bars, in music), phrases, sentences, and strophes, and its beauty can be adequately represented only through the ear, but unfortunately we have lost this key to its interpretation in the loss of the accompanying melody. All that can be done in the way of a paper analysis has been done by the author, as in his masterly chapters on Pindar's *First Olympian* and the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, technical indeed, but bringing out with surprising vividness the art displayed in such sentences as

ὥστε χθόνα βάκτροις ἐπικρούσαντας Ἀτρεΐδας  
δάκρυ μὴ κατασχεῖν,

in the sacrifice of Iphigenia, or that tremendous description of the murder of Agamemnon.

The various musical 'modes' of the Greeks are well analysed, so as to bring out the significance of the emotional change from one to the other, for the Greeks made much of the ἦθος of their modes. The Dorian was the Greek mode κατ' ἔξοχόν, manly, solemn, dignified, restrained; the Ionian had something soft, and smooth, and convivial in it, something not quite Greek, while the Lydian was voluptuous, and the Phrygian exciting. The distinction between rhythm and mode was partly ethical. Out of all this there grew up an elaborate convention of 'significant' music, and the aim of the present work is to draw out this significance. The metre of Greek lyric depends on the sense of the words and can be gathered from it.

This book throws much light upon the technique of choral and dramatic lyric, and as to the latter we learn that, to appreciate fully the choral element in the plays of Aeschylus, we must regard each ode not as a single unit, but as part of a larger musical design, which runs parallel with the plot of the play and adapts itself to it. The *Oresteia* is a musical and dramatic whole, just as much as Wagner's great Tetralogy. To grasp this fact is as great a gain towards the full appreciation of Aeschylus as in the parallel case of Shakespeare is the recent discovery that the Songs in his plays are not isolated ornaments introduced here and there, but that they take an essential part in the development of the drama.

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The Odes of Bacchylides in English Verse. By ARTHUR S. WAY. Pp. vii + 63.  
London: Macmillan & Co., 1929. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Way's previous triumphs in the field of translation made us approach this new version by his master hand with pleasant anticipations. But these have not been fully realised. There are two minor blemishes which run through the whole work, and jar the reader. One is the inordinate use of double-barrelled words, both adjectives and substantives. The laudable intention was no doubt to avoid paraphrase in rendering the brevity of Greek compounds, such as μέγετυπος, a word only found here. It is a pregnant word, difficult to reproduce shortly, but 'battle-bider' is not even literal, it is certainly uncouth. Such words in double harness, as this, are exceedingly numerous. Sometimes seven are found in a page. There is little to be said for many of these, e.g. splendour-tressed, queenly-necked, terror-kneeling, sunbeam-light, Titan-walled, Bacchanal-kindler and utter-fearless, made to rhyme with battle-peerless. Some of these hyphenated adjectives read all the more awkwardly by being put after their substantives, in some cases quite needlessly.

Inversions are a fatal device to be avoided by all good translators—what is the advantage of writing 'Mother is Peace to mortal men of wealth's abundant store' instead of 'Peace is Mother'? A second fault is, and it is surprising to find it in such an adept as Mr. Way, that his dactyls and anapaests, of which he is so fond, do not read smoothly. Let any one try to read these lines aloud and he will find that they do not in many cases read themselves.

Some unnecessary freedom is taken with the original in the way of expansions and interpolations. For instance, in the splendid Theseus ode the words 'Full height he sprang' (line 15), though itself a graphic touch, is not in Bacchylides, nor is 'base-born churl' which follows immediately. Nor is this latter interpolation a happy one. For the simple phrase ποτανίαν μῆτιν ὕφαινε in the same poem, which merely means 'he wove a new or strange device,' we get the clumsy and uncalled-for, 'A web, whose warp and woof held life's perdition, He wove.' It is not easy to see from where the translator got 'the sea's white-blossomed mead' for πόντιον θελημόν ἄλσος, which seems literally to mean 'Ocean's kindly domain.'

But that we may not seem to find nothing but faults, let it be said that the translation taken as a whole is adequate with many fine lines and graceful turns. A short specimen, from 'Theseus' again, will show this:

'And so he passed  
Into the palace halls where Gods abode,  
And there with trembling awe he looked upon  
Blest Nereus' glorious daughters. Far and wide  
Flame-like a splendour from their bright limbs shone,  
And, twined about the glory of their hair,  
Did fillets golden-braided gleam and glance.'

Yet even here the *Did* gives the line a stilted sound. The inversion of 'golden-braided,' however, may in this case have some justification.

**Grekisk lyrik.** By E. ZILLIACUS. Pp. 281. Helsingfors: H. Schild, 1928.

A detailed study of Archilochus, Elegists, Tyrtaeus, Theognis, Alcæus, Sappho, Anacreon and a chapter on epitaphs or epigrams on the dead. Apart from the last item, which covers a wide field, attention is chiefly concentrated on Sappho, who has twice as much space allotted to her as to any of the others. There is in particular a full discussion of the question as to her moral character. Since Weleker's defence of her, the opinion has gained ground more and more that it is impossible to reconcile the mutually destructive charges brought against her with the facts of her life as they are known to us.

**Studien zur Geschichte der antiken Traumdeutung.** By S. LURIA. Pp. 60. Leningrad: Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S., 1928.

This is a collection of papers on various special points in the history of Dream-interpretation in antiquity. The greater part of the work is occupied with 'Quellenforschung,' connecting the work of Artemidorus with the treatise ascribed to Antiphon, whom the author is inclined to identify with the sophist. One paper, the longest, is of more general interest and deals with the history of the two classes of divination recognised by the ancients, 'naturalis' and 'artificiosa.'

**Euripides bei den deutschen Dramatikern des 18ten Jahrhunderts.**  
By O. FRANKE. Pp. 192. Leipsic: Dieterich, 1929. 6.50 M.

While offering much interesting criticism of Euripides, this study is primarily concerned with the history of German drama and literary criticism in the eighteenth century. As Goethe alone from that period is familiar in this country, with Lessing and Schiller to a lesser degree, this history cannot expect to attract any but the specialist outside Germany. But it is

certainly as surprising as it is interesting to realise how continuously and satisfactorily the influence of Euripides was at work in Germany, where, as the author points out, the rule of Horace was early discarded for that of Aristotle. This essay forces one to wonder what might have been the result had English poets learned from Milton, as these Germans did (so Dr. Franke maintains) from Racine, to emulate 'the tragic poets unequalled yet by any.'

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**Platonism.** By J. BURNET. Pp. 130. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1928.

This essay is not so much a handbook to Platonism, as a balancing of the respective values of the teaching of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Burnet sets out briefly and clearly the results of his lifelong sifting of the Socratic and the Platonic material in the dialogues, and goes on to detail Plato's original contributions to philosophy and science after he had outgrown Socrates' direct influence; and finally discusses Aristotle's 'interruption' of Plato's work. The first part of the book is the more convincing. Here Burnet has marshalled all the results of his researches in the Socratic teaching; and his general outline of the 'Socratic' dialogues, of Plato's relation to Socrates, with the suggested motives for the composition and curious 'historical' dating of the dialogues into the Periclean age, and above all his ascription of the Theory of Ideas to Socrates seem beyond attack. His reading of the history of Plato and Dionysius though plausible is less secure. This is followed by an admirable though possibly exaggerated defence and eulogy of the *Laws*: 'the key to most things that have happened since.' But how far Burnet is correct in his subsequent contention that Plato was a scientist of far greater intuition than Aristotle, and that he forestalled—if only in theory—many Alexandrine discoveries, could only well be decided after a study of Plato deep as Burnet's own. And is it true that Plato 'is the real originator of our modern civilisation, even in those matters which seem to have come to us in the West from Rome and to eastern peoples from Macedon'?

W. R. L.

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**Poems.** By A. W. MAIR. Pp. 99. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1929. 5s.

Professor Grierson claims for these verses, in his prefatory memoir of the author, a great and sensitive Grecian tragically and too early dead, that they have 'none of the starched classicality of the poetry of good composers in Greek and Latin.' All the same, Mair's best verses are the translations from Catullus, from Horace, from the Anthology whether in literary English or in Scots. At the end are collected a few of his lovely translations into Greek, too diffuse by Walter Headlam's canons, but graceful and wholly natural. The elegiac version of 'O waly waly'—αἰλινον εἰπέ, καλὸς γὰρ ἔρωος νεοσίγαλός ἐστιν—is perhaps the best, in spite of the antithesis of Hymettus and Hymenaeus which Mair brings in. It is to be hoped that the editor's suggestion may bear fruit and that some 'classical scholar will collect and print Mair's Greek verses and some of his beautiful prose compositions.'

W. R. L.

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**Pvblīi Ovidīi Nasonis Fastorvm Libri Sex.** Edited with a translation and commentary by SIR JAMES GEORGE FRAZER. 5 vols. London: Macmillan & Co., 1929.

All classical students—Greek as well as Roman—will welcome the appearance of Sir James Frazer's latest contribution to the study of ancient folk-lore and myth. The subject-matter is, of course, mainly Roman and a full review will therefore appear in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, but the Greek student is certain to find here much that will help his studies. The first volume contains preface, text and translation, the second to fourth the commentary, the fifth indexes and illustrations. The *Fasti* is a subject that might have been made for Sir James Frazer, and provides ample scope for the method which has made the *Golden Bough* famous. To appraise the merits or weigh up the defects of that method

would be an impertinence in a short review. It is enough to assure readers that the hand of the master has not lost its cunning, and to refer them to the book itself.

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L'ordre des mots dans le texte grec et dans les versions gotique arménienne et vieux slave des évangiles. Première partie : les groupes nominaux. By GEORGES CUENDET. Paris : Champion (Collection linguistique, xxvi), 1929.

In translating from one language to another the choice of the right word-order is a constant difficulty. This is especially true of translation from an inflected language into one in which the meaning is largely dependent on the order of the words. In translating from Greek into Gothic, Armenian or Old Slavonic the latter difficulty does not arise, since all three are highly inflected. The translators were thus able to preserve the Greek order of the words much more closely than our English translators, and M. Cuendet's work shows that they made great efforts to do so, partly no doubt because of the reverence with which they regarded their original. But it is when the translations diverge from the Greek order that M. Cuendet finds the comparisons most instructive. For when the translators depart from the original order of words, it is because the habits of their own language in each case demand it. Thus light is often thrown on the syntax of Gothic, Old Slavonic and Armenian. But in the case of Gothic, and to a large extent O.Sl. also, our direct knowledge of the language is due to the N.T. translations. Hence such facts as emerge about Gothic syntax M. Cuendet seeks to confirm by comparison with Old Icelandic and O.H.G. But Ulfilas' version often must owe its order of words to the Greek, as M. Cuendet has shown, and it seems not improbable that Gothic idiom was influenced by the translators of the N.T. just as English has been. Other Gothic texts, if we had them, might show. Here M. Cuendet might again have used O.H.G. and O.Icel., this time to show us where Ulfilas agrees with the Greek order and apparently departs from the normal Germanic order. To this, the other side of a little known picture, it is to be hoped that M. Cuendet will apply his careful and exact method.

T. A. S.

Clara Rhodos. *Studi e Materiali pubblicati a cura dell' Istituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi*. Vol. I. Rhodes, 1928.

This is the first volume of a periodical published, as its title proclaims, by the newly-founded Institute of History and Archaeology of Rhodes: but it does not promise to initiate a frequent or regular series. This volume was prepared for presentation to last year's International Congress in Rhodes, and contains a general account, by the first two Directors, Drs. Maiuri and Jacopich, of the activities of the Italian Service of Archaeology in the Dodecanese from the beginning of the occupation in 1912 till 1927. Many of the reports which it presents are summaries of accounts which have already been given in *Annuario* of the Italian School at Athens, *Notiziario* of the Ministry for the Colonies, or elsewhere; references are given to previous publications, and it is convenient to have the material put together in this well-illustrated form. Most notable is the report by Dr. Maiuri of the work that has been done by the Italian civil and military authorities in stripping the Turkish accretions from the fortifications and buildings of the Knights, and in restoring these magnificent monuments to their original form.

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Zur relativen Chronologie der Parallelbiographien Plutarchs. By C. STOLTZ. Pp. 135. Lund : Ohlsson, 1929.

The Lives contain a considerable number of cross-references, which would seem to establish a relative chronology. They may, however, be used for this purpose only on condition that we convince ourselves that they are the work of Plutarch and not that of his readers. In this detailed investigation of their authenticity Mr. Stoltz comes to the conclusion that they are in the main genuine.

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**The Rhesus of Euripides.** Ed. W. H. PORTER. Second edition. Pp. lviii + 97. Cambridge University Press, 1929.

For this edition much of the Introduction has been rewritten. Account is taken of the recent articles of Ridgeway and Dr. Pearson, and a new theory of the authorship of the play is advanced. No changes have been made in text and commentary, but four pages of *addenda et corrigenda* are included.

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**The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilisation.** By G. H. BEARDSLEY. Pp. xii + 143, with 24 illustrations. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press; London: Humphrey Milford; 1929. 16s.

The references to the negro in Greek and Roman literature are few and vague, but his representations in art—chiefly in small objects (gems, coins, etc.)—are very copious. Miss Beardsley has studied these with illuminating results, and the value of her book is enhanced by an interesting series of photographs.

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**Platon: Verteidigungsrede des Sokrates, Kriton.** Edd. CRON, UHLE, STRUCK. Pp. vi + 132. Leipzig: Teubner, 1929. 7.80 M.

A free revision of the well-known school edition of Cron and Uhle. The introduction is entirely new, and may be recommended as a sane and stimulating essay, well calculated to introduce the young student to Plato. Teachers will note with satisfaction that there is a list of divergencies from the text of Burnet.

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**De Athenaei Deipnosophistarum epitomae codicibus Erbacensi, Laurentiano, Parisino.** Scripsit C. ALDICK. Pp. 74 and 3 plates. Münster: Aschendorff, 1928.

This treatise introduces a new MS. (Erbacensis) of the Epitome, and discusses its relation with Laur. Gr. LX. 2, incidentally correcting in many places Kaibel's reports of the readings of the latter MS. An index of some 1700 citations by Eustathius of the Epitome is included.

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**Choricii Gazaei Opera.** Edd. R. FOERSTER, E. RICHSTEIG. Pp. xxxvi + 576. Leipzig: Teubner, 1929. 28 M.

This posthumous work of the editor of Libanius was left almost complete at his death, and has been prepared for the press with great care by Mr. Richsteig. The rhetorician of the reign of Justinian is thus presented to the world in an edition which thoroughly meets the demands of modern critical scholarship. (A critical review will be found in *B.Z.* XXIX. 39-40.)

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**Hésiode: Théogonie; Les Travaux et les Jours; Le Bouclier.** Texte établi et traduit par PAUL MAZON. Pp. xxx + 150 leaves. Paris: Association Guillaume Budé, 1928. 30 fr.

M. Mazon's edition of Hesiod contains the *Theogony*, the *Works and Days* and the *Shield*, following the example, as he points out, of the ancient edition from which our MSS. are derived. That the contents of the papyrus editions were the same is shown by the existing fragments in two cases. The remains of lost works attributed to Hesiod are to be published in a separate volume of *Epic Fragments* in the Budé series.

The principles upon which M. Mazon has constructed his text he enunciates as follows:—*'nous devons . . . constituer un texte éclectique, fondé avant tout sur notre tradition manuscrite, mais où nous ferons place aux variantes dues aux papyrus et à la*



tradition indirecte qui nous paraîtront nettement supérieures aux leçons de notre texte de base.' The materials at our disposal may be briefly enumerated as follows. From a study of our MSS. we can construe the text of the archetype from which, with one fragmentary exception, they all derive. This archetype ultimately represents an edition of the Imperial epoch, and glimpses of other texts dating from the first to the fifth century A.D. are afforded by the papyri and the tradition of the fragmentary MS. already referred to. All these sources and citations later than the third century B.C. give us a text influenced by Alexandrian criticism. Citations earlier than this date represent a pre-Alexandrian text. Accordingly, M. Mazon cites by name the writers earlier than the third century B.C. who quote lines from Hesiod, while referring to the later ones under the general title of 'testis' or 'testes.' He makes an exception, however, in the case of Plutarch in view of his intrinsic importance. That the papyri do not always supply a better text than that of our MSS. may be seen from the four lines which appear in the Geneva papyrus after line 169 of the *Works* which refer to a post-Hesiodic legend.

Brief but excellent introductions to the book as a whole and to each of the poems set forth the editor's views on critical questions. The treatment of the *Theogony* is the most drastic. Lines 687-713 are rejected, owing to their reference to the victory of Zeus as due to the thunderbolt, and lines 736-819 are regarded as successive expansions upon the theme of the underworld: 'Les images se heurtent violemment: il ne s'agit plus du même Tartare, mais de toute une série d' "Enfers" différents.' In like manner from internal contradictions with the Titanomachy, M. Mazon rejects lines 820-880. Thus line 881. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥα πόνον κ.τ.λ., should follow immediately upon 735, and the battle with the Titans forms a consistent narrative concluding with the elevation of Zeus as sovereign of the world. M. Mazon regards the couplet 963-964, ὑμεῖς μὲν νῦν χαίρετ' κ.τ.λ., as a formula of conclusion to the whole poem, and considers that what follows is an interpolated catalogue of heroes born from the love of a goddess and a mortal. In the result the poem is very much neater—possibly neater than Hesiod left it!

The *Shield* M. Mazon regards as a spurious work, possibly by a Theban poet. The rendering is admirably clear and the edition as a whole is a workmanlike one and a useful addition to the Budé series. For the sake of future impressions the following misprints may be noted: p. xxi (headline) *introductio*; *Theog.* l. 907, παλλιπαρήους; p. 80 (foot-note) *intrusio* (for *intrusion*).

**Anthologie grecque. Première Partie. Anthologie Palatine. Tome I.** Livres i-iv. **Tome II, Livre V.** Ed. P. WALTZ. Pp. lxxvii + 208 + 274.

**Isocrate. Tome I.** Edd. G. MATHIEU, E. BRÉMOND. Pp. xxxix + 201. Paris: Association Guillaume Bude, 1928.

Both these editions well maintain the standard of comprehensiveness characteristic of the Budé series. The introduction to the Anthology is especially full, and deals with the origin and development of the epigram, the composition of the Anthology, and the history of the text-tradition. Isocrates is given an introduction which estimates his influence both on the history of ideas and on that of prose-style, and is edited with the help of a photograph of the Urbina. For a future edition the editors might make up their minds about the date of the Seaphusianus (cf. p. xxiii with p. xxxix).

**The Greek Sceptics.** By M. M. PATRICK. Pp. xxi + 339. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1929. £1 2s. 6d.

A comprehensive history of Greek scepticism in English was wanted, and this book is careful and sober, though it might, one fears, with equal justice be termed jejune and lacking in penetration. It may be considered unfortunate that the author is unaware that a new edition of her chief authority is in process of publication; if an opportunity occurs, the following entry, might be added to the Bibliography: 'Sextus Empiricus. Mutschmann, Lipsiae, 1912—.'

**Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography to 527 A.D.** By L. DINEEN. Pp. xiii + 115. Washington: Catholic University of America. 1929. \$3.00.

This study comprises titles, substantival and adjectival, found in Christian letters from the Epistles of the N.T. to Gennadius and Dionysius the Arcopagite. Some account is also taken for purposes of comparison of contemporary pagan writers. Though intended primarily as a contribution to lexicography, it will be found suggestive to the historian by the light which it throws upon the social etiquette of the times.

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**Aeschylus: Agamemnon.** Translated by E. ZILLIACUS. Pp. 146. Helsingfors: Schilot, 1929.

A translation into Danish verse, preceded by a brief introduction on the story of the Oresteia and the occasion of its production.

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**Some Greek Love-Poems.** Gathered and Translated by J. M. EDMONDS. Pp. xi + 94. London: Peter Davies, 1929. £2 10s.

The whole range of Greek love-poetry, apart from Sappho and Alcaeus, is covered in this anthology, which is printed on hand-made paper with the beautiful Greek type introduced in Mr. Edmonds' *Sappho Revocata*. Two decorations by Vera Willoughby add to the charm of this beautiful volume.

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**Platons Verhältnis zur Mathematik.** By S. DERNEL. Pp. 146. Leipzig: Meiner, 1929. 6 M.

The historical development of Plato's attitude towards mathematics from the apathy or even aversion which he derived from Socrates to that realisation of their paramount importance which finds expression in the motto of the Academy is treated as a preparation for a detailed discussion of the part played by mathematics in the evolution of Plato's metaphysical doctrine.

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**On Alexander's Track to the Indus.** By SIR AUREL STEIN. Pp. xvi + 182; 97 plates and 2 maps. London: Macmillan, 1929. £1 1s.

This narrative of a voyage of exploration among the tribes of the Indian N.-W. Frontier would be of great interest and charm even without the additional attraction which derives from the fact that the author made it his object to follow the track of Alexander so far as it is at present accessible outside Afghanistan. A word of praise is due to the illustrations, which are both apposite and well produced.

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**Plotins Leben.** By HANS OFFERMANN. Pp. 60. Heidelberg: Winter, 1929. 4 M.

This study is divided into two parts. The first part is designed to show that the account of Plotinus' fatal illness in *Firmicus Maternus* (Math. I, 7, 14) is independent of Porphyry, and founded upon an otherwise unknown Life, prefixed (it is supposed) by Eustochius to his edition of the master's works. In the second part it is argued that the chronology in Porphyry's Life is based on the Egyptian reckoning by which the year began on August 29.

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**Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Mathematik.** Abt. B. Studien. I, 1. Herausgegeben von O. NEUGEBAUER, J. STENZEL, O. TOEPLITZ. Pp. 112. Berlin: Springer, 1929. 12 M.

An excellent beginning of a new series of texts and studies is made by this volume, which contains among other articles the following three on Greek mathematics: Toeplitz, 'Das Verhältnis von Mathematik und Ideenlehre bei Plato'; Stenzel, 'Zur Theorie des Logos bei Aristoteles'; Sohnsen, 'Platos Einfluss auf die Bildung der mathematischen Methode.'

**Art and Civilisation:** essays arranged and edited by F. S. MARVIN and A. F. CLUTTON-BROCK. Pp. 263; 22 plates. London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1928. 12s. 6d.

Two chapters, comprising fifty pages, are allotted to Mr. Michael Holroyd in which to describe the influence of civilisation upon art in the Greek and Roman world. The result is inevitably sketchy, but if we are allowed only the briefest glance at the masterpieces of Phidias and Praxiteles, the author's comments are almost always acute and revealing.

**La Rêve Hellénique chez les Poètes Parnassiens.** Par F. DESONAY. Pp. 429. Paris: Champion, 1928.

The influence of Hellenism on the French poetry of the second half of the nineteenth century is studied in the works of Louis Ménard, Leconte de Lisle, Anatole France and José-Maria de Hérédia.

**Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Antiques in the possession of the Right Honourable Lord Melchett, P.C., D.Sc., F.R.S., at Melchet Court and 35, Lowndes Square.** By EUGÉNIE STRONG. Pp. 55; 42 plates and 23 illustrations in the text. Oxford University Press, 1928.

The Melchett collection is not large, but so mixed that although formed recently it has just the same aspect as the gallery of an eighteenth-century English nobleman. Things like the Hercules No. 34, the Pan No. 19, the pair of Lucanian hydriai, have little interest in themselves, but fall into their places as soon as one realises the principle on which the collection has been formed. But there are good and important pieces as well, among them the Hope Hygieia; and some nice portrait-heads and small torsos. The book is well printed, and beautifully illustrated in collotype from Mr. Ashmole's photographs; and Mrs. Strong figures, in addition to the things in Melchet, a number of well-chosen parallels from other collections. One or two marbles have been cleaned and remounted; but in general, restorations have been allowed to remain. This is not the taste of the authoress, who deplors it in more than one passage; but it is *more majorem*, and helps to complete the deceptive resemblance to a time-honoured collection of antiques.

The descriptions are written, for the most part, as one would expect, with care and skill. Every collection presents problems, and there are one or two omissions, and places where the solution proposed admits of doubt.

It is hard to believe that the bronze No. 1, with the empty formalism of its drapery and its air of a primo tenore making his entrance, is an Apollo contemporary with the Choiseul and him of Olympia. It must surely be archaistic. The drapery is like that of the archaistic Dionysos No. 2; and the deadness of the zigzag folds that fall from the left shoulder is familiar to us from archaistic or archaising statues like the Dionysos in Villa Albani (BB. Pl. 652), the Doria Dionysos (EA. 2282), the Fundilia from Nemi (Wallis, frontispiece) and its companion in Cartagena (*Materiales de arqueología española*, fig. 5).

No. 3 (replica, nullified by the restorer, of the 'Phidias' head of Aphrodite in Naples, BB. 576). We miss the list of replicas or the reference to such a list, which we expect in a full-dress catalogue (Arndt in BB. 576). Mrs. Strong toys with the old theory that

this head represents Sappho, but has not been able to find a good argument. (1) That we have twenty or more replicas of the head, but as yet no hody to match, does not speak for Sappho: we have about as many replicas of the bearded head in the Lateran (E.A. 2169) and no hody, but that does not show it to be Alcaeus. Besides, the Riccardi replica of the Aphrodite, as Arndt points out, probably comes from a statue. (2) Parted lips would suit Aphrodite as well as they would suit a poetess, and are naturally not confined to Aphrodite: Ny-Carlsberg 101 has parted lips, and is Athena; the Cassel Apollo has parted lips. (3) The head has nothing in common with the Anacreon, has it? and has the Anacreon anything Pheidian?

No. 4 is the Hope Hygieia,

‘with two pitch hals stucke in her face for eyes.’

Here Mrs. Strong has been able to use Ashmole's admirable study in *B.S.R.* 10: but although she quotes older datings and placings of the original, she does not quote his comparison with the Eirene and other works of the same time.

The object in the left hand of the original was neither jug nor patera (p. 8)—if we are to believe the evidence of copies in which the left hand is preserved—but a small pyxis, a cylindrical box.

No. 6 is a fourth-century relief with interesting figures of Asklepios and Hygieia. The Asklepios goes back to the same original as the Asklepios on the late fifth-century relief Athens 1346 (E.A. 1221; Svoronos, Pl. 35, 1; from Athens): compare also the Aeropolis fragment Walter, p. 52, No. 86. This type is close to that mentioned by Neugebauer, *Asklepios*, p. 50, but differs in the absence of the broad band which there and in the Giustini variant runs horizontally across the body from the left elbow. The Hygieia of the Melchet relief has a full-fourth-century look, but actually most of the elements of which her drapery is made up are repeated from the Asklepios.

No. 8 is described as ‘probably a fourth-century version of a Polykleitan type.’ Is there anything Polykleitan in it?

No. 15, Eros tormenting Psyche. The interpretation of this fine fragment by means of a gem pointed out by Prof. Curtius is one of the best pieces of work in the book.

No. 24, washed-out replica (held antique) of the pseudo-Seneca in Naples. For coexistence of a few wreathed replicas with many wreathless, Studniczka's Menander gives a parallel. Of the identifications suggested, Hipponax alone does full justice to the pariah-look of this antique Carlyle.

There is one good vase, the white oinochoe with Peleus up the Tree, No. 44, unfortunately ‘repaired and restored and covered over with a kind of varnish.’ It belongs to a small group of black-figured oinochoai of one shape and by one hand: two of them Mrs. Strong quotes—the London Chiron vase B 620, and the Leipsic fragments compared with it by Hauser: a third is London B 621 (Herakles and the Lion: detail, *J.H.S.* 25, p. 273), a fourth is the Royal Library at Brussels (*Coll. Castellani*, Pl. 1: lion and boar, cow and calf). The Munich mastos here quoted is not of the same class.

The neck-amphora, No. 46, is probably the same as one sold in the Jekyll collection on July 6th, 1914.

J. D. B.



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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES



THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES

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[illegible]

## THE JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE first public notification of the Society's approaching Jubilee was contained in the following letter which appeared in *The Times* of Saturday, February 23rd, 1929 :—

THE HELLENIC SOCIETY.

FIFTY YEARS OF GREEK STUDIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

SIR,—In June next the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies will complete the 50th year of its existence. We think that by its publications, its grants, its library, and its meetings the work of the Society in the interests of Hellenic art, literature, history, philosophy, and science is sufficiently well known. We claim for it that throughout its being, and not least in the troubled years that are passing, it has discharged its trust by giving good measure of a good kind.

We ask a return. Our members have paid generously, quickly, and in full for their new library. But there remains a hampering debt of £3,000 on our lease. We know that the needs before the nation now are varied and compelling. But we stand by the words of our former president, Richard Claverhouse Jebb :—

'Humanity cannot afford to lose out of its inheritance any part of the best work which has been done for it in the past. All that is most beautiful and most instructive in Greek achievement is our permanent possession; one which can be enjoyed without detriment to those other studies which modern life demands; one which no lapse of time can make obsolete, and which no multiplication of modern interests can make superfluous.'

Will those who care for the objects of the Society and think that these have been well served help us to pay off our debt before our festival? Mr. George A. Macmillan is the hon. treasurer, to whom all contributions should be sent.

We are yours faithfully,

BALFOUR.

A. M. DANIEL.

ARTHUR EVANS.

PERCY GARDNER.

J. GENNADIUS.

B. L. HALLWARD.

F. G. KENYON.

GILBERT MURRAY.

HUMFRY PAYNE.

EMILY PENROSE.

D. H. S. RICKETT,

Student Associate.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

ARTHUR HAMILTON

SMITH, President.

MAURICE S. THOMPSON.

VINCENT W. YORKE.

GEORGE A. MACMILLAN.

*The Society for  
The Promotion of Hellenic Studies,  
50, Bedford Square, W.C. 1.*

*The Times* has invariably taken a sympathetic interest in the aims and objects of the Society, and this appeal was strongly endorsed in a leading article in the same issue, as follows :—

#### THE HELLENIC SOCIETY.

‘A learned society which deserves well of two, if not more, countries celebrates its fiftieth year in June; and, as will be seen from a letter which some of its eminent friends, patrons and members send us this morning, it wishes to put its claims before a larger public than its own in view of the occasion and of an obligation from which it would like as soon as possible to be set free. This is the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, which began originally in a very small way, but has prospered greatly in the course of its career, and through its valuable *Journal* has won for itself a name which is honoured in every country where the history and the literature, the art and the architecture, of ancient Greece are studied. As its prestige and membership have increased, so have its activities; and it now occupies fine premises in Bedford-square which serve as an admirable library and headquarters; it is in immediate touch through the British School at Athens with every archaeological undertaking in Greece; and at home it works in friendly association with other bodies which serve kindred aims, particularly, as a profession, the architects, and, as an analogous organisation, the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. It wants, as will be seen from the letter, a sum of £3,000 to clear off the debt on its lease: and, while its members are responding to this appeal liberally, it hopes to win new members and other support from that not altogether inconsiderable section of the educated public which may be assumed to be in sympathy with it.

‘Happily there is good reason to believe that that public is much larger and much more appreciative than it was fifty years ago. In 1879 spades had hardly begun to turn the soil of ancient sites; and few, relatively to the numbers who now go there in great comfort every year, were the visitors to Greece. Hardly a papyrus had been recovered in those days: and whole ages of prehistoric culture, in Greece proper, in Crete, in Asia Minor, and farther afield, lay yet unsuspected. If the Hellenic Society was born at a happy hour, it has taken its full share, so far as its means have permitted, in all the revelations which have been made during its lifetime. It has in fact long established itself as the intelligence department in England of a movement which can never be allowed by the nations which aspire to lead the world in knowledge and culture to languish or to die out. It has its colleagues and friendly rivals in similar foreign societies: and by the emissaries which it and the School at Athens have for years past sent to Greece and to the Levant generally it can be truly said to have served the cause not only of learning but also of international understanding. Its services to scholarship are obvious: if Greek studies, like any other branch of humane learning, are to be living, fresh and profitable to modern communities, they cannot be pursued merely *in camera*, but must be prosecuted also in the land of their origin. The ease by which countries, once impossibly distant, can now be

visited gives constantly new opportunities to such a body as the Hellenic Society, and makes the plea for wider support all the stronger.'

In March a circular letter was addressed to all the Honorary Members,<sup>1</sup> to all the Universities in Great Britain and Greater Britain,<sup>2</sup> to the Director-General of Archaeology in India, and to those learned societies at home and abroad<sup>3</sup> with which our Society is in close touch, giving details of the proposed celebration and inviting their presence and co-operation.

Though difficulties of time, distance and official duties prevented almost all the Honorary Members from accepting this invitation, the replies received breathed (in many languages) a spirit of great good-will and of sympathy with the celebrations. Three may be quoted as typical of all :—

**Winkl. Geh. Rat, Exz.**

**Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.**

'Alter und Berufsgeschäfte werden mich an der Teilnahme an dem Jubiläum verhindern, aber mit vollkommener Mittfreude werde ich im Geiste gegenwärtig sein. Nur wenige werden sich noch auf die Zeit der Gründung besinnen können, aber ich erinnere mich genau, dass ich die Kunde mit Begeisterung aufnahm, dass in England diese freie Gesellschaft entstand und die Gründung der British School at Athens bald folgte. Für unsere Wissenschaft konnte nichts Segensreicheres geschehen. Alle Hoffnungen haben sich erfüllt.

'Stets habe ich es als eine hohe Ehre geschätzt von der Society unter ihre Mitglieder aufgenommen zu sein, und so fühle ich die Freude und den Stolz des Jubiläums mit.'

**Professor Franz Cumont, Dr.Phil. (Belgium).**

'A mon grand regret il me sera impossible de me rendre aux fêtes du Cinquantenaire de la *Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies*, et je devrai me borner à faire de loin des vœux pour la prospérité croissante d'une association qui rend tant de services à des études qui me sont chères.'

**Senatore Paolo Orsi, Director of Royal Archaeological Museum, Syracuse.**

'Assente, aderisco con qualche giorno di ritardo, ma con non minore entusiasmo alla feste semisecolari di codesta gloriosa Società, le cui benemeritenze per il progresso degli studi ellenici raccolgono il plauso e la ricono-

<sup>1</sup> Forty in number. For list see *J.H.S.* xlix., p. lii.

<sup>2</sup> The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, London, Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield; Edinburgh, Glasgow; St. Andrews, Wales. Trinity Coll., Dublin. McGill, Montreal; Toronto. Melbourne; New South Wales; Queensland. Canterbury College, Christchurch, N.Z. Rhodes University Coll., Grahamstown; Witwatersrand, Johannes-

burg. Athens.

<sup>3</sup> Roman Society, London Society of Antiquaries, Royal Anthropological Institute, Académie des Inscriptions, Accademia dei Lincei, Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches, Oesterreichs Archäologisches Institut, Société Archéologique and the Hellenic Academy, Athens. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Metropolitan Museum, N.Y.



scenza di quanti nel mondo sentono la bellezza immortale dell' arte e la grandezza dello spirito ellenico.

'Possa la benemerita Società prosperare ancora a lungo, a vantaggio dei nostri studi.'

All the Universities in England, Scotland and Wales sent Delegates and, in many cases, Addresses of congratulation,<sup>4</sup> as did the Académie des Inscriptions (Paris), the Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches, the University, the Archaeological Society and the Hellenic Academy of Athens, and the Roman Society. The Universities of Melbourne and of the Witwatersrand were also represented, as were the London Society of Antiquaries and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Among the many letters of congratulation received from corporate bodies, two may be quoted as showing the widespread interest in the Society's Jubilee.

#### **The Archaeological Society of Athens.**

'Ἡ ἐξόχως ὠφέλιμος ἐπιστημονικὴ δρᾶσις τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἑταιρείας τοῦ Λονδίνου καὶ ἡ εὐρεία αὐτῆς ἐπίδρασις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνάπτυξιν τῶν ἑλληνικῶν μελετῶν καθ' ὅλου ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ ἀποτελοῦσιν ἀδρότατον χαρακτῆρα καὶ ἔνδοξον τίτλον τῆς ἑορταζομένης πεντηκονταετίας, διὰ τὸ περιεχόμενον τῆς ὁποίας δύναται νὰ εἶναι ἐξαιρετῶς ὑπερήφανος ἡ Βρεττανικὴ ἐπιστήμη.

'Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρεία μετ' εὐλόγον χαρᾶς χαιρετίζουσα τὰ κατορθώματα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἑταιρείας τοῦ Λονδίνου ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἐν ᾧ κοινοὶ ἐπιστημονικοὶ ἀγῶνες συνδέουσι τὴν εὐγενῆ κατεύθυνσιν ἀμοτέρων τῶν καθιδρυμάτων, εὐχεται ὀλοψύχως, ὅπως καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς πεντηκονταετίας ἑορτάσῃ ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἑταιρεία ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πολιτισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης.

D. ΠΑΡΟΥΛΙΑΣ  
(President),

G. P. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ  
(Secretary).'

#### **The Archaeological Institute of the Czech University of Prague.**

'Please convey the sincere congratulations of the Archaeological Institute and of its Director to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies on the occasion of its fifty-years Jubilee; together with our best wishes for its continued prosperity in the future.

PROFESSOR H. VYSOKÝ  
(Director).'

The celebrations were held on Monday, June 24th,<sup>5</sup> and consisted of a Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting and a Festival Dinner. *The Times* inaugurated the Festival on that day by devoting to the Society its first leading article.

<sup>4</sup> See p. civ and Plates A-L.

<sup>5</sup> The date of the Inaugural Meeting was

Tuesday, June 16th, 1879, but in 1929 that date fell on a Sunday.

## THE HELLENIC SOCIETY.

‘ Though fifty years is no great age for a learned society to attain, it cannot have fallen to the lot of many to look back on so fruitful a half-century as the Hellenic Society does to-day when it meets to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary. In 1879 the world—learned and lay—was very different from the present, and to-day’s gatherings, in which a number of distinguished delegates from other bodies will take part, may be expected, besides illustrating the strength and prestige of the Society, to be an occasion for many happy memories. Of the veterans who first joined there is still a fair number living; Dr. Sayce, for instance, is one; Dr. Percy Gardner is another; Sir William Ramsay is a third; and all these contributed to the first number of what has long been recognised as one of the most exemplary publications of its kind—the Society’s *Journal*. But still more intimately a part of the Society is the scholar who may claim to be its true originator, Dr. George A. Macmillan, who has served it continuously ever since in office, was its historiographer at its festival twenty-five years ago, and has now brought his records up to date for presentation to the foreign and other delegates at Stationers’ Hall this afternoon.

‘ Dr. Macmillan was quite a young man when good fortune took him, with Mahaffy of Dublin, to Greece for the first time and brought him back with the idea of an English Hellenic Society as a project to be pursued; he imparted it to Dr. Sayce, and it was not long before their combined enthusiasm had worked out the details and collected the original members. If the beginnings were small, the foundations were firmly laid; the *Journal* soon told the world of what calibre the young Society was; and above all the age itself was propitious, for the era of scholarly travel in Greek lands was definitely passing into that of scientific archaeology. It was a time, moreover, when according to some methods of computation, the classics were never more flourishing in the schools and universities; the day lay some forty years ahead when Henry Jackson was moved to say, as the latest successor to his Chair has just recalled, that he had “lived to see the end of Greek studies in Cambridge.” Jackson, however, as Professor Robertson has been able to show, was misled by evidence which no longer holds good; and it may well be that, though Greek is now compulsory for no one, the optimism which can be entertained for its future is due very largely to the Hellenic Society, through the disinterested researches which it has fostered, and the inspiration and often material help which it has given to other and later institutions, notably the British School at Athens and its fellow in Rome, the Classical Association with its journals, and the Roman Society. Popularisation, in the shallower sense, has never been its function; but its position is such now that any populariser, in the better sense, of Hellenism remains outside it at his peril.

‘ The story of the Hellenic Society is no bad example of the ancient truth about opportunity helping craftsmanship and craftsmanship opportunity. In the field in which the Society works the two are intimately connected, and they would be hard indeed to disentangle. But just as Schliemann’s successes were the consequences of no purely fortuitous luck, but of a life’s ambition,

so it would not be unfair to attribute a great deal of the new knowledge of Hellenism in its divers branches directly to the Society and its policy. By uniting the Hellenists of these islands and by putting them into corporate touch with those of other countries, and by being able to impart to every new recruit the fruits of an ever-growing store of professional experience, it serves to consolidate that method without which no science can flourish. The Society has had before now to decline to take part in researches where in its judgment the conditions would probably have led to indifferent work. It has also to a certain extent found it desirable to restrict its activities to fewer lines of inquiry than were at first regarded as open to it; but this has been because it was found that the work could be as well done by other agencies, while its more particular duties have become more and more exacting. These lie mainly in the material relics of Hellenism, its sites, buildings, sculpture, pottery, all of which lead, the more they are opened up, to fascinating inquiries and to results, it may be said, wholly beyond the dreams of classical students fifty years ago. As they can be made to shed constant light on historical and prehistorical problems, the Society has necessarily contributed greatly to one of the chief triumphs of the age—the rewriting of history. In the great Cambridge Ancient History, for instance, there is much for which the Hellenic Society is ultimately responsible; in publications like this, as also in others, especially those devoted to art, in which the progress of the technical processes of reproduction must not be forgotten, its findings assume a form which appeals directly to the general public of intelligent minds. If this did not happen, there would be little to be said on behalf of what would otherwise be only a scholarly amusement; but as with the natural sciences, so it is also with the humane sciences; something, happily, in their very nature causes the truth to spread in commonalty and to make the whole world the better for it. In view of its date, the Hellenic Society may be held to be the first organisation in this country to give the death-blow to the idea that the humanities are but dilettantism, and therefore a luxury. That notion was fairly prevalent a generation or so ago, but is now demonstrably untrue, and is not entertained by workers in other fields using the same methods. To have exalted the study of Hellenism, which is an indispensable study seeing that it is of nothing else but the origins of modern Europe, into a science is no small achievement; but that is what the Hellenic Society has done, and by doing it it has placed Hellenism in a position from which it cannot be dislodged except by some cataclysmal reversion to barbarism.’

#### THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

A well-attended Meeting was held at 3 p.m. in the historic Hall of the Stationers’ Company.

On a table in front of the dais were displayed the Society’s own Festival publications, *A History of the Hellenic Society*, by Mr. G. A. Macmillan, specimen sheets and illustrations of the forthcoming volume on *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, by members of the British School at Athens, and *Ante Oculos*

(Advisory Leaflet. No. 3). Also *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*, by Professor D. S. Robertson, M.A. (*dedicated to the Council on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Society*), and *Eleusis*, offered to the Library by the author, Professor Ferdinand Noack, Delegate of the Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches.

The Chair was taken by the out-going President, MR. ARTHUR HAMILTON SMITH, C.B., F.B.A., etc. After welcoming the gathering he called on MR. NORMAN H. BAYNES, who gave a brief account of the origin and history of the Stationers' Company and of their Hall.

The Chairman then delivered his Presidential Address, entitled

#### FIFTY YEARS OF THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES

WE are met here to-day to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of our foundation, and it falls to my lot to address you on this happy occasion.

In making choice of my subject, I have decided not to dwell either on the history of our past, and our progress as an organisation, or on our hopes for the future. Our annals have been drawn up for us by our Honorary Treasurer, who is better acquainted than any man with our history, and with the personalities of all those, either living or deceased, who have taken part in it. Its general tenor may be described as a steady progress, only interrupted by occasional and insignificant set-backs. As to our hopes for the future we feel good confidence, but it is unnecessary to attempt the rôle of a prophet. I will only observe that the liberal response to the Jubilee appeal (according to the Treasurer's latest figures, £2,209, and the account is not yet closed) will immensely aid the finance of the coming years, by relieving us of the worst of the burden of our overdraft incurred in connexion with our move to Bedford Square. I cannot refrain in this context from asking for your recognition of our boundless indebtedness to our Secretary, Mr. John Penoyre, who for twenty-six years has devoted himself to the development of our Membership, our Library, our Office and our teaching materials.

I propose with your permission to contemplate the series of our *Journal*, which is now of stately length on our bookshelves, and to dwell on some of the changes in the outlook over our field of study which are recorded in its volumes. I should observe in passing that though we are fifty years old, it is our 49th volume that is now in progress. In the nature of things, the completion of the first year of the *Journal* synchronises with the first birthday anniversary, and not with the birth of the Society.

We usually revert to the back volumes of a long set for the purpose of looking up some particular paper, or for some still more limited reference to an illustration. But on such an occasion as this it is interesting to look at it as an organic whole.

In the life of a periodical, as in the life of the individual, the daily routine goes on, but particular subjects emerge, hold a position of dominant importance for a longer or shorter period, and then are succeeded by others.

Let me briefly remind you how things stood in this country fifty years ago. There were still veterans whose work went back almost to the founda-

tions of the Greek kingdom. Bishop Christopher Wordsworth of Lincoln, who is said to have been the first Englishman presented to King Otho, was moved by the identification of the site of Dodona to recur in our second volume to the conclusions that he had reached in 1832.<sup>6</sup> Sir Charles Newton was to be Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities for another seven years, but his great excavation work at the Mausoleum, Branchidae and Cnidos had been finished more than twenty years before. Wood's prolonged excavation campaigns at Ephesus had been closed down for some years.

At that time too there was no Society in the field attempting a general appeal to the educated public for co-operative effort. The venerable Society of Dilettanti was always based on rigorous selection rather than on principles of comprehension. The same is true, in less degree, of the Society of Antiquaries, which, moreover, was only able to give a small part of its attention to the Hellenic field. Archaeological papers were the exception in such organs as the *Journal of Philology*. Other periodicals there had been, of short life, such as Falkener's *Museum of Classical Antiquities*. It was no doubt with reference to such attempts that Sir Charles Newton uttered a characteristic caution in his inaugural address<sup>7</sup>: 'Let us hope that if such a journal is once begun, it will be vigorously maintained and nourished, and not allowed to dwindle away into atrophy, as has been the fate of so many learned periodicals in this country, though undertaken under promising auspices.'

But though excavation and publication were quiescent, so far as England was concerned, the decade that preceded our birth had been one of sensational activity. Schliemann's chief work had been carried through at Troy, Mycenae and Tiryns, though the results were hardly understood. The thrilling story of the Olympia excavations was still fresh. The French were at work in Delos. We were barely a month old when Pergamon by the spades of German excavators began to astonish the world with its revelation of Hellenistic regal art.

Such was the position when our Society was born, and it is interesting to look back over the intervening fifty years to see how these subjects were dealt with in our *Journal*.

As to Mycenae, there were still some persons who were blind to the fact that cultures of some sort, perhaps not yet suspected or revealed, must have occupied the area in days going back behind Agamemnon to the beginnings of the human race. No doubt there are several here present who remember the exciting debate of July 1886 (described in Mr. Macmillan's history of the Society), when Schliemann and Doerpfeld came to London to maintain the antiquity of Tiryns. It is therefore pleasant to find Prof. Percy Gardner (happily still with us) stating the essential facts in our first volume.<sup>8</sup> He describes the Mycenaean culture (in opposition to Stephani's fantastic Herulian theory) as homogeneous, pre-classical and widely distributed.

Delos was the subject of a brilliant article by Jebb,<sup>9</sup> based on a visit to the excavations in 1878, and combining ancient notices with his own topo-

<sup>6</sup> *Journal*, II. p. 228.

<sup>7</sup> I. p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> I. p. 94.

<sup>9</sup> I. p. 7.

graphical observations, and the newly-found inscriptions. It is interesting to note that he concludes his article with a plea for the establishment of a British School at Athens. This, of course, was not immediately realised, but the seminal idea is thereby shown to be of the same age as this Society.

Two living veterans, besides Prof. Percy Gardner, contribute to our first volume. Prof. Sayce was touring in the Troad and Lydia.<sup>10</sup> Sir William Ramsay describes excursions in the immediate neighbourhood of Smyrna.<sup>11</sup>

This is the first of the long series of articles on Asia Minor, its epigraphy, topography, history and art which have been such a constant feature in the *Journal*. Twenty-four such articles are the work of Sir William Ramsay, and many more are by his pupils and disciples, such as Hogarth, Anderson, Gertrude Bell, Miss Ramsay and others who owed to Sir William Ramsay their initiation into Anatolian exploration. In the third and fourth years we find him reaching Phrygia, studying the rock monuments,<sup>12</sup> and beginning his special work of combining the evidence of the inscriptions, the episcopal lists of Hierocles, the lie of the ground and the existing sites.<sup>13</sup>

It was in a sense an aftermath of Schliemann's work at Troy that our early volumes are the scene of controversy between Jebb, Mahaffy and Prof. Sayce<sup>14</sup> as to the relationship of Homer's Troy to the later Greek idea of Troy, to the Ilium of historical Greece, and to the prehistoric site excavated by Schliemann. Different aspects of Olympia and Pergamon are also the subject of articles in our early volumes.

I quit the subject-matters of these volumes to call attention to the technical changes which shortly afterwards revolutionised archaeological publications. So far as our plates are concerned, the methods available were for the most part those now in use, such as photogravure, photolithography, chromolithography and collotype. The principal recent developments, of which our editors only make sparing use, are machine photogravure and three-colour process blocks. But in the letterpress illustrations the case is quite different. In our first volume the text blocks are all the work of the wood-engraver, whose art was then moribund. Such cuts are laborious and costly. The results are often pleasing as works of art, and useful for emphasising particular details. They lack, however, the photographic directness of a half-tone block and the interpretative freedom of a zinc line block. Process blocks of a kind make their first appearance in Volume III. The first half-tone block of a modern kind, through the screen, appears in Volume VII. Zinc line blocks, if I am not mistaken, first appear in Volume VIII. I dwell on these facts because their interest is not merely technical. It is the beginning of the modern treatment of archaeological subjects, with a continual increase in the visual presentation, not always accompanied as much might be wished, by a corresponding abridgment of verbal description.

Connected with this subject is another technical detail of some importance. In our early volumes the inscriptions are nearly all rendered by such type-set

<sup>10</sup> I. p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> I. p. 67.

<sup>12</sup> III. p. 256.

<sup>13</sup> IV. p. 370.

<sup>14</sup> II. p. 7; III. p. 69; IV. p. 147.

approximations as could be managed by the compositor. With Volume XVI, when zinc line blocks were cheap and easy, it was definitely resolved that whenever the authors supplied suitable material, the inscriptions should be rendered by blocks and not by type. With this change made here and abroad a new era may be said to have begun in the publication of inscriptions.

Towards the end of our first decade, the excavations on the Athenian acropolis were more than doubling our knowledge of early Attic art. They are represented in our *Journal* by an account by Prof. Ernest Gardner of the Acropolis sculptures in Volume VIII,<sup>15</sup> followed after an interval by articles by Bather<sup>16</sup> and Richards<sup>17</sup> on the incised bronzes and the potsherds.

In Volumes IX and XII, space is given to the excavation work of the short-lived Cyprus Exploration Fund, but no better example can be found of the progress of archaeology than a comparison between the uncertainties of the excavators as to Cypriote chronology and the clear data reached a few years afterwards by Prof. Myres.<sup>18</sup>

It was in 1891 that the world was startled by the reappearance of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* from the sands of Egypt. The issue of the *editio princeps*, whereby my predecessor, Sir Frederic Kenyon, made himself famous while still a young man, was promptly followed by Dr. Macan in our twelfth volume with a paper<sup>19</sup> designed 'to define some of the points which must be considered before the place of the new text among our historical sources can be determined.'

I am now reaching the time when the star of Crete began to rise. In the spring of 1893, Sir Arthur Evans was struck at Athens by certain faceted stones with symbols which he saw to be of hieroglyphic character, and the origin of which he traced to Crete. He promptly visited the island and made a tour round it, collecting pictographic gems. At one of our open meetings,<sup>20</sup> Nov. 27, 1893, after the reading of his paper on the treasure of Aegina, he made the momentous announcement 'that he had discovered, on a series of gems and seals found mainly in Crete and the Peloponnese, some sixty symbols which seemed to belong to a native Greek system of hieroglyphics, distinct from the Egyptian on the one hand and the so-called Hittite on the other.'

I was responsible at that time for the illustrations in the *Journal*, and vividly remember the excitement and interest of the moment when the material for the first paper on the Cretan pictographs was put into my hands for reproduction.

From that day onwards Crete has been one of the dominant topics in the *Journal*. It is true that from 1896 onwards excavation journals and reports have found a more appropriate place in the special organ of our close allies, the British School at Athens. We have, however, twice come to their help with the definitive publication of completed results. Such is the origin of our Supplementary volumes, devoted in 1904 to the excavations at Phylakopi in

<sup>15</sup> VIII. pp. 159, 280.

<sup>16</sup> XIII. pp. 124, 232.

<sup>17</sup> XIII. p. 281; XIV. p. 186.

<sup>18</sup> XVII. p. 134.

<sup>19</sup> XII. p. 17.

<sup>20</sup> XIV. p. xl.

Melos, and to-day to the excavations of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

In the same way, the excavation reports on the Palace of Knossos have found their appropriate home in the *Annual* of the School at Athens from 1900 onward. But a brilliant succession of articles by Sir Arthur Evans, Mackenzie, Hogarth, Dawkins, Bosanquet, Hill, Forsdyke and Pryce has made the *Journal* the most conspicuous authority for the progress of the Cretan question.

To turn to another field of study, it was in our 28th volume that Prof. Beazley made his first appearance,<sup>21</sup> writing on three new vases in the Ashmolean Museum. This was followed two years later by a paper on Kleophrades, the first of a series of articles on the vase painters. His attempt to assign an author for every notable red-figured vase is indeed courageous. Only time can show how far his attributions are permanently regarded as valid, but his papers have astonished us all by the powers of observation and memory which they display.

Other writers meanwhile have been busy with the groups of earlier vases, such as the Minoan, Mycenaean, Minyan, Melian, Proto-corinthian and Naucratic families. In all of these, abundant and definite information takes the place of what had previously been scanty and nebulous. It may almost be said that these fifty years have seen the birth of specialization in the whole of the subject.

Such have been some of the salient features in the long series of volumes. But at the same time there has been a continuous output of solid work in the archaeology of art, numismatics, epigraphy, topography and history.

It was decided, rightly or wrongly, some twenty years ago that the Classical Journals should have the first call on purely philological articles. Hence, of late we have had fewer papers of the type of those on Delos and on Pindar by Jebb which adorn our early volumes. And, on the other hand, as I have observed, the *Annual* of the School at Athens is the primary organ of the workers in the excavation field. But there is no lack of interesting matter. The problem that vexes our Editors is how much they must exclude or postpone, rather than how they are to fill the appointed number of pages.

Nor is there any lack of younger contributors to carry on the torch. It is with good hope and confidence for the future that we enter on our second term of fifty years. (Applause.)

Telegrams of congratulation were then read as follows from—

**The Royal Danish Academy, Copenhagen.**

‘In keen admiration of the work accomplished by your Society during the past fifty years, the Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters sends its most cordial congratulations to the Anniversary.—N. E. NÖRLUND, President.’

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<sup>21</sup> XXVIII. p. 313.



**The Archaeological Society of Berlin.**

‘ Mit dem Dank für das bisherige Werk verbindet herzliche Glückwünsche für das Zukünftige die Berliner Archaeologische Gesellschaft.’

**Honorary Members in Berlin.**

‘ Sodolitam nobilem Britannicam ad promovenda studia natam Hellenica, nunc gloriose quinque lustris conditis claram per orbem consalutamus pii gratique socii. Magna faveat Orthia !

‘ Wilamowitz, Deubner, Hiller von Gaertringen, Eduard Meyer, Studniczka, Wiegand, Willeken, Zahn.’

**Honorary Members in Vienna.**

‘ Chairein mousopoloisi philhellenessi legousin Anglois Austriakoi poll’ agath’ euchomenoi.

(χαίρειν μουσοπόλοισι φιλελλένεσσι λέγουσιν Ἀγγλοῖς Αὐστριακοὶ πόλλ’ ἀγάθ’ εὐχόμενοι.)

Kretschmer, Loewy, Strzygowski, Wilhelm.’

**The Director of the British School at Athens.**

‘ Best wishes for a successful meeting.—WOODWARD.’

**The Director of the German Institute, Athens.**

‘ Herzlichen Glückwunsch und langes Leben.—BUSCHOR.’

**Mrs. Arthur Strong.**

‘ Congratulations from a very old Member and Friend, compelled to remain in Rome by important archaeological business.—EUGÉNIE STRONG, Vice-President.’

**Professor Karo, Dr.Phil.**

‘ Cordial wishes for next half-century. In grateful remembrance of all the Society has achieved for Archaeology.—KARO.’

**Mr. Walter George, A.R.I.B.A., Delhi.**

‘ Greetings and all good wishes.—WALTER GEORGE.’

Addresses of congratulation were presented on behalf of the

Aeadémie des Inscriptions	by MONSIEUR H. GOELZER.
Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches	„ PROFESSOR F. NOACK.
University, and the Archaeological Society, of Athens	„ H.E. MONSIEUR J. GENNADIUS.
Academy of Athens	„ H.E. THE GREEK MINISTER.
University of Oxford	„ PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER.
University of Cambridge	„ DR. A. B. COOK.
University of Durham	„ PROFESSOR G. C. RICHARDS.
University of Glasgow	„ PROFESSOR G. MILLIGAN.
University of Liverpool	„ PROFESSOR A. Y. CAMPBELL.
University of London	„ PROFESSOR E. A. GARDNER.
University of Manchester	„ PROFESSOR R. S. CONWAY.
University of Wales	„ PRINCIPAL EMRYS EVANS.
Roman Society	„ SIR GEORGE MACDONALD.

Greetings and good wishes were offered on behalf of the

University of Aberdeen	<i>by</i> PROFESSOR J. HARROWER.
University of Birmingham	„ PROFESSOR E. R. DODDS.
University of Bristol	„ PROFESSOR J. F. DOBSON.
University of Edinburgh	„ PROFESSOR PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.
University of Leeds	„ PROFESSOR W. M. EDWARDS.
University of Melbourne	{ „ PROFESSOR C. A. SCUTT.
University of St. Andrews	{ „ PROFESSOR E. W. SEATS.
University of The Witwatersrand	„ PROFESSOR D'ARCY THOMPSON.
Boston Museum of Fine Arts	„ MISS M. V. WILLIAMS.
Society of Antiquaries	„ MR. C. H. HAWES.
	„ MR. A. W. CLAPHAM.

To the great regret of all present, H.E. Monsieur J. Gennadius, the only survivor of the original Honorary Members, was prevented by indisposition from presenting the Address from the University and the Archaeological Society of Athens, which was handed to the President on his behalf by Mr. George Macmillan. The Address from the University of London was adorned with a wreath of laurel tied with a blue fillet.

In presenting the congratulations of the Academy of Athens, H.E. THE GREEK MINISTER said :—

No learned body or institution will address you in a more heartfelt way than the Academy of Athens, established on the same shores where the Academy of Plato was flourishing more than two thousand years ago and pursuing by its labours and efforts, in the literary and archaeological field, purposes similar to those of your Society.

By the constitution of your Society fifty years ago, you have desired particularly to establish and to continue the noble tradition of expanding the knowledge of Greek literature which has been, since the most remote centuries of your civilisation, one of the principal aims and glories of it. As it has truly been said and in a striking way: 'This country may enjoy without challenge the distinction of having preserved the study of Greek literature through a time when all the rest besides abandoned it; of having disseminated among neighbours when lost; and after a brief period of universal darkness of having first sounded the call of its revival.'

Classical Greece, by her poets and writers, as well as by her monuments and works of art, constitutes a vast field where the richest of harvests is lying ready for hands to reap it for the spiritual nourishment and enjoyment of all.

The cultivation of Greek letters and the study of Greek art, which has constituted the fundamental reason for the establishment of your Society, leads the way to a kind of religion, which may be called the 'Cult of Beauty': a cult, however, aiming at moral beauty as well as at external material forms.

Everyone, who takes his inspiration from Greek letters or from Greek art, is taught to disclaim ugliness in all its aspects, and what we call the Cult of Beauty leads not only to material perfection, but also to moral sanity and high spiritual creation, inspired as it is from Greece's own achievements in lofty ideals and faultless form. Far and out of any materiality, then, Greece as a spiritual conception takes a definite shape which governs minds acquainted with the presence of her immortal inspiration and constitutes their very essence.

Such being the initial aims and objects of your Society, conceived after his first visit in Greece by one of the oldest and most honoured of your Members, matured and completed later with the help and co-operation of so many other distinguished scholars, you have attained these objects with the success which is the price of any great purpose and constant effort.

You are working to make the gifts of Greece the heirloom and inheritance of your

nation. You are working to teach the brilliant youth, assembled in your Public Schools and Universities, to revel in all the magnificence and wealth of Greece. You are showing by example and preaching that no greater intellectual enjoyment and no more refreshing spiritual discipline may be derived from any other source than that of Greek Literature and Art. 'You are an eloquent Latinist, Margaret.' Erasmus was pleased to say, 'but if you would drink deep of the well-springs of Wisdom, apply to Greek. The Latins have only shallow rivulets; the Greeks copious rivers running over sands of gold.' and I will repeat with one writer, who seems as having thought of your Society long before its establishment: 'Demosthenes will ever be the instructor of Statesmen, Plato of Philosophers; Sophocles the admiration of Poets; Homer the delight of all, and as long as the Englishmen cherish these names and twenty others of the race, as their study, their model and their pleasure, we fear no ingratitude and oblivion for the Preservers and Regenerators of Greek Literature in England.'

It is in a spirit of brotherly admiration and goodwill that the ACADEMY OF ATHENS greets Your Society to-day, hailing:

εὐδοκίμει, χώρει ἐπὶ τὰ βέλτιστα!

*London, 24th June, 1929.*

After the reception of the Delegates, PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY, D.Litt., etc., addressed the Meeting on

#### THE VALUE OF GREEK STUDIES.

'I have been asked to say a few words about one aspect of the work of the Hellenic Society, viz. the service it has rendered to human civilisation by helping, in conjunction of course with other agencies, to keep Hellenism alive during the momentous half-century that has passed since 1879. It is a large subject, and at this stage of our proceedings you will certainly not want a large speech. I will just put before you two thoughts which have been much in my mind of late.

'I think that the world wants Greek—Greek in the fullest sense—more than ever it did, and that for two special reasons.

'First, the terrific changes wrought by the last fifty years have shaken not only the social and economic structure of Western civilisation, but the intimate beliefs, philosophies and personal standards of modern man. I see that a German publicist said the other day of the present generation of German University students: "They resent all general principles; they claim to judge each individual action or object by seeing how they like it." Allowing for exaggeration, something like this seems characteristic of our time.

'I think it is difficult for us who are in the midst of it to realise the greatness and the rapidity of the change through which we have passed. Of course in some subjects—such as locomotion for instance—it is visible and calculable. Dr. Garnett has pointed out that when Constantine had to travel from England to Rome it took him twelve days; and when Sir Robert Peel fifteen hundred years after had to travel from Rome to England it took him just the same time: the speed of a horse. Less than a hundred years later we can do the same journey in less than a day: the speed of an aeroplane. We realise that sort of change. We realise the immense advance in means of communication, by the telegraph, telephone, radio, etc. We partly realise the economic and social revolution through which we are passing. We realise the immense disturbances set working by the World War. But, quite apart from those obvious material changes, dissolvent agencies of an intellectual kind have been at work not in one nation only but among the more educated classes all through the world. The wholesale rejection of Christianity by Russia, reputed the most religious of nations, has been followed by the still more astonishing rejection of Islam by Turkey. And such phenomena do not stand alone. They are symptoms. The Victorian system of scientific cosmology, so coherent, ethical and edifying, has been shaken down. The advances of physical science have riddled it with destructive criticism, and have left in its place nothing coherent and certainly nothing edifying. The advances in psychology seem, for the moment at least, to have shattered

our whole conception of human ethics. Impulses hitherto deemed unspeakably obscene or malignant have not only been recognised as part of the normal human make-up, but have received a quite disproportionate welcome from the public. Worse still, the virtues after which we were taught to strive, such as humility, chastity, unselfishness and even justice, have been exposed as so many forms of common cruelty, vanity and sensuality masquerading under fabulous names.

'I am not necessarily lamenting over all this; much less saying that we must reject new discoveries because they are unpalatable or dangerous. But I think it is true that people have lost their standards, and where a standard is lost its place is normally taken by the random rush of momentary desires. Cosmos is shaken and Chaos is making encroachments. You can see this in art, in poetry, in religious fashions, in manners both public and private. One could give many instances of this loss of standard. I will take one from my own experience. I went one morning to look at the famous bas-relief of Rima in Kensington Gardens. I found there one other spectator, a quiet elderly man, who looked for some time at Rima and then turned his eyes to me with the remark: "We have a lot of statues in Islington, but none as bad as that." I murmured some non-committal sounds, and he continued in a kind voice: "Our Minister says we ought not to condemn it straight off. It may be that the artist meant something which he has not succeeded in conveying." Observe, this man was not trying to say something sarcastic, he was doing his best to give credit to the artist. But there was simply no common standard which could be applied. Similarly in poetry; I remember myself once making a grievous *faux-pas* by mistaking a parody for a real poem by a well-known writer and congratulating him upon it. I really thought that by his standards, so far as I understood them, the parody was rather a good poem.

'Of course no system, no set of standards, can be eternal. Dislocation is the necessary price of progress; the disturbance may always be the road to something better. But Chaos, while it lasts, is misery and destruction. Cosmos—some order, some positive faith, some recognition of a Law to be obeyed—is a necessity for art, for thought, for love, for every form of successful living. If we are to keep our heads and win through, Cosmos is what we need most; and the very citadel of the principle of Cosmos is Hellenism: the freedom that is according to law, the art that lives in fulfilment of its own inborn rules, the ethic that steadily subordinates the individual to the community, and the momentary desire of the individual to the rule of τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

'I am not pleading for any persistent praise of things classical. I was pleased the other day to hear that a certain art critic of a very modern type, the type which denies that portraits have any particular reason to be like the subject they portray, or that art has any concern with beauty, or that it matters whether lines are in drawing or out of drawing, is in the habit of taking his disciples to the Elgin Room of the British Museum to show them a horrid example of all that they most ought to avoid in art. That is quite as it should be. The Elgin Marbles do not fear the comparison. To look at them keeps them alive, and as long as they are alive they can speak for themselves. The danger comes when people forget that they or anything like them has ever existed. The work of this Society is to see that Greece is not ignored and the principles of Cosmos forgotten.

'My second point is this. With the enormous advance of scientific invention, the material side of life has grown in importance as compared with the spiritual side, the external as compared with the internal. For example, in an ancient battle between two men or two sets of men, since the arms were more or less equal, the issue was mainly settled by the quality of the men themselves. It was decided by ἀρετή. In a modern battle, owing to the progress of invention, it is almost entirely decided by equipment; by παρασκευή. Equipment seems to matter more and more, Areté less and less.

'Similarly, in ordinary civil life, the difference between rich and poor is probably much greater in modern society, not only because the difference in the possession of money is greater, but because of the enormous increase in the variety of things that money can buy. On the other hand, the difference between an honest and a dishonest man is probably less than in antiquity, because of the increased powers of the Government and improved police. This emphasis on material equipment dominates our practical daily life. It even dominates our imagination. The average intelligent Westerner, whatever

he pretends, does as a matter of fact measure civilisation by material standards. This needs correction. Consequently, it is of incalculable importance that we should be reminded of the fact that much of the noblest poetry, the finest art, the profoundest and most sensible thought known to the world has been the work of men who had no explosives, no steam, no electricity, no watches, no optical glasses or scientific instruments; who, in their houses, knew nothing of plumbing, and when travelling carried all their possessions on a small donkey. That is true; yet no one who has had a purely modern education can believe or understand it.

'Ancient Greece is the standing example in human history of the combination of plain living and high thinking, or in other words, of a civilisation which judged by spiritual standards was supremely great, and judged by material standards utterly puny and poverty-stricken. Plato has told us how the most dangerous of Sophists is the world in which we live. What is the lie above all lies which that great Sophist is continually dinning into our ears till unconsciously we begin to accept it as gospel? It is that the eternal things do not matter and the immediate things do matter; that character and truth are interesting subjects no doubt, but highly obscure and of small practical importance; the only value of character is in its results, which can often be obtained by quite other means. As for truth, it is not what is true that matters but what people believe to be true. Not character and truth, but economics and advertisement are the real guides of life. If there exists anywhere a convincing correction of that lie I should say it was in the study of Plato or Aeschylus.

'To escape from the anarchy of momentary desires to the Cosmos of reason; to see beyond the prison of the material present to the "heavenly places," the οὐράνιοι τόποι, from which the human spirit draws its life; these seem to me the two needs that are most pressing in the present strange and interesting and dangerous epoch of world-history, and I know no better way of meeting both needs than through those Hellenic Studies which this Society is intended to promote. This Hellenism that we talk about is not a series of dogmas which can be proved or disproved. Neither is it a plain fact which can be taken in at a glance. It is an attitude towards life which has to be reconstructed out of fragments, and can never be realised without hard work and a vigilant imagination. It is an experience through which mankind has once passed and which can still be in part recaptured—an experience not by any means all good or all valuable, but in certain elements attaining a height towards which, as Shelley puts it, we can only climb

Trembling at that whereon we stood before.'

The President, after conveying to Professor Murray the thanks of the Meeting for his brilliant and stimulating Address, invited the audience to adjourn to the Court Room, where tea was served.

## THE FESTIVAL DINNER.

The Festival Dinner, at which 174 guests were present, was held the same evening at the Criterion Restaurant, the Guest of Honour being the RT. HON. THE VISCOUNT D'ABERNON, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. The Chair was taken by the PRESIDENT, MR. ARTHUR HAMILTON SMITH, who had on his right Lord D'Abernon, and on his left Monsieur Goelzer, representative of the Académie des Inscriptions (Paris), Sir James Frazer, O.M., Mr. George Macmillan, Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., Sir Frederic Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B., Prof. Percy Gardner (Oxford), Prof. D'Arcy Thompson, C.B., F.R.S. (St. Andrews), Prof. R. S. Conway (Manchester), Prof. A. F. Campbell (Liverpool), Prof. John Harrower (Aberdeen), Prof. the Rev. Canon G. C. Richards (Durham), Principal Emrys Evans (Wales), and Prof. Martin Nilsson (Lund, Sweden). To the right of Lord D'Abernon were Prof. Ferdinand Noack (representative of the

INSTITUT

ACADEMIE des INSCRIPTIONS



DE FRANCE

et BELLES-LETTRES

Soucieuse de témoigner à THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HILLENIC STUDIES la haute estime en laquelle elle tient ses travaux et ses efforts, l'ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES-LETTRES a voulu déléguer son Président aux fêtes du Cinquantenaire de sa fondation et celui-ci ne peut mieux faire, en cette occasion, qu'accompagner ses vœux personnels pour la prospérité de la Société d'une adresse spécialement écrite en grec par un de ses éminents confrères l'helléniste Paul MAZON, et à l'honneur de l'offrir en cordial hommage à la Grande Association Anglaise.

Paris le 21 juin 1929

Ἡ Ἀκαδημία τῶν Ἐπιγραφῶν ἡ ἐν Παρισίοις  
τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ Ἑταιρείᾳ ἐπὶ παρὰ Βρεττανοῖς  
εὖ πράττειν.

Ἄνδρες φιλόλογους αἱ μὲν ποτ' ἐξεκρίβωνεν ἡ Βρετανία σοφοὺς καὶ  
δεινοὺς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ περὶ τοῖς κλέει Εὐαγγελισμῶν  
κοινὸν ὑπερφύον τε καὶ πολυπονώμενον ἐγένετο ἡ κατὰ τὴν ὕψαιμιν τὴν  
ἐνός του ἀνθρώπου, πάντας τόθ' ὅσοι ἐν τῇ γ' ὁματέρᾳ γῇ ἐτύχοντο  
περὶ αὐτὸ σπουδάζοντες εἰς κοινοῦν καὶ ἑταιρείαν ἀλλήλων, ἡ-  
ξιώσατε καθιστέμενοι, τοὺς τε τὰ χειρόγραφα ἐξεκρίβοντες καὶ τοὺς  
τὰς παπύρους ἐρευνῶντες καὶ τοὺς εἰς ἐπιγραφὰς ἐξηρημαίνοντες  
καὶ τοὺς τὰ νομίσματα βραβεύοντες καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἐρείπια ἀν-  
ορύσσοντες, ὅμοιοι ὅθεν οὕτω πολλὰς καὶ δεινὰς ἐν τῇ ὁματέρᾳ  
ἐκδομῇ Ἐφημερίδ' ἀνταχμαίνοντες ἐκινῶν τε καὶ διανοοῖν ὅτι  
οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ τό γε νῦν ἔσται τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύμαθ'  
ὅστις οὐχ ὅμιν ὀφείλων εἰ πως σῴσθαι. Ἀνδ' ὧν ἕκαστος μὲν  
προσέχει τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἀνθρώποις ὅπως εἰσπαινεῖν καὶ  
χρίσθαι ἀπορίᾳ ἀξίας ὧν πένητοισιν ἤδη ἐπὶ διατεταγμένον  
εὐεργετοῦντες, μάλιστα δὲ πέντων ἀνδράσι φίλοις τε καὶ συμμάχοις,  
αἱ μὲν καὶ κατὰ ταῦτο δὴ σύνδημα προέλγονθ' ἐκείστοι καὶ τῇ  
ἀληθείᾳ βοηθεῖν παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.





# DER SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

spricht zur Feier ihres fünfzigjährigen Bestehens

## DAS ARCHÄOLOGISCHE INSTITUT DES DEUTSCHEN REICHES

seine aufrichtigsten Glückwünsche aus. Erfüllt von Dank für die Teilnahme, die ihm bei seiner eigenen Hundertjahrfeier mit zahlreichen wissenschaftlichen Instituten der ganzen Welt die Society entgegenbrachte, darf das Archäologische Institut die Wünsche, die ihm zuteil geworden sind, von Herzen erwidern. Lange und enge sachliche und persönliche Beziehungen verknüpfen die altbewährte Tradition Englands in der Pflege der Altertumswissenschaft mit der Geschichte unseres Institutes. Sir Charles Newton, der die ersten Schritte der Society lenkte, hat als Ehrenmitglied der Zentraldirektion manchen Sitzungen des Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica in Rom presidiert. Die Gründung der Society fiel in den Zeitpunkt des gewaltigen Aufschwungs, den die Erforschung der griechischen Kultur mit den Ausgrabungen in Griechenland und Kleinasien nahm. Die Reihe der Ausgrabungen in Melos, in Kreta, in Lakonien, in Mykenen und in Makedonien bedeutet eine Kette entscheidender Fortschritte der Altertumswissenschaft. In der Ausdehnung der Ziele auf die Erforschung von Mittelalter und Neuzeit und in der Pflege der Beziehungen zwischen Wissenschaft und gegenwärtigem Leben hat die Society neue Bahnen mit Erfolg beschritten. Mit dem Dank für die großen Leistungen, den auch die deutsche Wissenschaft schuldet, verbinden wir den Wunsch, daß die Society in der zweiten Jahrhunderthalfte ihre Mission für die Aufgaben der Wissenschaft und die Idee des Humanismus erfolgreich fortführen möge.

Berlin, im Juni 1929

DER PRÄSIDENT

*W. H. D. R.*







## ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ

ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΕΒΔΟΜΗ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΧΙΛΙΟΣΤΟΥ ΕΝΑΚΟΣΙΟΣΤΟΥ  
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ΕΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΛΟΝΔΙΝΩ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΝ ΠΡΟΣ  
ΠΡΟΑΓΩΓΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΙ  
ΚΑΙ ΘΑΛΛΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΑΠΟ ΠΕΝΤΗ  
ΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΤΩΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΛΛΕΙΠΟΥΣΑ ΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙ ΟΠΩΣ ΤΗΝ  
ΤΕ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΚΑΘ' ΟΛΟΥ ΣΟΦΙΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΟΙΑΙΣ  
ΜΕΛΕΤΑΙΣ ΑΕΙ ΠΡΟΑΓΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΔΑ  
ΓΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗΝ ΕΝΔΕΛΕΧΕΙ ΖΗΛΩ ΑΕΙ ΚΑΤΑΥΓΑΖΗ  
ΑΥΤΗ ΤΕ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΟΙΚΕΙΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΤΑΣ  
ΑΡΕΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΟΔΑΠΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΘΙΑΣΩΤΑΙΣ  
ΑΝΕΠΙΦΘΟΝΩΣ ΠΡΟΧΕΟΥΣΑ ΤΙΜΙΩΤΑΤΗΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑΝ  
ΙΝΑ ΩΣ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΙ ΠΑΡ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΜΑΘΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ  
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΕΥ ΖΗΝ ΑΕΙ ΑΝΑ  
ΓΩΝΤΑΙ ΑΝΕΙΠΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙ ΜΕΝ  
ΤΟΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΠΕΤΕΙΩ ΤΩΝ ΕΤΑΙΡΩΝ ΣΥΝ  
ΟΔΩ ΛΟΝΔΙΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΙΣΟΒΙΟΝ ΕΤΑΙΡΟΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ  
ΓΕΝΝΑΔΙΟΝ ΤΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΣΤΗ ΓΕΝΕ  
ΘΛΙΩ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ

*Αναστάσιος Παππούλιας*





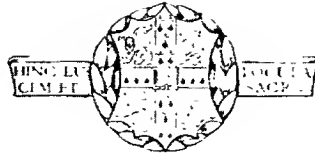
CANCELLARIVS MAGISTRI ET SCHOLARES VNIVERSI-  
TATIS OXONIENSIS SOCIETATI BRITANNICAE  
HELLENICIS STVDIIS PROFERENDIS  
S. P. D.

**P**ERGRATVM hoc nobis fecistis, viri humanissimi, quod  
annum quinquagesimum a condita vestra Societate  
celebraturi nos quoque in partem vestrae laetitiae  
benignissime vocastis. Communi enim amore Graecae antiquitatis  
vobiscum coniuncti testari cupimus, quantum ad studia nostra  
excolenda vestri labores attulerint. Libet ad ephemeridas vestras  
redire in quibus plurima sunt oculis animisque subiecta quae  
aut primum in lucem protulistis aut obsoleta nova luce illustrastis.  
Et praecipua pietate hoc praesertim die eos omnes colimus  
quorum operae, consilio, munificentiae tantae ordiendae rei  
initia debemus. Quo ex numero benevolentiae nostrae testem  
locupletem et Academiae nostrae ἀρχιθέωγον delegavimus ad  
Vos Percy Gardner, A.M., Doctorem in Litteris, Archaeologiae  
Artiumque quas vocant Classics quondam Professorem, Collegii  
Lincolniensis honoris causa Socium, qui, cuius est humanitatis et  
in his rebus auctoritatis, quanto cum studio Vobis annos feliciter  
praeteritos gratulemur quaeque vota pro futura vestra felicitate  
faciamus, voce praesens declarabit.

Datum in Domino nostra Convocationis  
die XVII<sup>to</sup> mensis Iunii, A.S. MCMXXIX.







UNIVERSITAS CANTABRIGIENSIS

SOCIETATI HELLENICAE

SALUTEM

HUMANITATIS interpretes quantum humano generi contulerint Graeci, quantum artibus quae vitam nostram civilem efficiunt, quae rebus omnibus pulchritudinem addunt vel potius ex omnihus eliciunt, quae Creatorem nostrum in studiis nostris et in negotia nostra quotidie reduciunt, illi qui optime norunt inter omnes eloqui recusabunt; tantum eloquentiam nostram excessit, tantum ipsam coniecituram. Vobis qui quinquaginta iam annos consociati estis ut studia Graeca inter insulanos nostros, nimirum, ut videtur, rebus mechanicis et perituriis deditis, conservare et promovere possitis, qui tanta et scientiae nostrae et felicitati praestitistis incrementa, qui tantum contulistis ut revelentur urbes ipsae antiquorum, qui hereditatem communem artium litterarum philosophiae adistis et amplificatam tradidistis, nos, universitas eisdem studiis dedicata, gratulamur, dum multos vobis annos semper aucta prosperitate vestra tam dilectis in disciplinis ardentem precamur. Sed ne epistolis tantum vota nostra communicemus, delegamus Arturum Bernardum Cook, et nobis familiarem et vobis, artium Graecarum et ipsum doctorem, immo et rituum antistitem pristimorum, ut feris vestris intersit et vobis nostram praesens exprimat amicitiam.

Datum Cantabrigiae

v. 1 die mensis Iunii MCMXXIX







## Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΥΝΕΛΜΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

"Ἡσθημεν, ὦ ἄνδρες ξυνεργοὶ καὶ ξυναγωνισταί, διότι τὸ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνεργείας μέλλοντες ἑορτάσειν καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους παρακεκλήκατε διὰ πρεσβευτοῦ τῶν ἰδίων τῆς πανηγύρεως μετασχεῖν. Ἐπέμψαμεν τοίνυν τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν διδάσκαλον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώττης τὰ τε καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀπαγγελοῦντα καὶ συγχαιρῶσόντα ὑμῖν τῶν τοσαῦτα ἔτη τοῖς Ἑταίροις λειτουργημένων.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ ἀειμνήστου ἐκείνου Ἐπισκόπου μνείαν ποιῶμεθα, ὃς πρῶτος ὑμῶν πρόεδρος ἀξιωθείς γενέσθαι ταῖς τε μελέταις καὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς διὰ βίου ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅπως ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ ἐκβάλλοι, καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ ἐν πᾶσι κοσμοίῃ.

Ἐπειτα δὲ μηδὲ τοῦ μακαρίτου ἡμῶν διδασκάλου ἐπιλαθώμεθα, ὃς ποιητῆς εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος τῶν νεωτέρων Ἑλληνιστῶν οὐδὲν οὐχ Ἑλληνιστὶ μεταφράζειν δυνάμενος, τὰ ἐνταῦθα κάλλη διεσαφήνισεν ὧδε λέγων

ἄρ' εἶδες ἤδη τήνδε ποταμίαν· πόλιν  
ὑψηλόκρημον, μουσομήτορας δόμους,  
Θεοῦ τε τὸν τρίπυργον οὐρανοστεγῇ  
θᾶκον λιθούργων τεκτόνων τρητὸν πόνον,  
μῆκός τε σεμνὸν ἀμφικίωνος νέω;

"Ἡρώας μὲν οὖν τοσούτους ποθεῖν χρή καὶ σέβεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μιμῆσθαι ζητεῖν ὑπάρχουσι δὲ ἔτι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἐπιγόνοις οἷ γε τὴν Ἑλλάδα φιλοῦντες καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐτῆς ἱστορίαν καὶ τὰς ἀρχαιολογικὰς διατριβὰς σπουδάζοντες. Ἴνα δὲ μὴ τῇ μακρολογίᾳ ἐπαχθεῖς γενώμεθα, ἐν μόνον προσθήσομεν, ὅτι οὐχ ἥκιστα τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ Ἐταιρείᾳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς συγγράμμασιν ὀφείλομεν τὸ λήθην τῆς Ἑλλάδος μὴ παρ' ἡμῖν γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔτι τὸν Ὅμηρον καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα θεραπεύεσθαι. Ὡσπερ οὖν ὑμεῖς, εἴ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη ταῦτα παιδείσείς τις τῆς Ἀγγλίας πεφήνατε, οὕτως ἐλπίζομεν τοὺς διαδόχους ὑμῶν τὸ ἑκατοστὸν ἤδη ἔτος τῆς Ἐταιρείας ἄγοντας, προθυμίᾳ μὴ μείονι ἐπίδοσιν μὴ μείω τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐπιόψεσθαι.







UNIERSITAS STUDIORUM GLASGUENSIS  
SOCIETATIS RERUM GRAECARUM STUDIOSORUM  
PRAESIDI ET CONCILIO

S P D.

**G**RAUDIO adfecti non mediocri, uiri clarissimi, Societate uestra quinquagenarium iam annum faustis omnibus explente, eo uehementius laetamur quod nos quoque tam benigne iubetis feriarum uestrarum fieri particeps, quippe qui militiam uestram ex longinquo quidem spectemus, non tamen sine fauore multo atque admiratione nonne inter fundatores uestros RICARDUM JEBB numeratis, qui tam Glasgae litterarum Graecarum doctrinam magno omnium plausu profitebatur, nonne ARTURUM BALFOUR, Rectorem olim nostrum, quem huius Universitatis iussu de philosophia disputantem libentissime audiuimus, nonne et doctores nostros et alumnorum plurimi uobiscum se consociauerunt?

**E**t egregie quidem saeculo nostro et patriae opitulati estis, qui rerum Graecarum studiosos sodalitates foedere coniunxistis et opera eorum diligenda curastis, qui ut litus pernotescat laborantis si quid a Graecis ueri, si quid honesti, si quid pulchri est inueniunt, qui denique auro, antea fortasse non inclusito, humanissimos in usus coacto optimam condidistis bibliothecam et librorum copiam aliarumque commoditatum suppeditando perquam grande inagintibus, docentibus, discantibus auxilium praebuistis.

**E**n animo igitur precamur ut quam uiam tam felici adhuc euentu ingressi eritis, eundem sequentibus uobis uberior in dies tractus obtingat, et maiora petentibus maior adhiat numerus fautorum.

*θεος εὐφραδιᾷ ἐν λαοῖς εὐχαρίσ.*

**E**t quo clarius adpareat uoluntas nostra, uirum admodum reuerendum, GEORGIUM MILLIGAN, S. P., et ipsum Graecitatis peritum insignem, adlegamus qui nostro omnium nomine uobis praesens grataletur.

*Georgius Milligan*  
President

*James Macgregor Burns*  
Secretary

*James Macgregor Burns*  
Secretary



Η ΑΚΑΔΗΜΕΙΑ Η ΕΝ ΛΗΡΠΟΥΛ  
ΤΟΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ  
ΠΟΛΛΑ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΕΤΗ ΜΑΧΑΡΙΖΩΝ ΤΗΙΔΕ ΠΑΡΕΙΜΙ  
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΝ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΥΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ  
ΕΞ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΕΙΑΣ ΕΤΗ ΕΙΚΟΣΙΝ ΕΞ ΓΕΓΟΝΥΙΑΣ  
ΗΜΙΣΥ Δ ΗΛΙΚΙΑΣ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΑΠΡΕΠΕΣ  
ΑΛΛ ΑΥΞΕΣΘ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΕΚΔΟΤΕ ΠΑΣΙΝ  
ΔΩΡΑ ΒΡΟΤΟΙΣ ΑΡΕΤΗΝ ΚΑΛΛΟΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΝ



# ΤΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΝΔΙΝΙΟΥ ΤΗ ΕΝ ΛΟΝΔΙΝΙΩ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

ΕΔΟΞΕΝ ΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΛΟΝΔΙΝΙΩ  
ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΣΤΟΝ  
ΗΔΗ ΕΤΟΣ Η ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΗΝ  
ΠΡΟΟΥΜΙΑΝ ΕΧΟΥΣΑ ΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΑ  
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΔΗ ΗΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΚΕ  
ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΞΠΟΥΔΑΙΟΝΤΑΣ  
ΕΡΓΑΙΝΕΣΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΝ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΞΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΙ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΟΑΛΛΟΥ ΞΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ  
ΚΑΛΕΣΑΣ ΗΞΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ ΠΡΕΞΒΕΥΤΗΝ  
ΤΙΝΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ  
ΩΞ ΤΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΙ ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΣΟΥΞΗΙ  
ΞΥΜΜΕΤΑΣΧΗΞΟΝΤΑ ΑΠΟΞΤΕΛΛΕΙΝ  
ΕΡΝΕΞΤΟΝ ΑΡΤΟΥΡΟΝ ΓΑΡΔΝΕΡ  
ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΗΝ ΑΝΤΙΚΑΓΚΕΛΑΡΙΟΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΕΝ  
ΤΩ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΩ ΩΞ ΤΑΙΞ ΕΟΡΤΑΙΞ  
ΠΑΡΑΓΕΝΗΞΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑΓΑΘΑ  
ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ ΕΥΞΟΜΕΝΟΝ  
ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΨΗΦΙΞΜΑ  
ΕΙΞ ΛΕΥΚΩΜΑ ΧΑΡΤΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΥΝΑΙ  
ΤΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΙ ΙΝΑ ΦΑΝΕΡΟΝ ΗΙ ΤΟ  
ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΝΔΙΝΙΟΥ  
ΤΙΜΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ ΜΕΛΕΤΗΝ ΑΥΞΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΒΟΗΘΟΥΝΤΑΣ

ΕΡΡΩΞΘΕ



*James S. Foster* ΑΝΤΙΚΑΓΚΕΛΑΡΙΟΞ

*J. Franklin Sells*

ΠΡΥΤΑΝΙΞ

*George Foster* ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΞ ΞΥΓΚΛΗΤΟΥ

ΕΝ ΛΟΝΔΙΝΙΩ ΤΗ ΤΡΙΤΗ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ ΜΗΝΟΞ ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ  
ΕΤΟΥΞ Χ' ΜΗΗΗΗΔΔΠΙΙΙ



GRAECIS LITTERIS ATQVE ARTIBVS STUDENTIVM  
SOCIETATI  
LVSTRVM SVVM DECIMVM FELICITER CELEBRANTI  
S P D.  
VNIVERSITAS MANCVNIENSIS



**H**ORVM quinquaginta annorum inter res gestas populi Britannici nix aliud maioris momenti ab historicis olim commemorandum erit quam tot novarum Universitatum propagatio atque auctus. Cum autem inter has omnes ne una quidem alia, quantum quidem nobis ipsis iudicare licet, Graecis studiis impensius quam haec nostra semper addita sit, neque inter studiorum Graecorum decora atque auxilia per hoc tempus exorta quicquam per orbem terrarum comparari possit cum nouis illis scientiae fontibus qui per luculentissimos Vestrae Societatis labores recluduntur, fieri non potest quin laetitiae Vestrae et nobis pars magna contingat. Gratulationis autem nostrae si nuntius Vobis esse posset collega ille noster vir doctissimus et in exploranda Asiae Minoris antiquitate impigerrimus, Willelmus M. Calder, neminem alium tantopere aut Vobis excipere placeret aut nobis delegare. Quoniam vero ille per hoc anni spatium, libenter consentientibus nobis, in ipsa Graecarum ibi inscriptionum indagatione occupatus sit, collegam eius, Societatis Classicae quam vocant nuper Praesidem, ROBERTVM SEYMOUR CONWAY, precari sumus ut fenis Vestris voluntatis nostrae amicissimae testis intersit.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER  
AT MANCHESTER



*presented to H. M. S. by*  
J. H. S. 1929





PRIFYSGOL CYMRU AT Y GYMDEITHAS HELENIG,

ANNERCH

Y mae'n bleser nawr gennym ymuno ag ysgolheigion pob rhan o'r byd i'ch cyfarf yn llawen ar ddathliad eich hanner canmlwydd.

Bu i'ch Cymdeithas chwiri ran flaenllaw yn yr adfywiad ar y ddwyg glasurol. Bu'n gyfrwng i wasgar gwybodach am hynafiaethau Groeg ac i greu hoffter ar yr ym mhob rhan o Brydain, drwy ddarlithoedd a thrwy gasglu llynnau llusern a'u rhoddi'n fenthyg, ac yn atbenng drwy eich *Cyflwyniadau* enwog. Bu eich aceldau'n anilwg hefyd ymhlith y rhai a fu'n astudio ac yn atchwilio'r hynafiaethau hynny ar dir gwlad Groeg ei hun.

Yr ydym yn dymuno i'ch cymdeithas ffyniant a pharhad fel un o bnif ladmeryddion y diwylliant uchaf ac fel cyfrwng rhyngom i'n â gwlad rydd oleuedig y Groegiaid. Arwyddwyd dros y llynfsgol.



*A. A. Brown*  
*Ligonbellor*  
*A. Brown*  
*Cofrestr ydd*

Tò tñs Oúallías 'Eθνικὸν Πανεπιστήμιον πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἑταιρείαν

EY IPATTEIN


Μετ' ἀπέρου ὠφροσύνης συγχάριμεν ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῇ πεντηκονταετηρίδι, τὴν ὅσαιαν μέλλετε ἑορτάζειν μετὰ τῶν φιλικῶν ὑμῶν ἀναριθμήτων σοφῶν ἐν ὧν τῷ κόσμῳ.

Ἰδρμένη διὰ ἐνεργείας ἀνδρῶν φλοιούσων, ἡ Ἑταιρεία ὑμῶν ἔλαβε ἀξίον μέρος ἐν τῇ ἀναγέννησιν καὶ ἀνάπτυξιν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μελετῶν, αἱ ὅσαιι χαράσσειαν ἰδιούτης τὴν παροῦσαν εποχὴν. Οὐχὶ μόνον διὰ μέσον παραδόσεων καὶ διαλέξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ χρήσεων ἐκτάκτου βιβλιοθήκης καὶ δανείων πλυσκῶν διὰ μαγικὸν φανὸν, καὶ τελευταίως διὰ τῆς αὐξανόμενης κυκλοφορίας τῆς πασιγνώστου Ἑφημερίδας Ἑλληνικῶν Μελετῶν, διασπείρετε εἰς πάντα τὰ μέρη τῆς Μεγάλης Βρετανίας τὴν γνώσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχαιοτήτος. Οἱ ὑμέτεροι ἑταῖροι γιγνώσκειν μετὰ τῶν πρώτων ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν ἀκαμμάτων ἀρχαιολόγων, οἱ ὅποιοι διὰ συνειργείαν τοῦ φιλοζήτου γένους τῶν νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων ἐρέυνῃσι τοὺς παλαιὰς θησαυροὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τῇ μητρὶ πυσῶν τῶν ἐλευθέρων τεχνῶν, ὅπου βασιλεύει μέχρι νῦν τὸ ἀθέητον πνεῦμα τοῦ Ὀμήρου καὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ τοῦ Φιδίου.

Χαιρετίζοντες οὖν διὰ φωνῆς τοῦ ἀντιπροσώπου ὑμῶν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἑτυχή καὶ ἀξιοσημείωτον ἡμέραν, ἐχόμεθα ἵνα πάντοτε ὑδοκῶν ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἑταιρεία, ὡς πρῶτος τῆς γηρίας παύσις καὶ τοῦ ὧν ἀλθὺς πολητισμοῦ, γιγνομένη πανηματικὸς δεσμός τοῦ Βριτανικοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐλευθέρης καὶ ἀπεριφροσμένης Ἑλλάδος.

ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ.

Ἐν τῷ γενναίῳ γραφείῳ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου ἐν Κερύφῳ.



*A. A. Brown*  
*Δευθυτῆς*  
*A. Brown*  
*Γραμματεὺς*



PRAECLARISSIMAE RERVVM GRAECARVM SOCIETATI  
 SALVTEM DICIT PLVRIMAM  
 SOROR ROMANA

*A.D. VIII. KAL. IVL. MCMXXIX.*

**T**E, Soror alma, minor natu germana saluto,  
 cui bis quina hodie claudere lustra datur.  
 te florere hodie, te tot viguisse per annos  
     gaudebit si cui Graecia cara manet ;  
 me tamen ante alios laudis tibi nectere sertam  
     convenit ; hoc sociae non grave munus erit.  
 Graecia te teneat ; me res Romana moretur ;  
     simus et in studiis utraque tota suis.  
 namque ambae ad metam pariter contendimus unam,  
     nota sit ut nostris gloria prisca virum.  
 ficta tuis olim pedibus vestigia pressi,  
     spem mihi largita es comis et auxilium.  
 tu properes iter inceptum, tu ducere pergas,  
     auspice te gaudens officiosa sequar ;  
 sic valeat germanarum par nobile in aevum,  
     irrupta et teneant vincula amicitiae.



Arch. Inst. d. deutsch. Reiches), Mr. G. F. Hill, C.B., H.E. The Greek Minister, Professor Ernest Gardner (London), Sir Reginald Blomfield, R.A., Sir George Macdonald, K.C.B. (Roman Society), Dr. A. B. Cook (Cambridge), Prof. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge (Edinburgh), the Very Rev. Prof. G. Milligan (Glasgow), Mr. C. H. Hawes (Boston Museum) and Principal W. R. Halliday (King's Coll. University of London). Prof. Dobson (Bristol), Prof. Dodds (Birmingham), Prof. Edwards (Leeds), Prof. C. A. Scutt (Melbourne) and Miss M. V. Williams (Witwatersrand) were also present. Among the general company were Prof. Fairclough (University of California), Prof. Baldwin Brown, Sir Thos. Heath, K.C.B., F.R.S., Sir Basil Blackett, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., and Lady Blackett, Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith, C.V.O., and Lady Harcourt-Smith, Lady Frazer, Lady Kenyon, Mrs. George Macmillan, Mr. and Mrs. W. E. F. Macmillan, Miss Macmillan, Mrs. and Miss Hamilton Smith, Lady Evans, Miss Joan Evans, Mrs. E. A. Gardner, Miss C. A. Hutton (Hon. Sec.), Mr. and Mrs. A. M. Daniel, Mr. and Mrs. A. J. B. Wace, Dr. H. R. Hall, Mr. Evelyn Shaw, Prof. R. M. Dawkins and Mr. John Penoyre, C.B.E. (Librarian and Secretary).

Professor H. J. W. Tillyard arranged a chronological programme of Greek songs, the items of which were sung between the speeches.

The President proposed the first toast,

H.M. THE KING,

which was followed by the singing of the *Delphic Hymn to Apollo*.

LORD D'ABERNON then proposed the toast of the evening,

THE PROSPERITY OF THE HELLENIC SOCIETY.

He said :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I come here to-night to some extent in the character of the Prodigal Son. Some fifty years ago, as an unknown Subaltern in the Guards, I brought the manuscript of a Modern Greek Grammar to your former Secretary, Mr. George Macmillan, and after Mr. Macmillan had made generous terms as to publication of this now venerable work, we discussed the formation of what is to-day your powerful and prosperous Society.

Unfortunately, at this point our paths diverged. Mr. Macmillan was faithful to Hellas; I have wandered, and have been diverted from the path of my predilection. Perhaps you will say that I lack the genial quality of a prodigal, and that I have not wasted my substance to the extent required by good-fellowship and by the Biblical model. I reply that the essential characteristic of a prodigal son is to rejoice in his return home. No one can be more glad than I am to-night to be in Hellenic surroundings—no one can be more proud to have been selected by the Officers of this august Society to address so distinguished a gathering of the learned.

As some atonement for many years' defection from the field of Hellenic culture, I may perhaps claim that in the course of the last few months I have had the advantage of taking an active part in the proposed arrangement for the better exhibition of the Elgin Marbles at the British Museum. I have long felt that England's privilege of being the fortunate possessor of the greatest examples of Greek sculpture surviving in the world to-day creates an obligation to display these priceless treasures in a manner to satisfy both archaeological and artistic requirements. I rejoice to inform you that thanks to the energetic action of the Trustees of the British Museum, acting upon the initiative of the Museums Royal Commission—thanks, above all, to the generosity of Sir Joseph Duveen

—we are not far from the day when these immortal works of art will be displayed in London in a setting worthy of their splendour.

Looking back over the half-century which has elapsed since 1879, I am greatly impressed by the progress of what was then called 'The Society for Hellenic Studies.' Modest in its infancy, it has now, owing to forty years' of indefatigable work contributed by Mr. Macmillan and to the energy of his successor Miss Hutton and of your gifted Librarian, developed into an Association of vast cultural influence. You may fairly claim that, largely through your efforts, the English world is still convinced that Greek is an inexhaustible fount of intellectual life—that the language is still regarded, not as dead, but as a living inspiration.

By the generosity and public spirit of numerous friends, you have now created in Bedford Square a haven of rest and a well of knowledge for the student, where he can enjoy the serenity and detachment derived from classical studies, and can cultivate undisturbed that sub-consciousness which is so indispensable to literary creation.

If I turn from the particular recital of your achievement to a broader view of the position, some progress may be discerned, not only in the study of the Greek language, but in the recognition felt throughout wide classes of the community, of the extraordinary debt humanity owes to the Greek mind. But even to-day how few of the lay public recognise what a vast difference it would have made to the world if Greece had never existed.

There would have been no poetry in its present form—no lyrics—no epics—nothing but the free verse which now masquerades as genuine inspiration. There would have been no drama—neither tragedy nor comedy. In painting, no perspective—no third dimension; in sculpture, a purely frontal presentation without free movement or calculated *contra-posto*. In philosophy, what would remain? I leave that to some of our German guests to tell us.

It may sound paradoxical to say so, but those who live in Rome can best realise how vast is the debt to Greece of European culture.

Of the thousands of statues that decorated Imperial Rome, the large majority were executed by Greek artists—and the rest, except the portrait busts, were inspired by Greek models. The mural paintings at Pompeii and elsewhere have a similar origin. Not only did Roman nobles go to Athens to study—not only was their eloquence and rhetoric entirely Greek in style and method, but they habitually spoke Greek with one another. 'Et tu Brute' was never said. In a moment of emotional stress and surprise, what did Caesar speak? Not Latin but Greek. He exclaimed 'Kai su teknon.' And that master of Latin style, Cicero, wrote letters in Greek more naturally than in his native tongue. Is there any parallel in the nations of the modern world for the constant use of a foreign idiom by a great and masterful country? The only analogy I can recollect is the prevalent use of French in the Prussia of Frederick the Great.

What was the effect of Greek influence upon the Roman Empire? Was not the long duration of that splendid instrument of government in a large part due to the modification of the original Roman character brought about by Greek influence? It softened the harshness of the Roman soldier type—it imparted grace—it conveyed psychological insight. And these qualities the Romans gained without becoming infected with the Greek arrogance which was the cause of their downfall. For the Greek—all foreign nations were barbarians: for the Roman—they were possible allies, potential subjects or citizens. And many of the conquered subjects became citizens.

If I am right in attributing a part of the astonishing duration of the Roman Empire to Greek influence, it is clear that the study of Hellenism is of the utmost importance to those who belong to the British Empire. Hellenism—both in its virtues and in its failings—not only in its beauty but also in the conspicuous defect which proved politically fatal to Greece itself.

Are we devoting enough attention to Hellenism to-day? I doubt it. The difficulty of the language is to many an insuperable obstacle. Do we not think too much of the language, and not enough of the thoughts the language conveys? Are we not occupied too much with the form, with the mode of expression, and not enough with the spirit and the essence? This is an age of By-passes. Do we use them enough to get at the Greek

spirit and mentality? They may be less picturesque than the old roads—but you travel along them faster.

There is another reason why we should study the Greek world more. It has a close analogy to the European world of to-day. Divide Greece into its main component parts, into its main racial streams, and you have the leading races of modern Europe. There can be no question about the similarity of mental characteristics between the French and their Ionic prototypes. The identity of standard between the Germans and the Dorian tribes is no less marked in the military sphere.

A modern equivalent to Athens is more difficult to discover. Whatever our national aspirations or pretensions, we can make little claim to this title. We do not resemble those of whom it was said: 'They are equally quick in the conception and execution of every new plan'—nor are we distinguished as the Athenians were for a vigorous questioning of accepted standards. However, we may become so in the future. Perhaps Geneva, under the auspices of the League of Nations, may fuse the Dorian and Ionic elements and develop into an eventual Athens. But the time is not yet.

For ourselves, if indeed we are justified in claiming to represent in the modern world the political wisdom and governing instinct of the Roman Empire, let us remember how much the Romans learned from Greece, and let us tread in their footsteps. Let us remember that with their breadth, their tolerance, and their capacity for conciliation, they were inspired and permeated by the artistic spirit of Hellas and with Greek philosophy and culture. By helping England to follow this great historic example, the Hellenic Society will not only enhance our prestige and our standing among nations as inheritors of a great cultural ideal, but will render in the political sphere a vital service to the Empire.

I give you the toast of the evening: 'Prosperity to the Hellenic Society,' coupled with the name of Mr. George Macmillan. (Loud Applause.)

SIR JAMES FRAZER, O.M., in supporting the toast said:

Mr. President, My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen, I could have wished that the honour of seconding this toast had been entrusted to someone more intimately associated than myself with the work of the Hellenic Society or more conversant with the recent developments of Greek studies. In this learned gathering there are doubtless many better qualified than me in both respects to do justice to the toast; but at least I yield to no one in my conviction of the excellence and utility of the object which the Hellenic Society has set itself to accomplish, and which it has consistently and successfully pursued for half a century. That object I take to be the maintenance of the Greek tradition in England and wherever the English language is spoken or understood. And why do we wish to maintain the Greek tradition? Because we believe Greece to be the true mother of our modern civilisation. From her we derive the tradition of political liberty, of intellectual freedom, of the disinterested search for truth untrammelled by dogma and prejudice, of the love of beauty in all its forms, whether in nature, in literature, or in art. It is a noble heritage: we have received it from our fathers, and we mean to hand it on intact and, if possible, enriched to our descendants. In doing so we believe that we are following the traditional policy and the soundest instincts of the English race, the policy of preserving in the present and carrying on into the future whatever has been found to be good and useful in the past. Hence we hold that in promoting Greek studies and maintaining the Greek tradition as an integral and important part of our national education the Hellenic Society is serving the best interests, not only of scholarship and learning, but of culture and humanity.

If we would picture to ourselves the immense loss which humanity would suffer by the extinction of the Greek tradition, we need only perhaps reflect on what happened in Europe during the Middle Ages, when the illumination of the Greek genius had died out, except for the solitary candle glimmering at Byzantium. It was a time of political and intellectual servitude, stagnation and slumber, the long hibernation of the European spirit. The revival of Greek literature at the Renaissance was not merely a symptom, it was a powerful instrument of that awakening of the European mind to fresh life and activity which since then has proceeded with ever-increasing energy down to our own



time. The fifty years during which the Hellenic Society has existed have witnessed a great advance in our knowledge of ancient Greece and of classical antiquity in general. The epoch-making discoveries, first of Schliemann and afterwards of Sir Arthur Evans, to name no others, have opened up a new vista into the Hellenic past, while at the same time excavations in Egypt, Babylonia, and Asia Minor have carried back the history of civilisation in the near East to still remoter ages. But I think we may say with confidence that these wonderful discoveries in Egypt and Babylonia have done nothing to lessen or impair our estimate of the debt we owe to Greece; if anything they tend rather to enhance it by contrasting the material wealth and technical perfection of these Oriental nations with the poverty and rudimentary nature of their thought compared with the richness, the range, the variety of thought which ancient Greece enshrined in its matchless literature.

In the progress of Greek studies during the last fifty years the Hellenic Society has borne an honourable part. The best record of its activity is contained in the long series of volumes of its *Journal*, comprising an immense variety of valuable articles on every aspect of Greek culture contributed by many of the best scholars of our time both English and foreign. And by its steady support of the British School at Athens the Hellenic Society has directly contributed to the exploration and excavation of many ancient sites which have yielded much precious material for the enlargement and enrichment of our knowledge of Greek history and life. It is a record of which the founders and friends of the Society may well be proud.

Of the founders of the Society, two, and the two principal, are happily still with us. They are Mr. George Macmillan and Mr. Gennadius. Together they had the happy thought, I may almost call it the inspiration, of founding a Society for the promotion of Greek studies in England and among English-speaking peoples all over the world. They communicated the idea to some of the leading scholars of the day, who took it up warmly, and in concert they drew up the scheme of the Society and laid down the lines on which, with little variation, it has run ever since. The ever-increasing success of the Society, as attested by the increasing number of its members, the great increase of its library, and the extension of its activities in other directions, is the best proof of the wisdom and foresight of its founders. Of these founders Mr. George Macmillan has been a main prop and support of the Society from its foundation down to this day. By his constant devotion to its best interests, by his sober enthusiasm, calm wisdom, and sound good sense he has contributed, more perhaps than anyone else, not only to launch the ship but to steer it on its long and prosperous voyage of half a century. The members of the Hellenic Society desire to take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Macmillan for the eminent service he has thereby rendered to the cause of learning in England and throughout the world; they congratulate him on the conspicuous success of his achievement, and they hope that for many years to come the Society may continue to benefit by his wise counsels and wide experience.

My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the prosperity of the Hellenic Society coupled with the name of Mr. George Macmillan, our Founder. (Loud applause.)

The toast, which was drunk with great enthusiasm, was followed by a Byzantine *Salutation to the Emperor John Palaeologos*.

On rising to respond to the toast, MR. GEORGE MACMILLAN was received with a great demonstration of appreciation of his work for the Society.

Mr. Macmillan referred to the excellent article which had appeared in *The Times* that morning, but said that it needed correction in one particular. It was true that he had come back from his first journey to Greece full of youthful enthusiasm for Greek art and antiquity, but it was only when some months later he had made the acquaintance of Mr. Gennadius, then Greek Chargé d'Affaires in London, that he heard on one occasion of the recent foundation in Paris of an *Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques*, and the idea of founding such a Society in England naturally suggested itself to them both. The idea lay dormant in his mind, as he then hardly knew anyone in a position to take the matter up, but in the early autumn

of 1878 he went to stay with Professor Mahaffy in Dublin and there met Professor Sayce. On Mr. Macmillan broaching the subject, Professor Sayce readily agreed to help, and in later meetings in London and in Oxford the main objects of the Society were formulated, and a list was drawn up of rather more than a hundred people who were known to have visited Greece. Letters with a copy of the objects were sent to them all in March 1879, and the replies being almost without exception favourable, these became the original members of the Society. The inaugural meeting took place on June 16, 1879, with Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Newton in the Chair, when about fifty more members were elected. At a later meeting in January 1880 the Rules, which had in the meantime been drawn up by a Committee, were approved, a Council was appointed, and Mr. Macmillan became Hon. Secretary, and thus began for him an intimate association with successive generations of scholars and archaeologists which had been one of the greatest pleasures and interests of his life. Looking back over the vista of fifty years, Mr. Macmillan recalled the names of some of those who had played a prominent part in the development of the Society but had since passed away. The most striking figure was that of Charles Newton, and it was impossible to exaggerate what the Society in those early days owed to his prestige as an excavator and administrator, to his wisdom and foresight, and to his great personal influence. He presided at practically all meetings of the Council or Committees, and would naturally have been the first President had he been willing to accept the office. The ground for his refusal had perhaps never been made public until now, and Mr. Macmillan invited the attention of His Excellency the Greek Minister to what he was about to say. Mr. Newton, who was then Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, was afraid that at some meeting of the Society it might be proposed that the Elgin Marbles should be restored to Greece, and if he were in the Chair the proposal might place him as their custodian in a very awkward position. As he was not to be dissuaded from his decision, Bishop Lightfoot was on his recommendation elected President. Other scholars who had done eminent service to the Society but had passed away were Jebb, who held the office of President for many years, Bywater, Sandys, Sidney Colvin, Henry Butcher, D. B. Monro, Henry Pelham, and more recently Walter Leaf and Hogarth.

It was indeed a matter of personal satisfaction to the speaker to have lived to see a Society which he had helped to found grow steadily from small beginnings to its present position. Referring to the Addresses of Congratulation which had been presented to the Society that afternoon by delegates from institutions and societies both English and foreign, Mr. Macmillan said that he had been glad to hear the telegram read from the Director of the British School at Athens, because it had struck him as somewhat strange that no Address had been received from the Committee of that School. That was a matter which he would take up with the Chairman of the Committee<sup>22</sup> (laughter), but speaking as he did in the presence of many members of the Committee, and of four former Directors, he could assure the Society that those representing the School were most grateful for the generous support which from its foundation the School had received from the Society. The latest example of this generosity was the Society's offer to undertake the cost of publishing the final record of the excavations carried out by members of the School on the site of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. It had been hoped that this volume would be ready for issue on the occasion of this Jubilee, but it was well advanced and would appear early in the winter.

Mr. Macmillan having been entrusted with the toast of

#### THE GUESTS,

proceeded to refer in detail to some of those whom the Society was privileged to entertain. These included Prof. Ferdinand Noack, representing the German Archaeological Institute, which had just celebrated its centenary; Prof. H. Goelzer, representing the French Academy of Inscriptions; Sir George Macdonald, representing the sister Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies; Sir Aurel Stein, who had just published the thrilling narrative of his

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<sup>22</sup> Mr. Macmillan is Chairman of the Managing Committee of the School, and ten of its twelve elected members are on the Council of the Society! [Ed.]

recent expedition into the Swat Valley, on the track of Alexander, when he had identified beyond any doubt the site of Aornos; M. Martin Nilsson, one of the Society's Honorary Members; the Greek Minister, representing the Academy of Athens; Prof. Percy Gardner, representing the University of Oxford; Dr. A. B. Cook, representing the University of Cambridge; Mr. C. H. Hawes, representing the Boston Art Museum; and representatives of the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Durham, Bristol, Wales, Melbourne and Witwatersrand. Other distinguished guests included Sir Reginald Blomfield, hardly less distinguished as a scholar than as an architect, Mr. Evelyn Shaw, the Secretary of the British School at Rome and Mr. A. W. Clapham, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries. Mr. Macmillan had hoped to couple with the toast the name of M. Gennadius, the sole survivor of the original list of Honorary Members and one of those to whom the foundation of the Society was due, but in his unavoidable absence through ill-health he had much pleasure in calling upon Prof. Ferdinand Noack to respond to the toast.

After the singing of a group of modern Greek Folk Songs, PROFESSOR FERDINAND NOACK, who spoke in German, returned thanks on behalf of the guests. He said:

Herr Präsident, My Lord, sehr geehrte Damen und Herren!

Mir ist der ehrenvolle Auftrag geworden, im Namen der Gäste und auswärtigen Delegierten den herzlichen Dank dafür auszusprechen, dass Sie uns gebeten haben, hier, in der Stadt der Elgin Marbles, teilzunehmen an dem Feste des fünfzigjährigen Gedenktages der Gründung der Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

Mit Dank und Stolz blicken Sie zurück auf diese Gründung aus der grossen Tradition der Dilettanti und der englischen Philologie heraus, eine Gründung ermöglicht, getragen und lebensfähig erhalten allein durch die persönliche Begeisterung, Opferwilligkeit und Hingabe aller Ihrer Mitglieder, und zu immer stärkerer und umfassenderer Wirksamkeit emporgewachsen. Und so huldigen wir heute der Hellenic Society als einem wissenschaftlichen Institute von hohem Rang, und aus vielen Teilen der Kulturwelt kommen die Glückwünsche, kommt der Dank der Wissenschaft, der Wissenschaft, die über alle nationalen Grenzen hinweg ihre Jünger eint.—

Gleich mit dem ersten Tage sind Ihnen die Wege gewiesen, sind die Ziele weit gesteckt worden.

Wenn heute die Forschungsarbeit Ihrer Mitglieder über die klassische Antike hinaus byzantinische und mittelalterliche Zeiten und Denkmäler sowie volkstümliche Sitten und Gebräuche, Legenden und Sprache des modernen Hellenentums umfasst, wenn Philologie und Inschriftenforschung ebenbürtig neben der Auswertung der Monumente und der Landschaft für Geschichte, Topographie, Religion und Kunstwissenschaft stehen, wenn eins das andere ergänzt und aufzuhellen sucht, wenn die Statten Ihrer Arbeit weit über das eigentliche griechische Land hinausführen,—so sehen wir mit Staunen und Bewunderung, wie sich damit erfüllt, was in seiner programmatischen Ansprache in der Eröffnungssitzung vor fünfzig Jahren am 16. Juni Charles Newton mit weitausschauendem Blick gefordert hatte:

als den zeitlichen Bereich für die Hellenic Studies mehr als zweitausendfünfhundert Jahre, und

als die geographische Provinz: wo immer Denkmäler hellenischer Sprache und Kunst uns begegnen.

Und dazu der lapidare Satz: 'We all know, that without the illustration of ancient art the text of the classics lose half their force and meaning. The architecture, the sculpture, the coins, the fictile vases and the other antiquities of the Hellenic race are, when rightly understood, a most precious and reliable commentary on the extant writings of the ancients.'

Das aber war ein Programm, das bereits die Altertumswissenschaft und die Kulturforschung einschliesslich der ihr unentbehrlichen Archäologie als eine grosse Einheit erfasst und gefordert hat,—eine Erkenntnis, die damals durchaus noch keine allgemein gültige war. Wenn sie heute für uns selbstverständlich ist, so ist das nicht zum wenigsten der Erfüllung dieses Programms durch die Hellenic Society zu danken.

Wenn zwei Begriffe darin noch fehlten, die Prähistorie und die grosse systematische Ausgrabung, so ist das zu begreifen: die Prähistorie fing damals erst an sich im griechischen Süden zu erschliessen,—wie stark und mit vorbildlichen Methoden dann gerade da die englische Forschung eingegriffen hat, sagen zur Genüge die Namen Kreta, prehistorische Thessaly, Makedonien. Und die Periode der grossen systematischen Ausgrabungen hatte ja auch gerade erst begonnen, und ich musste wieder sprechen von Cypern und Naukratis, Ephesus, Palaukastros, Zakro, Phylakopi, Mykenä, und wie wir es Ihnen verdanken, dass wir heute immer besser wissen, wie es im alten Sparta ausgesehen hat. Und das wäre auch nur eine Auswahl aus dem ganzen Werk; nichts wäre gesagt von den Studien in Kleinasien, denen über die Anfänge der Tragödie, nichts vom Laurentianus, Vencus, Ravennas.

Ich darf hier, da ich im Namen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Ihnen zu gratulieren die Ehre hatte, zwei Sätze einschalten, die wenig bekannt sein dürften und die man heute nicht ohne Ergriffenheit lesen wird. Als Charles Newton vor zweiundfünfzig Jahren von der Universität Strassburg zum Ehrendoctor promoviert wurde, schrieb er in seinem Dank an die philosophische Fakultät: 'It is from Germany, that I always sought that sound and thorough information on every branch of archaeological and philological study, which no other country has produced in this generation; it is to Germany, that I have always looked for encouragement and appreciation of labour, which has occupied me for many years and which I now feel not to have been in vain.' Nun ich denke, dass die Hellenic Society von der Arbeit, which has occupied her for fifty years, auch das Gefühl und die Ueberzeugung haben darf, not to have been in vain.

Wir alle haben von dieser Arbeit, die mit so vielen ausgezeichneten Gelehrten- und Forschernamen verbunden ist, wertvollste Belehrung und Bereicherung unseres Wissens erfahren, sie täglich von Neuem. Wir sind daran mit dem höchsten Interesse beteiligt, denn es geht um dieselbe Sache, der wir alle mit dem besten Teile unseres Lebens dienen. Wir fühlen uns alle eins mit Ihnen im gleichen Streben und gleichen Ziele, wir fühlen uns als Philhellene und als Hellenisten mit Ihnen, mit der Hellenic Society zusammen als Eine grössere Hellenic Society.

In den kommenden Jahrzehnten wird die Archäologie zu immer einflussreicherer Arbeit im Rahmen der Altertumswissenschaft im Sinne Newtons, nur in noch weiterem Ausmasse, berufen sein. Wir wünschen der Hellenic Society und sind dessen sicher, dass auch sie mit immer wachsendem Erfolge, ruhmvoll wie bisher, daran beteiligt sein werde, und dass nach weiteren fünfzig Jahren die Sakularfeier davon laute Kunde geben wird. In dieser Ueberzeugung rufen wir der Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies ein herzliches *εὐχαθὴ τύχη* zu.

Meine Damen und Herren! Verehrungswürdige Namen stehen in der Liste Ihrer Grunder vor fünfzig Jahren. Wir beglückwünschen Sie dazu, dass einige ihrer Träger auch noch das heutige Fest mit Ihnen begehen und die Tradition dieser ersten fünfzig Jahre lebendig repräsentieren.

Ich bitte Sie, auf Ihren verehrten Herrn Präsidenten das Glas zu erheben!

#### THE CHAIRMAN.

MR. HAMILTON SMITH, in acknowledging the toast, the last act of his tenure of office, welcomed his successor, PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER, and congratulated him on his election. He then called on MR. JOHN PENOYRE, who proposed the health of

MR. GEORGE MACMILLAN,

which was received with loud and prolonged applause and with musical honours.

In expressing his thanks for the cordial way in which this quite unexpected toast had been received, Mr. Macmillan took occasion to lay stress upon the great debt which the Society owed to the devoted services of Mr. Penoyre.

The company then separated.

Copies of Mr. Macmillan's *History* have since been despatched to all the Honorary Members and to the Universities, Societies and Individuals from whom addresses, letters and telegrams were received, together with the following official expression of thanks :

ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΟΝΤΩΝ  
ΑΩΟΘ—ΑΛΚΘ.

---

Τὸ κοινὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ Βρεταννίᾳ καταταχθέν  
ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΟΝΤΩΝ

πεντήκοντα ἔτη διατελέσαν

τῷ - - - - -

συγχαίροντι τῷ κοινῷ  
χάριν οἶδεν ἀξιωτάτην.

---

ἔδοξε τῇ Βουλῇ ταύτας τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ὡς εὐπρεπεστάτας οὔσας ἐν  
τῇ δημοσίᾳ θήκῃ κοσμιώτατα φυλάττειν.

Ἐν Λονδίνῳ τῇ τρισκαιδεκᾷ ἐβδόμῳ μηνός, ΑΛΚΘ.

All the originals, some of which are reproduced in this Report (Plates A-L), are carefully laid up ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ θήκῃ for the use of those who fifty years hence will arrange the Centenary Celebrations of the Society.

# A COMPLETE LIST OF DONORS TO THE HELLENIC SOCIETY'S FUNDS, 1925-29

*The following list shows the financial help given by members during the last five years towards the acquisition of the new premises at 50, Bedford Square, and the equipment of the new Library.*

*Of the total shown about £2430 were subscribed on the occasion of the Society's recent Jubilee in order to clear off the debt of £3000 on the Lease. This debt has now been reduced to about £500.*

*The Council record with gratitude their belief that the voluntary contribution of so large a sum within so short a period augurs well for the further effective promotion of Hellenic Studies.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
All Souls College, Oxford ...	10	0	0	Brought forward...	566	11	0
Alleyn's School, Dulwich ...	1	1	0	Anson, Miss M. C. ...	1	1	0
Balliol College, Oxford ...	5	0	0	Apperson, Miss D. ...	1	1	0
Brasenose College, Oxford ...	5	0	0	Archibald, Miss E. ...	1	1	0
Christ Church, Oxford ...	20	0	0	Arkwright, W. G. ...	10	0	0
Clare College, Cambridge ...	2	2	0	Armstead, Miss C. W. ...	3	1	0
Classical Assoc. of S. Africa, Johannesburg Branch ...	5	5	0	Armstead, Miss H. ...	1	1	0
Denstone College, Stafford ...	1	10	0	Ashburner, W. ...	5	5	0
King's College, Cambridge ...	5	0	0	Ashmole, Mr. and Mrs. B. ...	3	3	0
Merton College, Oxford...	10	0	0	Aston-Lewis, W. ...	10	0	0
New College, Oxford ...	5	0	0	Austin, R. P. ...	1	11	6
Oriel College, Oxford ...	5	5	0	Avern, Miss B. E. ...	1	1	0
Pembroke College, Cambridge	5	0	0	Bacon, Miss J. R. ...	1	1	0
Peterhouse, Cambridge ...	2	2	0	Baggally, J. W. ...	5	0	0
R.A.F. Officers' Mess, Cranwell	2	2	0	Bailey, Cyril ...	3	1	0
Roman Society ...	250	0	0	Bailey, J. C. ...	6	2	0
Rugby School ...	5	0	0	Baily, E. P. ...	10	0	0
Society of Dilettanti ...	100	0	0	Baker, Rt. Hon. H. T. ...	1	0	0
St. John's College, Oxford ...	5	0	0	Baker-Gabb, Miss B. ...	1	1	0
Trinity College, Cambridge ...	50	0	0	Banister, Mrs. ...	1	1	0
University College, Oxford ...	5	0	0	Barge, Mrs. S. M....	4	4	0
				Baring, Hon. Cecil ...	5	0	0
				Barlow, Miss A. E. F. ...	3	0	0
				Barnard, Miss E. M. ...	1	0	0
Abbott, Edwin ...	5	5	0	Barnard, Miss H. M. ...	10	0	0
Abercrombie, C. M. ...	1	1	0	Barnard, W. ...	2	2	0
Aberystwyth Branch of Clas- sical Assoc., per A. Woodward	1	1	0	Barran, Sir John, Bart. ...	10	5	0
Adams, Miss E. M. ...	1	0	6	Barrow, R. H. ...	1	1	0
Adcock, Prof. F. E. ...	15	0	0	Batchelor, F. ...	1	0	0
Adeney, A. W. ...	5	0	0	Baty, C. W. ...	10	6	0
Alexander, Mrs. K. ...	7	2	0	Baynes, N. H. ...	7	2	0
Alford, Mrs. A. ...	25	0	0	Beames, Miss E. ...	10	6	0
Alleyne, Miss S. M. ...	10	6	0	Bell, E. ...	5	0	0
Anderson, A. C. ...	1	0	0	Bell, H. I. ...	2	2	0
Anderson, J. G. C. ...	2	2	0	Benecke, P. V. M. ...	7	0	0
Anderson, R. H. ...	7	7	0	Benn, Mrs. Alfred ...	12	2	0
Anon....	10	0	0	Bennion, A. T. ...	2	2	0
				Benton, Miss S. ...	3	17	0
Carried forward ...	566	11	0	Carried forward ...	687	5	6

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	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward...	687	5	6	Brought forward...	909	15	6
Bevan, E. R. ... ..	2	2	0	Case, Miss Janet ... ..		10	6
Binyon, Denis ... ..		10	0	Caskey, Mrs L. D. ... ..		2	2
Bissing, Prof. F. W. von ... ..	2	18	0	Caspersz, A ... ..		3	3
Black, Sir Frederick ... ..		10	0	Cassavetti, D. J ... ..		1	1
Blackadder, Dr. A. D. ... ..	1	1	0	Chamberlain, R. ... ..		2	2
Blackett, J. P. M. ... ..		1	0	Chance, A. F. ... ..		10	0
Blinkenberg, Prof. Dr. C. ... ..		1	0	Chance, R. J. F. ... ..		1	0
Body, L. A ... ..		1	1	Chapman, His Hon. Judge ... ..		7	7
Bonar, James ... ..		1	1	Chapman, Miss A. C. ... ..		1	1
Bosanquet, G. C. ... ..		1	1	Chartier, Rev. Canon E. ... ..		1	0
Bosanquet, R. C. ... ..		8	3	Childe, V. G. ... ..		2	2
Bowes, G. K. ... ..	2	12	6	Chitty, Rev. G. J. ... ..		1	1
Box, H. ... ..		10	6	Chitty, Miss J. E. ... ..		2	2
Boxwell, Prof J. ... ..	2	1	0	Christie, Miss A. M. T. ... ..		5	0
Boys, Rev. H. A ... ..		10	0	Christie, J. T ... ..		2	2
Bradley, L. J. H. ... ..		1	1	Clauson, Sir Charles ... ..		6	6
Bradshaw, R. H. ... ..		1	1	Clay & Sons, Ltd., Messrs. R. ... ..	10	10	0
Braunholtz, G. E. K. ... ..		1	1	Clay, C. F. ... ..		3	3
Braunholtz, Mrs. ... ..		1	1	Clifton, E. W. V. ... ..		5	0
Brewster, F. ... ..		5	0	Clogstoun, Mrs. ... ..		2	0
Brigg, W. A. ... ..		6	0	Colt, Miss A. I. ... ..		1	1
Briggs, Miss M. G. ... ..		10	0	Cook, Dr A. B. ... ..		2	2
Brightman, Rev. F. E. ... ..		2	2	Cookson, C. ... ..		1	1
Brock, Miss M. D. ... ..		1	1	Cole, S. C. ... ..		1	1
Brooke, Mrs. ... ..		2	2	Coley, Miss D. ... ..		1	1
Broughall, Miss M. S. ... ..		10	0	Collett, A. ... ..		1	0
Brown, Prof. G. Baldwin ... ..	5	5	0	Collinson, W. R. ... ..		1	1
Brown, James ... ..	3	1	0	Compton, Rev. W. ... ..		1	0
Brown, S. H. ... ..		10	6	Connal, Prof. B. M. ... ..		3	1
Browne, Lady Gore ... ..	3	3	0	Conway, Prof. R. S. ... ..		2	2
Brydges, E. E. H. ... ..		1	1	Cooper, Miss K. ... ..		2	0
Buck, Miss ... ..		5	0	Corley, F. E. ... ..		1	1
Buckland, W. W. ... ..		1	1	Corning, Prof. H. K. ... ..	20	0	0
Buckler, W. H. and Mrs. Buckler	102	2	0	Courtauld, Miss S. R. ... ..		8	3
Bullen, Miss H. E. ... ..		1	1	Cow, Mrs. Douglas ... ..		1	1
Buren, Dr. A. W. van ... ..		3	3	Crace, J. F. ... ..		2	2
Burn, A. R. ... ..		4	4	Crees, Dr J. H. E. ... ..		1	11
Burnside, Rev Canon W. F. ... ..		1	0	Crewe, Most Hon Marquess of,			
Burrell, P. S. ... ..		10	0	K. G. ... ..		8	8
Burrowes, Major P. ... ..		1	1	Crimp, Dr. G. L. ... ..		1	1
Burton-Brown, Miss ... ..		1	1	Cripps, R. ... ..		4	2
Burton-Brown, Mrs ... ..		2	2	Crocker, A. J. ... ..		1	1
Bury, Gerard ... ..		1	1	Cross, G. ... ..			4
Bushe, Brig -General F. ... ..		2	1	Cross, Geoffrey ... ..		1	1
Buxton, Mrs ... ..	15	0	0	Crowfoot, J. W. ... ..		5	5
Cambridge, Prof. A. W. Pickard		5	5	Culley, Mrs E. B. ... ..		2	2
Capps, Prof E. ... ..		1	1	Cumont, Prof. F. ... ..		1	1
Carbery, Mary, Lady ... ..		4	4	Cust, Sir Lionel, K C V O ... ..		2	2
Carlisle, Miss M. ... ..		2	2	Cuttle, W. L. ... ..		1	1
Caroe, W. D. ... ..		1	1	Dale, Miss ... ..			10
Carr, Andrew ... ..		1	1	Danson, J. R. ... ..		2	2
Carter, Dr E. ... ..		3	0	Davies, Prof. G. A. ... ..		2	2
Carter, J. H. ... ..			10	Davies, Miss G. E. ... ..		25	0
Carthew, Miss ... ..		3	3	Davies, J. ... ..		1	1
Cary, M. ... ..		5	0	Davies, Rev J. T. ... ..		1	1
Carried forward ... ..	909	15	6	Carried forward ... ..	1088	0	9

## CXXV

	£	s	d.		£	s	d.
Brought forward...	1088	0	9	Brought forward...	1345	6	3
Davies, Oliver ... ..	1	1	0	Frazer, Sir James G., O.M. ...	10	10	0
Davidson, C. J. ... ..	10	10	0	Freese-Pennefather, H. W. A....	1	1	0
Dawes, Miss E. A. S. ... ..	1	1	0	Frost, Rev. P. R....	10	6	
Dawkins, Prof. R. M. ... ..	10	0	0	Furley, J. S. ... ..	1	1	0
Demetriadi, G. C. ... ..	2	2	0	Furneaux, L. R. ... ..	1	1	0
Demuth, Miss C. ... ..	1	1	0	Gair, Mrs. ... ..	1	1	0
Dennis, Dr. C. P. L. ... ..	10	6		Gardiner, Dr. E. Norman ...	2	1	0
Dobie, M. R. ... ..	10	0		Gardner, Miss A. ... ..	1	1	0
Dobson, Miss K. H. ... ..	1	1	0	Gardner, Prof. E. A. ... ..	4	4	0
Dodds, Prof. E. R. ... ..	2	2	0	Gardner, Miss M. C. ... ..	9	0	
Dodds, Sir James M. ... ..	2	2	0	Gardner, Prof. P. ... ..	60	10	0
Doll, Christian ... ..	2	2	0	Gardner, R. ... ..	2	2	0
Domaille, Miss M. ... ..	10	0		Gardner, Willoughby ... ..	1	1	0
Dorling, Col. F. ... ..	10	6		Garstang, Prof. J. ... ..	1	11	6
Douglas, C. M. ... ..	1	0	0	Gaselee, S. ... ..	2	2	0
Drake, G. R. ... ..	10	6		Gaymer, Mrs. Bernard ...	2	0	0
Drake, H. L. ... ..	1	0	0	Geare, Miss ... ..	2	2	0
Droop, Prof. J. P. ... ..	15	15	0	Geden, Rev. A. S. ... ..	2	2	0
Dryhurst, A. R. ... ..	2	2	0	Gedge, Miss E. C. ... ..	1	1	0
Dundas, R. H. ... ..	17	2	0	Gidney, A. R. ... ..	4	4	0
Dunn, Miss E. B. J. ... ..	10	6		Gilson, J. P. ... ..	1	1	0
Durrant, Miss E. B. ... ..	5	0	0	Givcen, R. L. ... ..	20	0	0
Earnshaw, Miss E. M. ... ..	10	0	0	Gloucester, Rt. Rev. Lord			
Edgar, C. C. ... ..	1	0	0	Bishop of... ..	1	1	0
Edgar, Prof. C. S. ... ..	1	1	0	Goddard, B. R. ... ..	10	6	
Egerton-Warburton, C....	5	0	0	Golgher, Dr. W. A. ... ..	3	3	0
Elliot, Sir Francis ... ..	5	0	0	Gomme, A. W. ... ..	1	11	6
Essen, Prof. C. van ... ..	2	0	0	Gow, A. S. F. ... ..	2	2	0
Eumorfopoulos, Miss E. ...	1	0	0	Graham, R. B. ... ..	1	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, G. ... ..	10	0	0	Graves-Sawle, Lady ... ..	1	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, N. ... ..	3	0	0	Green, F. D. L. ... ..	3	1	0
Evans, Sir Arthur ... ..	100	0	0	Greene, Rt. Hon. Sir Conyng-			
Evans, D. E. ... ..	1	1	0	ham ... ..	10	0	
Evans, Miss Helene ... ..	10	6		Greene, H. W. ... ..	10	10	0
Evans, Miss Joan... ..	1	1	0	Greenwood, J. A. ... ..	1	0	0
Evans, Lady ... ..	7	2	0	Greenwood, L. H. G. ... ..	5	5	0
Evans, Mrs. L. Conway ...	1	0	0	Greenwood, L. W. ... ..	2	1	0
Ewing, J. L. ... ..	1	1	0	Gregory, Miss A. M. ... ..	10	6	
Farnell, L. R., D.Litt. ...	1	1	0	Griffith, J. ... ..	5	0	
Farrington, B. ... ..	10	6		Grundy, Prof. W. ... ..	1	1	0
Farquhar, Miss Helen ... ..	5	0	0	Hall, H. R. ... ..	1	1	0
Farquhar, Miss Isabel ... ..	5	0	0	Hall, Miss W. L. ... ..	1	1	0
Fegan, Miss E. S. ... ..	3	3	0	Hallam, G. H. ... ..	52	10	0
Fitzgerald, Augustine ... ..	15	5	0	Hallam, Mrs. G. H. ... ..	2	2	0
Fitzgerald, G. M. ... ..	2	2	0	Hallward, B. L. ... ..	1	1	0
Fitzherbert, J. A. ... ..	1	1	0	Hammond, Mr. & Mrs. J. L. ...	1	1	0
Fleming, Miss D. ... ..	1	1	0	Hanna, H. B. ... ..	1	1	0
Fleming, Miss Helen ... ..	2	2	0	Harris, A. C. ... ..	5	0	0
Flemming, Dr. P. ... ..	1	1	0	Hart, Miss E. M. ... ..	1	1	0
Fletcher, G. B. A. ... ..	1	0	0	Hart, Gilbert ... ..	10	0	
Forbes, P. B. R. ... ..	2	2	0	Hart, Percival ... ..	5	5	0
Forsdyke, E. J. ... ..	1	1	0	Hasluck, Mrs. Margaret ...	1	0	0
Forsey, G. F. ... ..	10	6		Hastings, G. ... ..	3	0	0
Forster, Prof. E. S. ... ..	1	1	0	Hayter, A. G. ... ..	1	1	0
Frampton, Rev. R. E. E ...	10	0	0	Heath, C. H. ... ..	10	0	
Carried forward ... ..	1345	6	3	Carried forward ... ..	1579	18	3



CXXVI

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward...	1579	18	3	Brought forward...	1833	12	6
Heberdey, Prof. Dr. R. ...	1	0	0	Kenion, T. D. ...	3	1	0
Heitland, W. E. ...	1	1	0	Kensington, Miss F. ...	1	0	0
Henn, Hon. Mrs. ...	1	0	0	Kenward, H. S. ...	1	1	0
Hewlett, E. G. W. ...	1	11	6	Kenyon, Sir Frederic ...	5	0	0
Hickie, E. Wynne ...	2	0	0	Kingdom, T. ...	1	1	0
Hiley, F. C. W. ...	2	0	0	Kirkby, R. N. ...	1	1	0
Hill, G. F., C.B. ...	56	5	0	Knight, Miss C. M. ...	4	2	0
Hirst, Miss M. E. ...	2	1	0	Knight, W. F. J. ...	10	6	
Hirtzel, M. A. F. ...	1	1	0	Kretschmer, Dr. P. ...	10	0	
Hobling, Miss M. B. ...	2	0	0	Lamb, Miss W. ...	40	0	0
Hodges, H. W. ...	1	10	6	Lambart, J. H. L. ...	1	1	0
Hodgkinson, H. R. ...	1	1	0	Langford, F. C. G. ...	1	1	0
Hogarth, D. G. ...	3	3	0	Last, H. M. ...	20	10	0
Hogarth, Miss M. I. ...	2	2	0	Laurie, G. E. ...	3	3	0
Holding, Miss G. E. ...	3	3	0	Laurie, K. S. ...	1	1	0
Holland, Miss M. E. ...	10	6		Law, Mrs. G. M. ...	2	1	0
Holme, H. C. ...	10	6		Lawrence, Sir Percival ...	10	10	0
Holmes, Dr. T. Rice ...	4	4	0	Leaf, Dr. Walter ...	50	0	0
Holroyd, M. ...	55	5	0	Leary, Miss B. A. ...	10	0	
Hopkins, T. H. C. ...	10	6		Lee, Mrs. ...	1	1	0
Hopkinson, H. T. ...	1	1	0	Leeper, Alex ...	2	2	0
Hopkinson, Rev. Canon J. H. ...	2	2	0	Leeper, A. W. A. ...	1	1	0
Hopkinson, Stephan ...	10	6		Lemon, Miss E. ...	5	0	
Hornsby, Miss H. M. ...	5	0	0	Lethaby, Prof. W. R. ...	1	0	0
Horsfall, Miss K. ...	10	0		Lewis, H. R. ...	10	6	
Hose, H. F. ...	4	4	0	Lewis, J. Spedan ...	35	10	0
Hoste, Miss M. R. ...	15	6		Liddell, Mrs. A. F. ...	6	1	0
Hotson, J. E. B. ...	1	1	0	Lister, E. ...	10	0	0
How, W. W. ...	2	2	0	Livingstone, Dr. R. W. ...	4	4	0
Howard, E. C. ...	10	0	0	Lloyd, John Emrys ...	10	6	
Howard, Miss M. ...	3	0	0	Lloyd, Miss M. E. H. ...	10	0	0
Hunt, Prof. A. S. ...	1	1	0	Lloyd-Baker, A. B. ...	3	0	0
Hunter, T. W. ...	1	1	0	Lock, Rev. W., D.D. ...	1	0	0
Huntington, Rev. G. H. ...	5	1	3	Locket, Mrs. ...	1	11	6
Hurry, Dr. ...	1	1	0	Loeb, James ...	30	0	0
Hutchinson, Miss A. K. ...	10	0		Loewy, Prof. Emmanuel ...	10	0	
Hutton, Miss C. A. ...	40	0	0	Longden, R. P. ...	2	0	0
Innes-Hopkins, G. B. ...	3	3	0	Low, Miss J. I. ...	52	2	6
Ionides, A. C., Jun. ...	5	0	0	Lowe, Miss D. ...	10	6	
Irons, Miss C. M. ...	1	1	0	Lucas, F. L. ...	2	2	0
Irvine, A. L. ...	1	10	0	Lunn, Sir Henry ...	5	5	0
Jacks, M. L. ...	1	1	0	Lupton, Miss E. G. ...	1	1	0
Jacobsthal, Prof. Dr. ...	10	6		Lynam, A. E. ...	2	2	0
James, Lionel ...	1	1	0	Macan, R. W. ...	2	2	0
Jardine, Lindsay ...	1	0	0	Macdonald, Sir George, K.C.B. ...	5	0	0
Jeeves, C. C. ...	1	1	0	Macdonell, Sir P. J. ...	2	2	0
Jex-Blake, Miss ...	2	2	0	Macgregor, D. C. ...	2	2	0
Johnson, Rev. F. W. ...	10	0		Machin, M. I. ...	2	2	0
Johnson, Miss Lorna ...	13	0	0	MacIver, D. Randall- ...	12	7	10
Johnstone, Miss R. G. ...	5	0	0	Mack, Dr. H. H. ...	1	1	0
Jolliffe, Miss N. C. ...	1	1	0	Mackail, Dr. J. W. ...	5	0	0
Jones, Principal H. Stuart ...	3	3	0	Mackinnon, Miss K. ...	51	1	0
Jones, Sir R. Armstrong- ...	1	1	0	MacLehose, Alec ...	1	1	0
Jury, C. R. ...	10	0		MacLehose, James ...	1	1	0
Kelly, His Hon. Judge Hull ...	1	1	0	MacMaster, J. ...	3	0	0
Carried forward ...	1833	12	6	Carried forward ...	2242	5	4

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	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward ...	224	2	5 4	Brought forward ...	3060	4	10
Macmillan, Mrs. Alexander ...	1	1	0	Oldaker, W. H. ...	1	1	0
Macmillan, G. A. ...	500	0	0	Oram, Miss G. M. ...	1	1	0
Macmillan, W. E. F. ...	35	10	0	Ormerod, Prof. H. A. ...	4	4	0
Macmillan & Co., Ltd. ...	26	5	0	Oswald, F. ...	1	1	0
Maillard, J. D. ...	1	1	0	Owen, A. S. ...	2	2	0
Malcolm, D. O. ...	3	3	0	Ozanne, R. J. T. ...	1	1	0
Manning, F. ...	2	2	0	Pallis, Alex ...	10	0	0
Marriage, Miss E. M. ...	10	10	0	Pantin, Mr. and Mrs. W. E. P. ...	2	2	0
Marshall, F. H. ...	1	1	0	Parker, Miss C. E. ...	1	1	0
Marshall, R. ...	5	0	0	Parker, Colonel J. ...	2	2	0
Martin, G. T. ...	1	1	0	Parker, Dr. W. R. ...	5	0	0
Mason, C. A. F. ...	1	11	6	Paton, Sir Alfred ...	4	2	0
Matheson, Rev. Canon F. W. ...	1	1	0	Paton, J. M. ...	5	0	0
Matheson, P. E. ...	2	1	0	Payne, H. G. G. ...	1	1	0
Mattingly, H. ...	1	1	0	Peach, H. H. ...	1	1	0
Maufe, F. B. ...	2	2	0	Pearman, E. ...	1	1	0
McAlmon, Mrs. and Mrs.				Pearson, Prof. A. C. ...	1	1	0
Aldington ...		10	6	Peckover, The Hon. Alexandrina ...	50	0	0
McDonell, H. C. ...	4	4	0	Pelly, Mrs. ...		10	0
McElderry, Prof. R. K. ...	2	1	0	Pember, F. W. ...	3	3	0
McEvoy, C. ...	2	2	0	Pendlebury, J. D. S. ...	5	5	0
McGuinness, Miss E. M. ...		5	0	Penoyre, John ...	200	0	0
Mead, Miss L. M. ...		10	6	Penoyre, Miss ...	15	0	0
Medley, R. P. ...	1	1	0	Penoyre, Miss M. ...	10	0	0
Meiggs, R. ...		19	0	Penrose, Dame Emily ...	15	10	0
Meiklejohn, R. S. ...	1	1	0	Percival, F. W. ...		5	0
Metcalfe, Sir Charles, Bart. ...	5	0	0	Perry, G. M. ...		1	1
Miller, Miss G. E. ...	2	2	0	Petrocchino, D. P. ...	2	2	0
Milligan, W. M. M. ...	1	1	0	Phillimore, Prof. J. S. ...	5	0	0
Millington, Mrs. A. Van ...	1	1	0	Phillips, Miss C. M. ...		2	6
Millington, Miss M. V. ...	1	1	0	Phillips, J. G. ...	2	2	0
Milne, H. J. M. ...	15	15	0	Phillpotts, J. S. ...	1	1	0
Milne, Dr. and Mrs. J. G. ...	15	0	0	Pickering, T. E. ...	5	0	0
Mitchell, Rev. M. J. ...	1	1	0	Platnauer, M. ...	2	2	0
Mond, Robert ...	100	0	0	Polehampton, Rev. E. H. ...	1	1	0
Monkhouse, P. ...	2	2	0	Pollock, Rt. Hon. Sir F., Bart. ...	2	2	0
Montague, F. C. ...	2	0	0	Pope, Mrs. G. H. ...	1	1	0
Morley, F. ...	1	1	0	Porter, W. H. ...		1	11
Morrison, Wm. ...	1	1	0	Poulsen, Prof. Dr. F. ...	20	0	0
Morshead, Mrs. M. A. ...	10	0	0	Powell, J. U. ...	3	3	0
Moss, H. St. L. B. ...	3	1	0	Pownall, Mrs. Helen A. ...	1	1	0
Mozley, J. H. ...	1	0	0	Prentice, C. H. C. ...	10	10	0
Munro, J. A. R. ...	3	3	0	Prescott, H. M. ...	1	1	0
Murray, Prof. Gilbert ...	5	0	0	Preston, Lt.-Col. J. E. ...	2	2	0
Murray, Prof. and Lady Mary ...	5	0	0	Price, Miss E. R. ...	3	3	0
Murray, Miss S. W. ...	5	5	0	Prickard, A. O. ...	2	2	0
Myres, Prof. J. L. ...	3	3	0	Purdie, Miss F. ...	1	1	0
Nairn, Miss G. A. ...		10	6	Purdon, W. T. ...	1	1	0
Nairn, Rev. Dr. J. A. ...	10	1	0	Purser, L. C. ...	10	0	0
Nash, Miss G. H. A. ...	7	2	0	Pyddoke, Miss M. ...	5	0	0
Neill, W. C. H. ...	1	0	0	Quennell, C. H. B. ...	1	0	0
Nettlefold, Rev. J. K. ...	3	0	6	Rackham, H. ...		1	1
Nilsson, Prof. M P ...	1	1	0	Radford, Miss E. ...		10	6
Oakley, H C. ...	3	3	0	Raleigh, Miss K. A. ...		1	11
O.B. 98 ...	1	0	0	Ramsay, Sir W. M. ...		1	1
Carried forward ...	3060	4	10	Carried forward ...	3498	6	10

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
Brought forward ...	349	8	6	10	Brought forward ...	394	0	7	4
Rattenbury, R. M. ...	1	1	0		Smith, A. H. ...	30	10	0	
Reckitt, G. F. ...	200	0	0		Sonnenschein, Prof. E. A. ...	2	0	0	
Record, S. P. ...	2	2	0		Spencer, S. E. ...	4	4	0	
Rendall, Rev. Dr. G. H. ...	8	8	0		Spooner, Rev. Canon W. A. ...	1	1	0	
Reynolds, P. K. Bailhe... ..	1	1	0		Spranger, J. A. ...	2	2	0	
Richardson, Miss A. C. ...	10	6			Stainer, J. F. R. ...	1	1	0	
Richardson, Miss Hilda ...	1	11	6		Staines, E. A. ...	1	1	0	
Richardson, L. J. D. ...	5	0			Stainton, J. A. ...	1	1	0	
Riches, T. H. ...	2	2	0		Stanhope-Jones, Miss ...	10	0		
Richter, Miss Gisela ...	5	5	0		Steel-Maitland, Sir A., Bart ...	2	2	0	
Rickett, D. H. F....	2	2	0		Stevenson, G. H. ...	2	2	0	
Ripon, Lord Bishop of ...	2	2	0		Stogdon, Rev. E. ...	10	6		
Roberts, J. Slingsby ...	1	1	0		Stokes, J. L. ...	10	0		
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys. ...	2	1	0		Stone, C. G. ...	1	1	0	
Robertson, A. ...	10	6			Stout, Prof. G. F. ...	2	2	0	
Robertson, Prof. D. S. ...	7	7	0		Strong, Mrs. S. Arthur ...	1	1	0	
Robertson, Rt. Rev. Bishop ...	4	4	0		Stubbs, S. G. B. ...	10	6		
Robins, Miss B. T. ...	1	0	0		Studnickza, Prof. F. ...	1	0	0	
Robinson, E. S. G. ...	5	0	0		Sturge, L. F. ...	1	1	0	
Rogers, Miss M. D. ...	4	4	0		Sutherland-Harris, J. A. ...	1	0	0	
Rothschild, Anthony de ...	50	0	0		Swallow, Rev. Canon R. D. ...	3	0	0	
Rotton, Sir J. F. ...	2	2	0		Sydney-Turner, S. A. ...	1	1	0	
Rowlatt, C. J. ...	2	0	0		Sykes, A. ...	4	4	0	
Royal Institute of British Archi- tects ...	10	10	0		Sykes, Sir Percy, K.C.I.E. ...	2	2	0	
Rush, Mrs ...	1	0	0		Symonds, Rev. H. H. ...	1	1	0	
Rushtorth, G. McN. ...	4	4	0		Tait, C. J. ...	3	3	0	
Russell, T. B. ...	1	0	0		Tait, G. A. D. ...	1	1	0	
Salisbury, F. S. ...	5	5	0		Tancock, Lt.-Col. A. ...	2	2	0	
Salter, Mrs H. de. G. ...	3	3	0		Tarn, W. W. ...	80	0	0	
Sandbach, F. H. ...	2	2	0		Tarrant, Miss D. ...	2	2	0	
Saul, J. S. Wingate ...	1	0	0		Tatton, R. G. ...	2	2	0	
Sayce, Rev. Prof. A. H. ...	53	3	0		Taylor, C. F. ...	1	1	0	
Scholderer, J. V. ...	3	3	0		Taylor, Mrs. L. E. Watson ...	2	10	0	
Scott, G. Forrester ...	1	0	0		Taylor, Miss M. E. J. ...	3	3	0	
Scott, J. E. ...	1	1	0		Taylor, Miss M. V. ...	1	1	0	
Seaman, Rev. C. E. ...	10	6			Thomas, Miss M. I. ...	5	0		
Seebohm, H. V ...	5	0	0		Thomas-Stanford, Sir Charles, Bart. ...	2	2	0	
Semple, Prof. P ...	1	1	0		Thompson, Arthur ...	2	2	0	
Sewry, T. F. ...	10	6			Thompson, Sir Herbert, Bart .	7	2	0	
Sharpe, Miss C. ...	0	0	0		Thompson, L. P. ...	10	6		
Sharpe, Sir Montagu ...	1	1	0		Thompson, Maurice ...	10	10	0	
Sheppard, J. T ...	5	0	0		Thomson, Prof. J. A. K ...	6	6	0	
Shewan, A. ...	4	4	0		Thursfield, Dr. Hugh ...	1	13	6	
Shove, Miss E. ...	2	2	0		Tillyard, Mrs. E. M. W. ...	2	2	0	
Simpson, F. G. ...	1	0	0		Tod, Marcus, N. ...	10	5	0	
Sinclair, T. A. ...	1	11	6		Towers, R. M. ...	1	1	0	
Sing, J. M. ...	2	2	0		Toynbee, Prof. A. J. ...	3	3	0	
Skeat, Miss M. F ...	10	6			Toynbee, Miss J. ...	1	1	0	
Skeat, T. C. ...	1	1	0		Toyne, G. ...	10	6		
Sleeman, J. H ...	2	2	0		Trapnell, C. G. ...	10	0		
Sloane, Miss E. J ...	10	10	0		Turnbull, Mrs. P. ...	2	2	0	
Sloman, H. N. P ...	2	2	0		Turner, G. ...	5	0	0	
Smilda, Dr. H. ...	1	0	0		Turner, Prof. H. H. ...	1	1	0	
Smiley, Prof. M. T. ...	2	2	0		Turton, G. E. ...	1	1	0	
Carried forward ...	3940	7	4		Carried forward ...	4164	17	10	

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	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward ...	4164	17	10	Brought forward ...	4562	11	4
Underhill, J. P. ...	1	1	0	White, Miss Hilda ...	2	0	0
Ure, Prof. P. N. ...	3	3	0	White-Thomson, Hon. Lady ...	1	1	0
Urhin, Miss A. ...	1	0	0	Whitworth, A. W. ...	2	2	0
Vaughan, E. L. ...	3	3	0	Wilhelm, Dr. Adolf ...	10	0	
Veitch, Miss E. L. ...	10	6		Willans, J. B. ...	1	1	0
Vellenoweth, Miss ...	2	2	0	Williams, R. ...	2	2	0
Virtue-Tebbs, Miss ...	301	1	0	Wilson, Lt.-Col. H. C. B. ...	2	2	0
Waddington, C. W. ...	5	0	0	Winbolt, S. E. ...	1	1	0
Walmsley, Mrs. L. W. ...	1	1	0	Wolferstan, D. P. ...	10	6	
Walston, Sir Charles ...	50	0	0	Wollerson, Miss F. ...	10	6	
Walters, Prof. C. Flamstead ...	1	1	0	Wood, A. H. ...	1	0	0
Wardale, J. R. ...	1	1	0	Wood, J. R. ...	5	0	0
Watkins, W. A. ...	10	0		Wood, Rev. W. Spicer ...	1	0	0
Watson, J. H. ...	2	2	0	Woolley, E.... ...	1	1	0
Watt, Miss S. M. ...	1	6	0	Wright, F. A. ...	1	1	0
Weatherhead, Inst.-Capt. R. ...	2	1	0	Wright, Dr. J. ...	2	0	0
Webb, E. J. ...	2	2	0	Wright, W. E. ...	1	1	0
Webb, Miss J. P. ...	1	1	0	Wright, W. S. ...	1	11	6
Webster, T. B. L. ...	2	1	0	Wynne-Finch, Miss H. ...	10	6	
Wedd, N. ...	1	1	0	Wyse, W. ...	50	0	0
Weekes, C. A. ...	1	1	0	Yates, Miss H. ...	10	6	
Wells, Dr. J. ...	7	2	0	Yorke, Vincent W. ...	15	5	0
Welsh, Miss S. M. ...	3	0	0	Young, Miss A. M. ...	1	0	0
Westaway, Miss K. M. ...	1	0	0	Young, G. M. ...	1	1	0
Whibley, Leonard ...	3	3	0	Zahn, Prof. Dr. R. ...	1	1	0
Carried forward ...	4562	11	4		4658	13	10

# RULES

## OF THE

### Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society, provided that the Society shall not make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money unto or between any of its members : in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of three years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to the Council, in whose hands their election shall rest.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may at their discretion elect from British Universities as Student-Associates :—

- (a) Undergraduates.
- (b) Graduates of not more than one year's standing.
- (c) Women Students of equivalent status at Cambridge University.

33. Student-Associates shall be elected for a period not exceeding five years, but in all cases Student-Associateship shall be terminated at the expiration of one year from the date at which the Student takes his degree.

34. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the election of Members.

35. Every Student-Associate must be proposed by his tutor or teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in the University to which the Candidate belongs, and must undertake responsibility for his Candidate, in respect of Books or Slides borrowed from the Library.

36. Student-Associates shall pay an Annual Subscription of 10s. 6d. payable on election and on January 1st of each succeeding year, without Entrance Fee. They will be entitled to receive all the privileges of the Society, with the exception of the right to vote at Meetings.

37. Student-Associates may become Full Members of the Society, without payment of Entrance Fee, at or before the expiration of their Student-Associateship.

38. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

39. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.



**THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.**  
**OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1929—1930.**

**President.**

PROF. ERNEST GARDNER, Litt.D.

**Vice-Presidents.**

The following ex-Presidents :

PROF. PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., 1905-0.  
SIR ARTHUR EVANS, F.R.S., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., 1910-14.  
SIR FREDERIC KENYON, K.C.B., D.Litt., F.B.A., 1920-24.  
MR ARTHUR HAMILTON SMITH, C.B., F.B.A., 1924-29.  
MR. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, D.Litt., 1928-29 (Acting)

and

PROF. F. ADCOCK.  
MR. N. H. BAYNES.  
PROF. J. D. BEAZLEY.  
MR. W. H. BUCKLEY.  
PROF. R. M. DAWKINS.  
MR. L. R. FARNELL, D.Litt., F.B.A.  
SIR J. G. FRAZER, D.Litt., Litt.D., LL.D.,  
D.C.L., F.B.A.  
MR. G. F. HILL, F.R.A., LL.D., Litt.D.  
PRINCIPAL H. STUART JONES, F.B.A.  
MR. R. W. LIVINGSTONE, D.Litt.  
MR. J. G. MILNE, D.Litt.

PROF. GILBERT MURRAY, F.B.A., D.Litt.  
PROF. J. LINTON MYRES, D.Litt.  
PROF. A. C. PEARSON.  
PROF. SIR W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D.,  
Litt.D., D.D., F.B.A.  
REV. PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt.  
MR. J. T. SHEPPARD.  
SIR CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH, C.V.O., LL.D.  
MRS. S. ARTHUR STRONG, Litt.D., LL.D.  
MR. W. W. TARN.  
MR. H. B. WALTERS.

**Council.**

MR. B. ASHMOLE.  
MR. H. I. BELL.  
DR. M. O. B. CARY.  
MR. STANLEY CASSON.  
PROF. E. R. DODDS.  
LADY EVANS.  
MR. E. J. FORDYKE.  
DR. E. NORMAN GARDNER.  
DR. H. R. HALL.  
PRINCIPAL W. HALLIDAY.  
MR. B. L. HALLWARD.  
MR. M. HOLROYD.  
MISS C. M. KNIGHT.  
MISS W. LAMP.  
MR. H. M. LAST.

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MR. D. C. MACGREGOR.  
PROF. F. H. MARSHALL.  
REV. DR. J. ARBUTHNOT NAIRN.  
MR. A. D. NOCK.  
PROF. H. ORMEROD.  
DAME EMILY PENROSE.  
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MR. F. N. PRYCE.  
PROF. D. S. ROBERTSON.  
PROF. M. T. SMILEY.  
MR. M. S. THOMPSON.  
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MR. B. S. PAGE.

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PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY. | SIR FREDERIC KENYON.  
And MR. H. G. G. PAYNE, *ex officio* as Director of the British School at Athens.

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## PROCEEDINGS

### SESSION 1928-1929

THE following meetings were held during the past session :—

- (1) November 13th, 1928. Mr. H. B. Walters : *Recent Acquisitions of Vases and Engraved Gems in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum*. See below, p. cxxxiv.
- (2) February 5th, 1929. Mr. A. H. M. Jones : *Excavations at Gerasa*. See below, p. cxxxv.
- (3) May 7th, 1929. Mr. A. D. Nock : *Greek Magical Papyri*. See below, p. cxxxv.

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- (4) The ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on Tuesday, June 4th, 1929, Mr. George A. Macmillan, Acting President of the Society, occupying the chair. The Acting President proposed the alteration in Rule 16, varying the term of office of the President from *five to three* years; this was seconded by Professor Marshall and carried unanimously. The following elections and re-elections were made :—

*Elections :—*

*President*.—Professor E. A. Gardner, Litt.D.

*Vice-President*.—Professor R. M. Dawkins.

*Member of Council*.—Professor D. S. Robertson.

*Re-elections :—*

The Vice-Presidents of the Society.

The Members of Council retiring by rotation.

The Chairman announced that as there was one vacancy on the list of Honorary Members, H.R.H. The Crown Prince of Sweden had been invited to accept election in recognition of his services to the study of archaeology.

The following Annual Report of the Council was then submitted by the Society's Hon. Secretary, Miss C. A. Hutton.

THE Council beg leave to submit their report for the Session now concluded :—

#### The Main Situation.

During the past Session the officers and officials, in addition to their usual work, have been very fully occupied in carrying out the plans devised to celebrate the Society's Jubilee. On the literary side these include a *History* of the Society by Mr. George Macmillan; the publication, under the supervision of an Editorial Committee, of the results of the excavations at the Shrine of Artemis Orthia, conducted at Sparta, between 1906-1910, by the British School at Athens; the preparation by Mr. John Penoyre of a pamphlet entitled *Ante Oculos*, giving a detailed list of the books, pictures, etc. in the Society's collections, most suitable for arousing interest in the human side of classical study. A special effort has been made to wipe out the debt of £3,000, which, as stated in last year's report, has seriously

hampered the development of the Society's work. A gratifying feature of the response to the appeal is the large number of members who have contributed to the 'Debt Fund.'

#### Gifts to the Society.

The Council record with great pleasure gifts to the Society of a marble portrait-relief of the late Sir Charles Newton, and of a photogravure reproduction of Sargent's portrait of Mr. George A. Macmillan. The former, which is the gift of Prof. Percy Gardner, has been hung in the Council Chamber, the latter at the entrance to the Library.

#### Obituary.

During the past Session the Society has lost by death eighteen members, among whom were Viscount Finlay of Nairn, Sir Hercules Read, Mr. Pandeli Ralli, and Mr. E. P. Warren, all old friends and supporters. Monsieur Théodore Reinach, one of the recently elected Honorary Members, has also died.

#### Administrative Changes.

The President, Mr. Arthur H. Smith, vacates his office after the Jubilee celebrations on the completion of his term of service, the outstanding feature of which has been the move to Bedford Square. It is impossible to over-estimate the debt of gratitude which the Society owes to its President for the patient and ungrudging help he gave during the negotiations for the premises, the replanning of the space reserved for the Society, and the installation of the library, while his generous gift of books filled important gaps in the Society's collection.

The Council submit the name of Prof. Ernest Gardner, Litt.D., Yates Professor of Archaeology in the University of London, as President, and, in view of the increasing claims which the Society's affairs make on the time and attention of its President, recommend the shortening of the term of office from five to three years.

The Council desire to recommend the appointment of Prof. R. M. Dawkins as a Vice-President, of Prof. D. S. Robertson as a Member of Council, the re-appointment of all the Vice-Presidents and the re-election of the retiring Members of Council, Mr. Ashmole, Mr. Casson, Prof. Dodds, Mr. Holroyd, Miss Lamb, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Macgregor, Prof. Ure and Mr. Webster.

During the past Session the following Honorary Members have been elected : Prof. Dr. Buschor (Athens), Prof. G. De Sanctis (Italy), Prof. Keramopoulos (Greece), Prof. Théodore Reinach (France), Prof. Dr. Rodenwaldt (Germany).

The preparations for the Jubilee have necessarily thrown much extra work on the officials, and the Council desire to express their appreciation of the devoted service and organising ability of the Society's Librarian, Mr. John Penoyre, ably seconded by the Second Librarian, Mr. W. R. Le Fanu, the Assistant Librarian, Mr. F. Wise, and the Assistant Treasurer, Mr. G. Garnett.

#### Meetings.

At the first General Meeting of the Session, held on November 13th, 1928, Mr. H. B. Walters, Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, showed a series of lantern slides illustrating Greek vases and engraved gems recently acquired by his department. The vases, representing the most interesting acquisitions of the last three years, included the following :—A jug from Cyprus, of the sixth century B.C., with a representation of a ship from which a man is falling out and a large fish apparently awaiting him, possibly representing some version of the story of Jonah, the vase being one of a class made under Phoenician influence; a fine specimen of a Dipylon vase dating from about 800 B.C., with representations of chariots and warriors, the vase of exceptional size and completely covered with decoration; a jug of the sixth century B.C., probably made by a Greek artist in Italy, with the subjects of a revel and the siege of a city; a *loutrophoros* or

vase used in connexion with funerals, dating from about 500 B.C., with representations of mourners round a corpse; three Attic funeral *lekylthi*, also with sepulchral subjects, two of them with figures exquisitely drawn in outline on a white ground; three *amphorae*, with red figures on black ground, drawn in the best style of the early fifth century; a vase with representation of a girl invoking the aid of the moon to win back her lover.

The subjects on the engraved gems shown included a bust of Athena with short hair, of the type identified by Prof. Furtwaengler with the Lemnian Athena of Pheidias; a portrait of Magas, ruler of Cyrene in the third century B.C.; and a representation of the arrival of Aeneas in Latium and his meeting the sow with her litter, by which he was enabled to determine the site of the city he was to found. This rare subject also occurs on a marble relief lately acquired by the Museum.

Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith and Prof. Ure contributed to the subsequent discussion.

The second General Meeting was held on February 5th, 1929, when Mr. A. H. M. Jones read a paper on the excavations at Jerash, the ancient Gerasa, conducted by the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem and Yale University. After a brief summary of the history of Gerasa from its foundation by Alexander to its destruction by an earthquake in A.D. 746, and a description, illustrated by a fine set of slides, of the existing ruins, he recounted the work of the preceding season on the great sanctuary of St. Theodore, which was completed in A.D. 496. The excavations had uncovered a large three-aisled basilica, entered from the west through a colonnaded atrium surrounded by rooms, and flanked by two dependent chapels and other subsidiary buildings, including a baptistery of interesting form.

To the east of the church lay a paved and colonnaded court on a lower level, approached by two magnificent flights of steps, in a fine state of preservation; to the east of this court was another large basilica, as yet unexcavated. Mr. Jones gave reasons for believing that the fountain in the centre of this court was the one to which Epiphanius alluded, where an annual miracle of turning water into wine was said to have taken place on the anniversary of the marriage at Cana in Galilee. He commented on the interesting arrangement of the church, which conformed to the early Syrian liturgical usage, as prescribed in the 'Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi.' He also recounted the excavation of another smaller church, dated by an inscription to A.D. 526, and described its fine floor mosaics. He finally appealed for funds to carry on the season's work, which would be the uncovering of the second basilica, a task of great interest, as it was of early, perhaps Constantinian, date.

The Acting President offered observations on Mr. Jones' paper and tendered him the thanks of the audience.

At the third General Meeting, held on May 7th, 1929, Mr. A. D. Nock read a paper on Greek Magical Papyri. After reviewing the earlier publications of Wessely, Sir Frederic Kenyon and others, he spoke of the importance of the new collection by K. Preisendanz and of the recent work of Eitrem and Hopfner.

Our magical papyri were mostly corpora, composed in the fourth or fifth centuries of our era; by their variant readings and numerous alternative processes they showed that they had a long history behind them. They might be regarded as the actual working copies of magicians, like the magical books of St. Paul's Ephesian converts, and we find in them notes that bear the stamp of experience. The resultant works were largely chaotic, but showed at times some arrangement. It was of particular interest that we could compare the text of one passage of the large Paris papyrus with a lead tablet at Cairo, which represented its practical application: as we might expect, the book text was in general superior; but the tablet supplied at least one genuine phrase missing from the papyrus, and being itself dated in the third century A.D., pointed to a common original considerably older than the papyrus. The present form of our magical papyri came from a Graeco-Coptic bilingual culture. The earlier models behind them could be dated as not later than

the second century A.D. from two short examples; and a comparison with Lucan VI showed that similar texts might well have existed in the first century A.D. In Lucan VI there were elements lacking in the essentially Greek magic of Theocritus II: in Egypt, Greek, Jewish and Egyptian ideas had blended to produce the product which we see in the papyri. Not the least interesting feature of the product was a number of texts which belonged to individualistic piety rather than to the sphere of what we ordinarily call magic: they prescribed processes for procuring intimate union with deity.

Mr. Nock concluded by drawing attention to the field for investigation which these papyri presented, and in particular to the need of a proper study of the peculiar magic words in them, of a Corpus of magical drawings in the papyri, some of which he illustrated by slides, and of a Corpus of Abraxas gems.

Mr. H. I. Bell, who was in the chair, in thanking Mr. Nock for his paper, emphasised the interest of these studies and of the need for an examination of the mutual relations of the Magical Papyri.

#### The Joint Library and Slide Collection.

To illustrate the work of the past Session, figures are given showing the activities of the Library during (a) a pre-war Session, (b) the last Session, and (c) the Session just concluded.

	(a) 1912-13	(b) 1927-28	(c) 1928-29
Books added to the Library .....	489	312	535
Books borrowed .....	938	3,389	3,219
<hr/>			
Slides added to the Collections ...	363	327	303
Slides borrowed .....	3,578	10,371	9,774
Slides sold .....	506	1,291	1,467
Photographs sold .....	345	851	367

Notable additions to the Library are due to the generous gift of a large number of volumes from his own library by Mr. G. A. Macmillan, including Aristophanes (Froben, Basel, 1547); Budaeus, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (1554); Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce* (6 vols., 1826); Lucas, *Remarks on the Parthenon* (1845); Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst*, and Sandys, *Travells* (1670).

The Roman Society have also purchased numerous important works, hitherto lacking, which include: Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms* (4-volume edition); Drumann-Groebe, *Geschichte Roms*; Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*; Karlowa, *Roemische Rechtsgeschichte*; Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, and Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*.

Other works of special interest added to the Library are: Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*; Bienkowski, *Les Celtes dans les arts mineurs gréco-romains*; Dalton, *Greece and Egypt* (1791) (presented by Prof. Lethaby); Ducati, *Storia dell' Arte etrusca*; Forrer, *Strasbourg-Argentorate*; Macpherson, *Antiquities of Kertch* (Florence Nightingale's copy); Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*; *Roman London* (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments); the Berlin Museum *Catalogues* of Etruscan and of fifth- and fourth-century Greek sculpture, and the first volume of the new edition of the British Museum *Catalogue of Sculpture*.

Important additions have also been received to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, the new edition of Liddell and Scott, Iwan von Mueller's *Handbuch*, and the publication of the German excavations at *Miletus*.

The two Councils wish to express their sincere thanks for gifts of books to the following:—

*Authors*: Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, Dr. E. Breccia, Dr. E. Bulanda, Dr. Cary, Mr. Caspersz, Prof. Gordon Childe, Mr. W. H. Cloriston, Dr. M. della Corte, Dr.

E. L. Crum, Mr. Paul Dare, Miss E. Dawes, Dr. E. Diehl, Dr. A. Donnadien, Dr. F. Egermann, Mr. J. K. Fotheringham, Mr. E. H. Freshfield, Dr. M. S. Ginsburg, Dr. Guglielmino, Mr. G. H. Hallam, Mrs. F. W. Hasluck, the Rev. J. H. Hopkinson, Mr. E. Hutton, Miss C. K. Jenkins, Prof. Laistner, Dr. H. Langlard, Dr. E. Loewy, Dr. S. Luria, Mr. F. Mathews, Prof. Méautis, Mr. B. D. Meritt, Dr. J. G. Milne, Dr. A. N. Modona, Mr. A. D. Nock, Dr. M. Nouaros, Dr. J. Orosz, Mr. J. U. Powell, Prof. D. M. Robinson, Dr. Rodenwaldt, Mr. A. Smith, Mrs. Arthur Strong, Prof. Studniczka, Mr. A. J. Taylor, Prof. H. J. W. Tillyard, Dr. Valdenburg, Dr. van Essen, Mr. A. B. West, Mr. Glyn Williams, Mr. S. E. Winbolt and Dr. E. Zilliaceus.

*Donors of Miscellaneous Works :* Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, Mrs. Bryher, Mr. Caspersz, Prof. Dawkins, Dr. G. F. Hill, Miss Hutton, H. E. Signor Mario Lago, Mr. Last, Mr. A. W. Lawrence, Prof. Lethaby, Mr. George Macmillan, Mr. C. A. F. Mason, Mr. B. D. Meritt, Dr. Milne, Prof. Ormerod, Dr. Oswald, Dr. Rushton Parker, Mr. Penoyre, Dr. Rodenwaldt, Mr. D. W. Scholl, Prof. Smiley, Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard, Mr. M. N. Tod, Mr. A. B. West and Mr. G. M. Young.

*The Presses of the following Universities :* California, Cambridge, Catholic University of America, Cracow, Delaware, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Oxford, Philadelphia.

*Institutions and Associations :* The Archaeological Survey of India, the Association Guillaume Budé, the Berlin Museum, the Provinzial Museum of Bonn, the British Academy, the Brussels Museum, the Cardiff Museum, the Cirencester Museum, the Constantinople Museum, the Kanovium Excavation Association, the Lund Royal Society of Letters, the Munich Museum, the North of England Excavation Committee, the Royal Museum of Ontario, H.M. Ordnance Survey, the Roemisch-Germanische Kommission, the Sens Archaeological Society, the Société pour l'histoire de Chios, H.M. Stationery Office and the Trustees of the British Museum.

*The following publishing houses :* Alinari, Allen and Unwin, the Amalgamated Press, Josef Bauer, C. H. Beck, H. Bittner, B. H. Blackwell, Brogi, Jonathan Cape, 'Cedam' (Padua), H. Champion, G. Chiantore, Clarendon Press (H. Mulford), Paul Geuthner, W. de Gruyter & Co., R. Guillon, Hachette & Co., G. G. Harrap, J. C. Hinrichs, Hodder and Stoughton, A. F. Host, Librairie Istra, Jackson Wylie & Co., Kegan Paul, John Lane, Maurice Lamertin, H. Laupp, J. F. Lehmann, R. Lepkes, Macmillan & Co., Methuen, Metzler, J. C. B. Moehr, le Monnier, John Murray, J. Muusses, M. Nijhoff, R. Oldenburg, Oliver and Boyd, H. J. Paris, Andrew Reid, E. Reinhardt, O. R. Reiland, F. Rouge, Hans Schoetz, D. W. Scholl, A. Schroll, J. H. Schultz, L. W. Seidel, Simpkin Marshall, B. G. Teubner, van Oest, H. Wagner, Weidmann, Wilckens and Carl Winter.

An exhibition of 'Pictures for Schools,' including illustrated books, wall pictures, photographs, lantern slides and electrotypes of coins, was held with success in the Society's rooms at Bedford Square from April 23rd to 27th. The Society's 3rd Advisory Leaflet *Ante Oculos* (on sale at Bedford Square, price 2s. 6d.), which formed incidentally the catalogue of the exhibition, is a practical work of reference giving useful information on illustrated books and wall pictures, &c.

The Library is much indebted to Miss Hilda Virtue-Tebbs for a generous gift of electrotypes of ancient coins, mostly in the British Museum. It is the generous donor's wish, with which the administration cordially concurs, that these electrotypes should be lent to teachers or students much in the same way as the Society's slides. A detailed list will shortly be issued.

In the Photographic Department the sets of slides are increasingly used. Most of these are accompanied by a text, the work of a recognised authority; some have annotated lists of the slides which aim at supplying the lecturer with the essential facts of his pictures, leaving him free to adopt his own method of presenting them. It may interest members to have the complete list of subjects appended.

*Greek :*

**The Prehellenic Age** (no text).  
**The Geography of Greece** (A. J. Toynbee).  
**Ancient Athens** : historical sketch (S. Casson).  
**Ancient Athens** : topographical (annotated list of slides only, D. Brooke).  
**Ancient Architecture** (D. S. Robertson).  
**Greek Sculpture** (J. Penoyre).  
**The Parthenon** (A. H. Smith).  
**Greek Vases** (M. A. B. Braunnholtz).  
**A Survey of early Greek Coins** : 7 slides showing 49 coins (P. Gardner).  
**Some Coins of Sicily** (G. F. Hill).  
**Greek Papyri** (H. I. Bell).  
**Olympia and Greek Athletics** (E. N. Gardiner).  
**Xenophon** : the expedition of Cyrus and Xenophon's *Anabasis* (annotated list of slides only, by A. W. and B. I. Lawrence).  
**Alexander the Great** (D. G. Hogarth).  
**The Travels of St. Paul** (no text).  
**The Ancient Theatre** (J. T. Sheppard).  
**Ancient Life, Greek** (annotated list of slides only, J. Penoyre).

*Roman :*

**Ancient Life, Roman** (annotated list of slides only, J. Penoyre).  
**Rome** (H. M. Last).  
**The Roman Forum** (G. H. Hallam).  
**The Roman Forum**, for advanced students (T. Ashby).  
**The Palatine and Capitol** (T. Ashby).  
**The Via Appia** (R. Gardner).  
**The Roman Campagna** (T. Ashby).  
**Roman Portraiture** (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).  
**Horace** (G. H. Hallam).  
**Pompeii** (A. van Buren).  
**Ostia** (T. Ashby).  
**Ostia** (R. Meiggs).  
**Sicily** (H. E. Butler).  
**The Roman Rhone** (S. E. Winbolt).  
**Timgad** (H. E. Butler).  
**Roman Britain** (Mortimer Wheeler).  
**The Roman Wall** (R. G. Collingwood).

The sets consist of about 50 carefully selected slides and the cost of hire, including the text and postage to members, is 7s. 6d.

**Finance.**

The members of the Society now number 1359, and the Student Associates 138, a 'record' number having been elected at the February meeting. There are also 335 subscribing Libraries.

There are a few points in the accounts which require some explanation. It will no doubt be noticed that the amount expended on salaries is considerably higher than last year. This is largely due to the appointment of the Second Librarian, notified in last year's report. The balance on the Library (Books) Account is also much higher owing to the clearing off of arrears of binding and to additional purchases. On the other hand, the adverse balance on the *Journal* account is £240 less than in the preceding year. This is accounted for by a drop of £100 in the expenditure and an increase of £150 in the receipts from sales and advertisements. It is interesting to note that the amount received for sales of the *Journal* is the highest on record. Receipts from Members' Subscriptions, Libraries' Subscriptions, and Entrance Fees all show an increase,—receipts from Student Associates only showing a slight decrease. The account for the Lantern Slides and Photographic Department again shows a very satisfactory balance on the right side.

The net result is that the income during the year has failed to balance expenditure by nearly £140. In addition, £107 has been written off the Society's investments in order to bring them down to the present market value. The result of this is to show a rather heavy balance of £241 on the wrong side of our Income and Expenditure Account, but further depreciation of our investments is unlikely, so that the adverse balance should not alarm us unduly.

During the year the actual amount received in donations towards the Library Premises Account amounted to £123, for which the Council desire to express their thanks. The proportion transferred to Income and Expenditure Account is £132. As a result of the Jubilee Appeal issued since these accounts were made up, a sum of nearly £2,000 has been received, and even if the whole of the outstanding debt on the Library is not recovered, there is no doubt that the proportion to be written off annually to the Income and Expenditure Account will be much reduced and a considerable saving will be effected in interest on our overdraft.



# BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1928.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Debts Payable (including Bank Overdraft)	3024 0 2	By Cash in Hand—Bank .....	
" Subscriptions paid in advance .....	46 4 0	Assistant Treasurer .....	5 3 9½
" Endowment Fund .....	1106 9 0	Petty Cash .....	99 1 1
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer)			104 4 10½
" Life Compositions and Donations—		Debts Receivable .....	304 15 8½
Total at Jan. 1, 1928 .....	2350 19 0	Investments as last Account.....	2754 3 11
Received during year .....	78 15 0	Less Depreciation written off .....	107 3 11
	2429 14 0		2647 0 0
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account—Members deceased.....	10 10 0	Library Premises Account—	
	2419 4 0	Balance brought forward, Jan. 1, 1928 ...	3019 17 8
		Less Donations received during year .....	123 1 0
			2896 16 8
		Less proportion carried to Income and Expenditure Account .....	132 0 0
			2764 16 8
		Valuations of Stocks of Publications .....	341 16 0
		Library.....	350 0 0
		Paper in hand for printing Journal .....	9 0 0
		Balance from Income and Expenditure Account.....	241 17 2
		Less Surplus Balance from last Account..	167 13 3
		Balance—Deficiency at December 31, 1928	74 3 11
			£6595 17 2

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.  
W. E. F. MACMILLAN

# INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1928, TO DECEMBER 31, 1928.

<i>Expenditure.</i>			<i>Income.</i>		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Rent .....	405	5 0	By Members' Subscriptions—		
" Rates.....	118	19 8	Arrears .....	29	8 0
" Library Premises Account—Proportion			1928 .....	1197	14 6
transferred from Balance Sheet .....				1227	2 6
" Salaries.....	698	0 0	Members' Entrance Fees .....		
" Insurance.....	18	0 9	" Student Associates' Subscriptions .....	82	19 0
" Miscellaneous Expenses .....	56	1 11	" Libraries' Subscriptions—	46	4 0
" Stationery .....	78	5 0½	Arrears .....	19	19 0
" Postage .....	99	9 3	1928 .....	296	1 5
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members,				316	0 5
Notices, &c. ....	101	7 8	" Life Compositions brought into Revenue		
" Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library			Account .....	10	10 0
Premises, &c. ....	250	18 11½	Dividends on Investments .....	121	11 6
" Interest on Overdraft ..	87	8 0	Contributed towards Rent by British School		
" Grants—			at Athens and British School at Rome for		
British School at Athens .....	100	0 0	use of Society's room .....	20	0 0
" " Rome .....	10	10 0	Contributed by the Society for Promotion		
			of Roman Studies .....	150	0 0
Balance from Library Account .....	110	10 0	" Rent from London Association of Account-		
" Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies'	145	3 0	ants, Ltd.....	650	0 0
Account .....			Sale of 'Excavations at Phylakopi' .....	4	0 0
Depreciation of Stocks of Publications .....	552	6 8	" Miscellaneous Receipts .....	26	3 0
" Written off Investments.....	107	3 11	" Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo-		
			graphs Account .....	65	16 3
			" Balance .....	241	17 2

£2962 3 10

£2962 3 10

DR.	' JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES ' ACCOUNT.			FROM JANUARY 1, 1928, TO DECEMBER 31, 1928.			CR.			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
To Printing and Paper. Vol. XLVIII.....	537	13	10							
" Plates .....	88	16	6		283	17	1			
" Drawing and Engraving .....	46	2	9		47	11	6			
" Editing and Reviews .....	98	13	6					331	8	7
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members .....	157	19	8							
	<hr/>									
	£929 6 3							£929	6	3

cxliv

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT.		FROM JANUARY 1, 1928, TO DECEMBER 31, 1928.	
	£	s.	d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale.....	96	19	9
" Slides for Hire .....	38	14	7
" Photographs for Reference Collection .....	8	5	0
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account.....	65	16	3
	<u>£209 15 7</u>		
		£	s.
By Receipts from Sales and Hire .....	205	7	7
" " Sale of Catalogues, &c.....	4	8	0
	<u>£209 15 7</u>		

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1928, TO DECEMBER 31, 1928.			
	£	s.	d.
To Purchases .....	77	7	9
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- France, VIII. Musée du Louvre, 5. By E. Pottier.  
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- Beazley (J. D.)** Greek Vases in Poland.  
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- Hallam (G. H.)** Collection of ancient pottery, presented to Shrews-  
 bury School by G. H. Hallam, Esq.  
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- Price (E. R.)** East Greek pottery : orientalizing style. [Union  
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- Bulanda (E.)** Les Thraces sur une oenochoé à figures noires. [Eos, 31.] 9 × 6 in. pp. 6. Lvov. 1928.
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- Evelein (M. A.)** De romeinsche Lampen. 12 × 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. pp. 76. The Hague. 1928.

*Painting*

- Loewy (E.)** Polygnot. Text and Illustrations (2 vols.). 10 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. pp. 79. Vienna. 1929.
- Tarbell (F. B.)** Three Etruscan painted sarcophagi. [Field Museum, Chicago.] 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. pp. 8 + 9 plates. Chicago. 1917.
- Beyen (H. G.)** Ueber Stilleben aus Pompeji und Herculaneum. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 10 in. pp. viii + 99. The Hague. 1928.
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- Bienkowski (P.)** Les Celtes dans les arts mineurs gréco-romains. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 10 in. pp. 251. Cracow. 1928.
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- Corte (M. della)** Publio Paquio Proculo. [Atti dell' Accad. pontaniana, 1928.]  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$  in. pp. 19. Naples. 1928.
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- Brogi.** Photographs of Classical Antiquities extracted from the general catalogues: Italy.  $10 \times 8$  in. pp. 12 in MS.
- British Museum.** Catalogue of photographs. Part V. Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Series. Section I. Sculpture, vases, etc.  
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B8626       "       "       "       (Cohen, 153, 315, 331, 657).  
B8627       "       "       "       (Cohen, 184, 187, 324 var.).  
B8628       "       "       "       (Cohen, 39, 328, 356).  
B8629       "       "       "       (Cohen, 106 var., 164, 198, 280 var.).  
B8630       "       "       "       coins of *Alexandria*.  
B8631       "       "       "       coins of *Caesarea*, *Cyprus*, *Ephesus*.

- B8632 **Trajan** : Cos. VI : obverse legends.  
 B8633 „ restored Republican denarii (Babelon ii, pp. 569 ff. Nos. 3, 4, 20, 23, 34, 44, 51, 52).  
 B8634 **Trajan** : restored Republican denarii (*id.* pp. 569 ff. Nos. 7, 12, 15, 30, 32, 36, 48, 53).  
 B8635 **Trajan** : restored Republican denarii (*id.* pp. 569 ff. Nos. 6, 10, 13, 22, 26, 37, 47, 55).  
 B8636 **Trajan** : restored Republican denarii (*id.* pp. 569 ff. Nos. 17, 18, 19, 31, 40, 41, 50).  
 B8637 „ restored Imperial aurei. (Cohen I, Julius Caesar 54; Augustus 574, 575; Tiberius 77; Claudius 110).  
 B8638 **Trajan** : restored Imperial aurei (Cohen I, Galba 354; Galba (Suppl.) 434; Vespasian 648; Titus 403; II Nerva 150).  
 B8603 **Valerius**, denarii of L. Valerius Flaccus, C. Cur. F. Trigemini, C. Augurinus and Ti. Veturius.

- 
- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| B8639 | Personification of Virtues : Aequitas, Annona, Concordia, etc. |
| B8640 | „ „ Fides, Hilaritas, Libertas, etc.                           |
| B8641 | „ „ Nobilitas, Pax, Providentia, etc.                          |
| B8642 | „ „ Pudicitia, Securitas, Victoria, etc.                       |
| B8643 | „ „ Concordia, Pietas, Salus, etc.                             |
| B8644 | „ „ Aeternitas, etc.   |
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- B8602 60 sestertii pieces, A. Mars head, eagle types, and denarii (apex, spear-head issues).  
 B8612 Early Republican denarii and Mars' gold (B.C., spear-head, anchor, sceptre).  
 B8613 Quadrigati, gold with 'Oath-scene,' electrum with 'quadrigatus' rev.

#### Engraved Gems.

- C4383 3 Minoan, 1 Graeco-Persian.  
 C4384 Figures of Athena (2 Etruscan, 2 Graeco-Roman).  
 C4385 Alexander the Great and Magas of Cyrene. 2 Hellenistic gems and 2 coins illustrating the second.  
 C4386 2 Graeco-Roman gems with figures of Nemesis and illustrative coins.  
 C4387 5 Graeco-Roman gems.

#### Minor Arts.

- C4146 Sassanian silver dish : lion-hunting (*Treasure of Oxus*, 2nd ed., pl. 37).  
 C4139 Large bronze lebes. Naples Mus. (Permice, *Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeii*, pl. xi).  
 B9236 Gold glass medallion, early 3rd cent. A.D. Brescia.  
 B5056 Cameo : Triumph of Licinius. Cabinet des Médailles.

#### Miscellanea.

- C4161 Skewers from the Argive Heraeum (*Journ. Int. Arch. Num.* 1906, pl. x).  
 B5137 Miners' ladders from Dean Forest. Cardiff Mus.  
 C4355 Kitchen strainer. Met. Mus., New York.  
 C4356 The festival of the Suovetaurilia.  
 C4357 Chariot race in the Circus Maximus.

## SETS OF SLIDES.

THE main collection of some 7000 lantern slides can be drawn on in any quantity, large or small, for lecturing on practically any branch of classical archaeology. For those who have opportunity, no method is so satisfactory as to come in person to the Library, and choose the slides from the pictures there arranged in a subject order.

But the following **sets of slides**, complete with texts, will be found useful to those lecturers who have not facilities for choosing their own slides. The thanks of the Society are accorded those who have been at the pains of undertaking the not easy task of telling a plain tale on the subjects with which they are most familiar to a general audience.

Suitable handbooks dealing with the different subjects can also be lent from the library to lecturers in advance of their lectures.

### LIST OF SETS.

- The Prehellenic Age** (no text).
- The Geography of Greece** (A. J. Toynbee).
- Ancient Athens**: historical sketch (S. Casson).
- Ancient Athens**: topographical (annotated list of slides only, D. Brooke).
- Ancient Architecture** (D. S. Robertson).
- Greek Sculpture** (J. Penoyre).
- The Parthenon** (A. H. Smith).
- Greek Vases** (M. A. B. Braunholtz).
- A Survey of early Greek Coins**: 7 slides showing 49 coins (P. Gardner).
- Some Coins of Sicily** (G. F. Hill).
- Greek Papyri** (H. I. Bell).
- Olympia and Greek Athletics** (E. N. Gardiner).
- Xenophon**: the expedition of Cyrus and Xenophon's Anabasis (annotated list of slides only, by A. W. and B. I. Lawrence).
- Alexander the Great** (D. G. Hogarth).
- The Travels of St. Paul** (no text).
- The Ancient Theatre** (J. T. Sheppard).
- Ancient Life, Greek** (annotated list of slides only, J. Penoyre).
- Ancient Life, Roman** (annotated list of slides only, J. Penoyre).
- Rome** (H. M. Last).
- The Roman Forum** (G. H. Hallam).
- The Roman Forum**, for advanced students (T. Ashby).
- The Palatine and Capitol** (T. Ashby).
- The Via Appia** (R. Gardner).
- The Roman Campagna** (T. Ashby).
- Roman Portraiture** (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).
- Horace** (G. H. Hallam).
- Pompeii** (A. van Buren).
- Ostia** (T. Ashby).
- Ostia** (R. Meiggs).
- Sicily** (H. E. Butler).
- The Roman Rhone** (S. E. Winbolt).
- Timgad** (H. E. Butler).
- Roman Britain** (Mortimer Wheeler).
- The Roman Wall** (R. G. Collingwood).

The sets consist of about 50 carefully selected slides, and the cost of hire, including the text and postage to members, is 7s. 6d.

Application should be made to

The Assistant Librarian,  
Hellenic Society,  
50, Bedford Square, W.C. 1.

## NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

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THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus  $\kappa$  should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs, *υ*, *αι*, *ου*, *ου* by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-ος* and *-ον* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-πος* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ει*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved; also words ending in *-ειον* must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-πος*, as *Λέαιπος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-ον* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

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In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions :—

*Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.*

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus :

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protopogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 123.

*Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.*

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.  
*Ann. d. I.* = Annali dell' Istituto.  
*Arch. Anz.* = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).  
*Arch. Zeit.* = Archäologische Zeitung.  
*Ath. Mitt.* = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.  
*Baumeister* = Baumcister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.  
*B.C.H.* = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.  
*Berl. Vas.* = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.  
*B.M. Bronzes* = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.  
*B.M.C.* = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.  
*B.M. Inscr.* = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.  
*B.M. Vases* = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.  
*B.S.A.* = Annual of the British School at Athens.  
*Bull. d. I.* = Bullettino dell' Istituto.  
*C.I.G.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.  
*C.I.L.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.  
*Cl. Rev.* = Classical Review.  
*C.R. Acad. Inscr.* = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.  
*Dar.-Sagl.* = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.  
*Dittenb. Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.  
*Εφ. 'Αρχ.* = 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική.  
*G.D.I.* = Gollitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inscripfen.  
*Gerh. A.V.* = Gerhard, Ausersene Vasenbilder.  
*G.G.A.* = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.  
*I.G.* = Inscriptiones Graecae.<sup>1</sup>  
*I.G.A.* = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.  
*Jahrb.* = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.  
*Jahresh.* = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.  
*J.H.S.* = Journal of Hellenic Studies.  
*Le Bas-Wadd.* = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.  
*Michel* = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.  
*Mon. d. I.* = Monumenti dell' Istituto.  
*Müller-Wies.* = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.  
*Mus. Marbles* = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.  
*Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.* = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.  
*Neue Jahrb. Phil.* = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

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<sup>1</sup> The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows :—

- |             |      |   |   |
|-------------|------|---|---|
| <i>I.G.</i> | I.   | = | Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.                 |
| „           | II.  | = | „ „ aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora. |
| „           | III. | = | „ „ aetatis Romanae.                                      |
| „           | IV.  | = | „ Argolidis.  |
| „           | VII. | = | „ Megaridis et Boeotiae.                                  |
| „           | IX.  | = | „ Graeciae Septentrionalis.                               |
| „           | XII. | = | „ insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum                       |
| „           | XIV. | = | „ Italiae et Siciliae.                                    |

*Num. Chr.* = Numismatic Chronicle.

*Num. Zeit.* = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

*Philol.* = Philologus.

*Rev. Arch.* = Revue Archéologique.

*Rev. Et. Gr.* = Revue des Études Grecques.

*Rev. Num.* = Revue Numismatique.

*Rev. Philol.* = Revue de Philologie.

*Rh. Mus.* = Rheinisches Museum.

*Röm. Mitt.* = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

*T.A.M.* = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

*Z. f. N.* = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

### *Transliteration of Inscriptions.*

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ḥ.

### *Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.*

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[ ]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.







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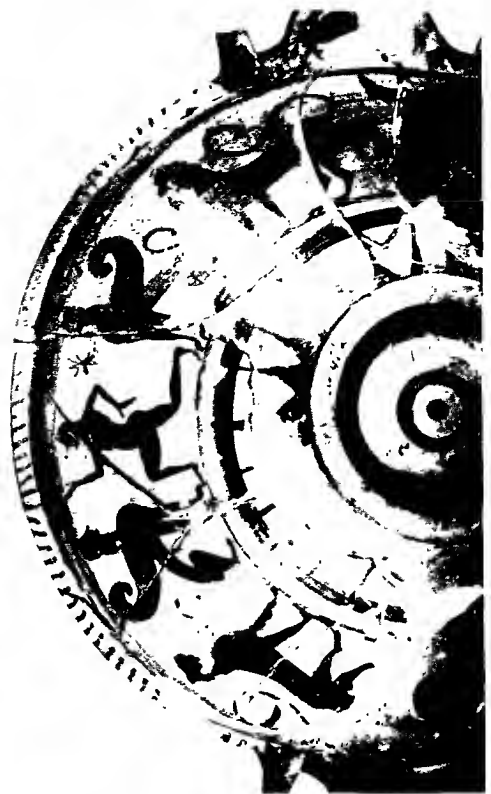
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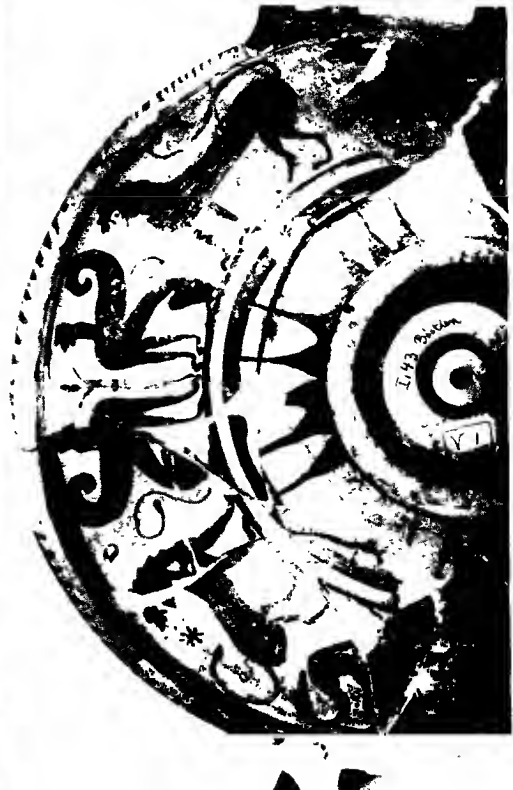
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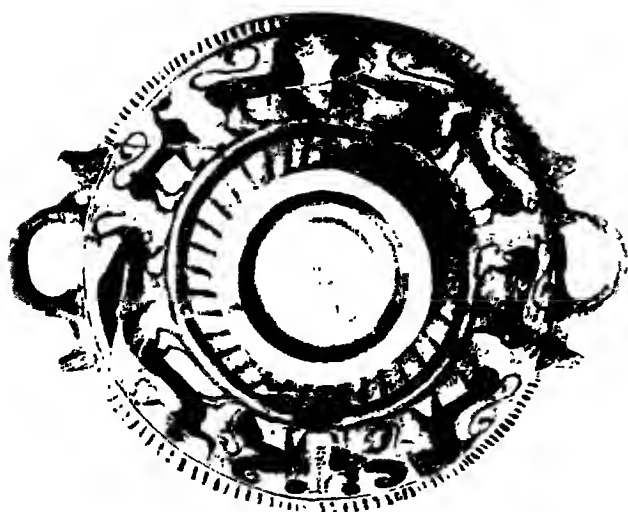


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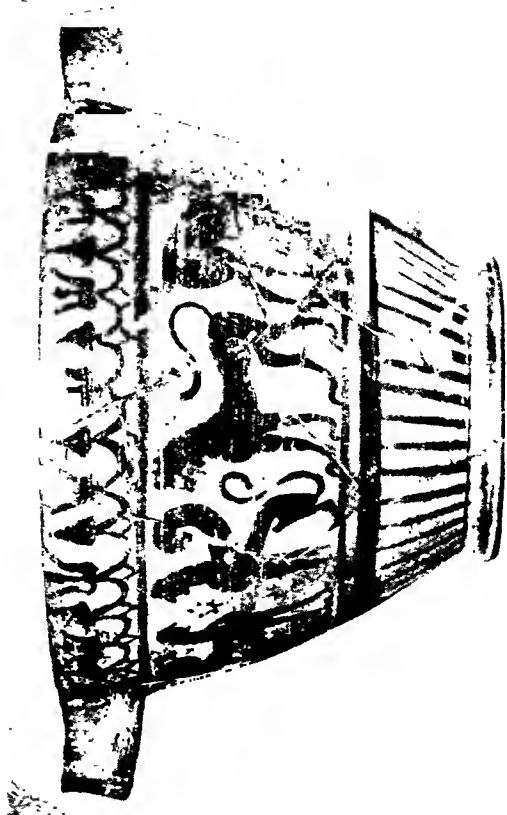
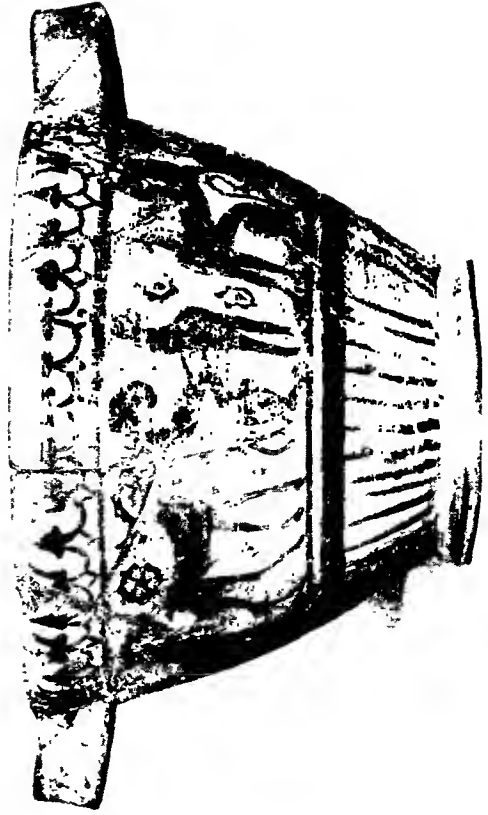
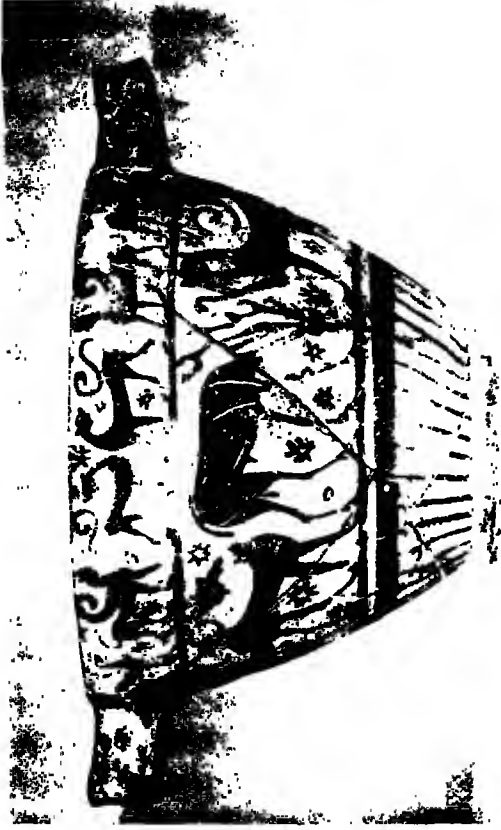
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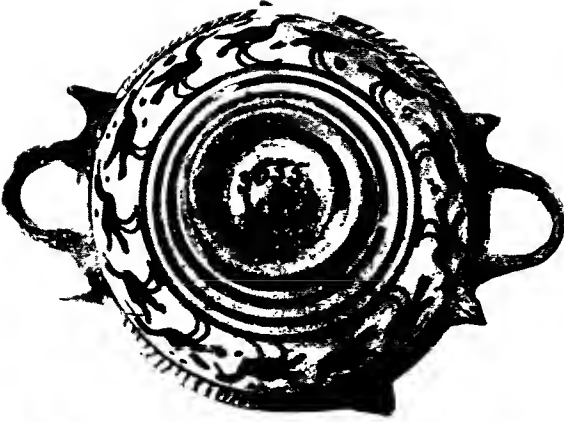
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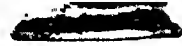
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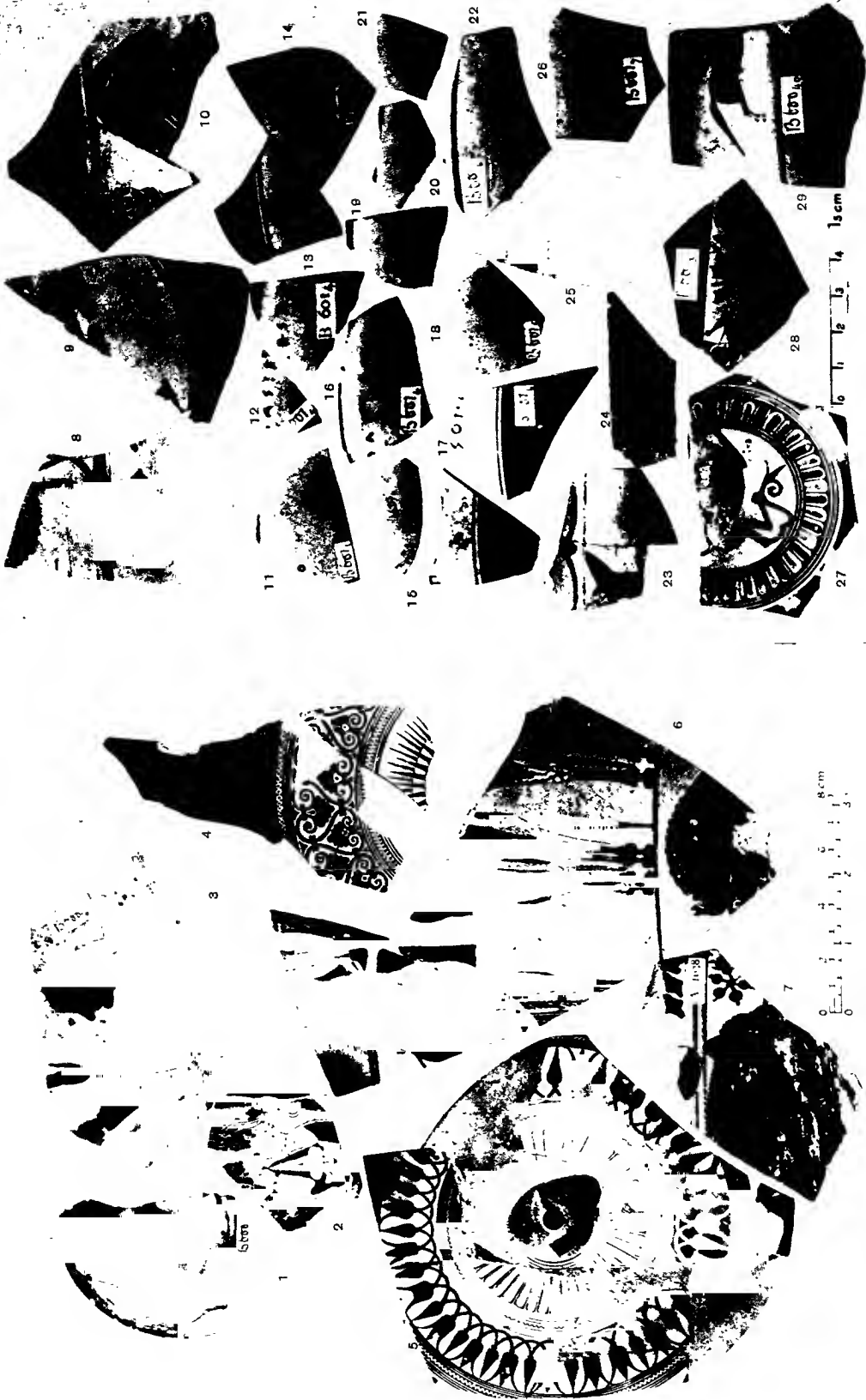




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N.C

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